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Cloth

काशी कान्ती च मायाख्या त्वयोध्या द्वारवत्यपि
मथुरावन्तिका चैताः सप्त पुर्य्योऽच मोक्षदाः ॥

MATHURÁ:

A

DISTRICT MEMOIR.

PART I.

BY

F. S. GROWSE, M.A.,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

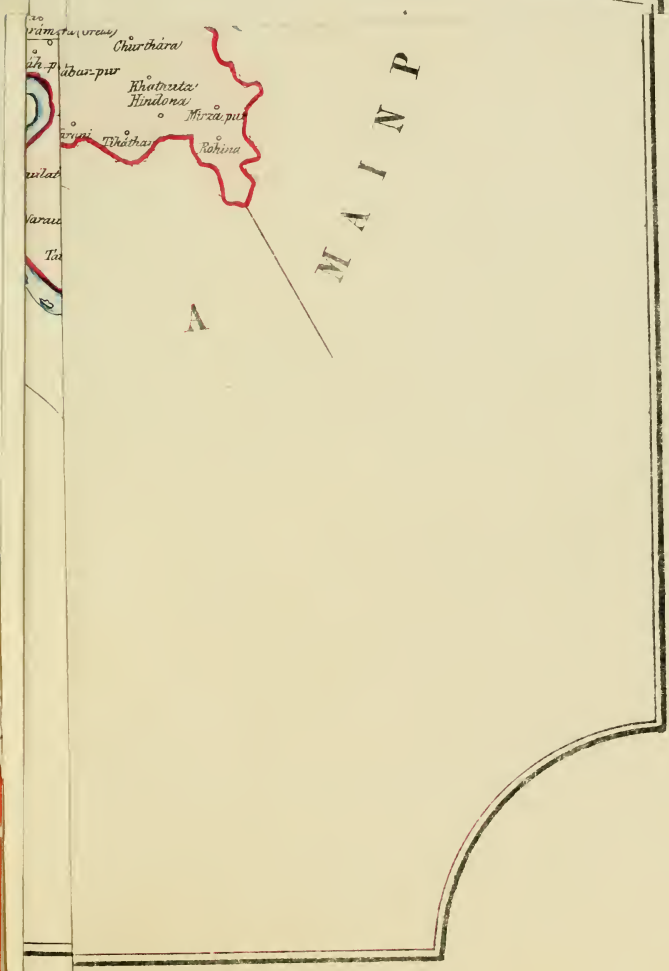
1874.

PRINTED AT THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES' GOVERNMENT PRESS.

सर्वेषां दैवतीर्थानां माथुरं परमं महत्

न केशवसमो देवो न माथुरसमो द्विजः ॥

मथुरायां कृतं पापं तत्रैवच विनश्यति


Chûrthâra
Khâtauta
Hindona
Mirzâ pur
Rohina
A
MAINP

With the Author's Compts.
J. F. Campbell
Inverary Lodge Kensington.
May 1877

काशी कान्ती च मायाख्या त्वयोध्या द्वारवत्यपि
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PREFACE.

As this Memoir will form one of the uniform series of local histories compiled by order of the Government, it requires no special introduction beyond a few words explanatory of those points in which my mode of treatment may be thought somewhat exceptional. Being intended mainly as a book of reference for the use of district officers—a class including men of the most diverse tastes and acquirements—it dwells—more especially in Part II.—upon many topics which the general reader will condemn as trivial and uninteresting; while in the earlier chapters my explanations are more detailed and minute than the professed student of history and archæology will probably deem at all necessary. But a local memoir can never be a severely artistic performance. On a small scale it resembles a dictionary or encyclopædia, and must, if complete, be composed of very heterogeneous materials, out of which those who have occasion to consult it must select what they require for their own purposes, without concluding that whatever is superfluous for them is equally familiar or distasteful to other people.

As good libraries of standard works of reference are scarcely to be found anywhere in India out of the presidency towns, I have invariably given in full the very words of my authorities, both ancient and modern. And if I have occasion to mention any historical character—though he may have achieved somewhat more than a mere local reputation—I still narrate succinctly all the material facts of his life rather than take them for granted as already known. Thus, before quoting the Chinese Pilgrims, I explain under what circumstances they wrote; and when describing the Mathurá Observatory, I introduce an account of the famous royal astronomer by whom it was constructed. Hence my pages

are not unfrequently overcrowded with names and dates, which must give them rather a repellent appearance ; but I shall be compensated for this reproach if residents on the spot find in them an answer to all enquiries without occasion to consult other authorities, which, though possibly far from obscure, may still under the circumstances be difficult to obtain.

I dwell at considerable length on the legends connected with the deified Krishna, the tutelary divinity of the district : because, however puerile and comparatively modern many of them may be, they have materially affected the whole course of local history, and are still household words to which allusion is constantly made in conversation either to animate a description or enforce an argument. The great years of famine and the mutiny of 1857, though calamities which were much more lightly felt in this neighbourhood than in many other parts of India, yet form the eras by which the date of all domestic occurrences is ordinarily calculated, and have therefore been duly noticed. But there has been no need to enter much into general history, for Mathurá has never been a political centre except during the short period when it formed the theatre for the display of the ambitious projects of Súraj Mall and his immediate successors on the throne of Bharat-pur. All its special interest is derived from its religious associations in connection with the Vaishnava sects—far out-numbering all other Hindu divisions—of whom some took birth here. All regard it as their Holy Land. Thus, the space devoted to the consideration of the doctrines which they profess and the observances which they practise could scarcely be curtailed without impairing the fidelity of the sketch by suppression of the appropriate local colouring. It may also be desirable to explain that the long extracts of Hindi poetry from local writers of the last two centuries have been inserted, not only as *à propos* of the subjects to which they refer, but also as affording the most unmistakeable proofs of what the language of the country really is. No such specimens could be given of indigenous Urdu literature, simply because it is non-existent, and is as foreign to the people at large as English.

So much irreparable damage has been done in past years from simple ignorance as to the value of ancient architectural remains, that I have been careful to describe in full every building in the district which possesses the slightest historical or artistic interest. I have also given a complete *resumé* of all the results hitherto obtained in archæological research among the relics of an earlier age. On both these heads my special thanks are due to the Government for supplying me with funds for excavations, and in supporting the claim which I put forward on behalf of the preservation of the famous temple at Brindá-ban. The identification which I have been able to establish between Mahá-ban and the Clisobora of Ptolemy and Arrian, and between Maholi and the Madhu-puri of the Sanskrit chronicles—the most ancient capital of the kingdom of Mathurá—are definite contributions to Indian archæology, which I believe will be universally accepted as of some slight but permanent value.

Besides noting the characteristics of peculiar castes, I have given an account of the origin and present status of all the principal residents in the district, mentioning every particular of any interest connected with their family history or personal qualifications. Only a few such persons of special repute will be found included in Part I.; the remainder have been relegated to the more strictly topographical sequel, where they are noticed in connection with their estates. Upon purely agricultural statistics I touch very briefly, thinking that such matters will be more ably discussed by the officer in charge of the settlement operations now in progress. At their close, should a second edition of this Memoir be required, it will be greatly enhanced in value by the incorporation of his report with my village lists.

It is hoped that these lists will prove useful to district officials. No one who has not had experience in matters of the kind can form any idea of the labour and vexation involved in the preparation for the first time of such tables, when the materials on which they are based consist exclusively of manuscripts written in the Persian character. An attempt to secure accuracy induces a feeling of absolute despair, for the names of the places and people

mentioned can only be verified on the spot, inasmuch as they are too obscure to be tested by reference to other authorities, and the words as written, if not absolutely illegible, can be read at least three or four different ways. The notes by which the lists are accompanied furnish incidentally many illustrations to a question which now more than any other is occupying the minds of Indian statesmen. In 1857, when all settled government was in abeyance, a mutinous army marched through the entire length of one division of the district; but was regarded only with aversion and dismay by all the people of the country, excepting one class. These were the victims of our revenue laws and civil courts, who seized the opportunity of turning upon the usurer by whom they had been ejected from their ancestral estates, and, whenever he was found rash enough to be living among the people he had aggrieved, of putting him to death, occasionally under circumstances of some atrocity, together with the *Patwári*, or village accountant, whom they regarded as the instrument of his oppression and the official custodian of the documents that recorded their degradation. To re-attach the loyalty of so influential a class would be a supreme effort of legislation: nor need the remedy for the ill be a very drastic one. To restore them in their old proprietary rights is an impossibility; but to concede a few slight privileges, and (in accord with national sentiment) to recognise them as a class of higher social status than the mere village serfs with whom in the eyes of the law they have been assimilated, would go far to obliterate their animosity to existing institutions. Either from mere reckless improvidence, or from the impoverished condition of the land—the result of over-assessment—at the time of the forced sale, or in somewhat earlier days from a distrust in the stability of British rule, and a belief that they would soon in some political convulsion be able to recover all that they had lost,—from these and other similar causes, the price that they accepted from the in-coming landlord was so utterly incommensurate with the value of the purchase, that the slight interference with the rights of property involved in the subsequent creation of a privileged class of tenants could only

be regarded as the recognition of a most just and equitable claim.

The notes will be seen to vary greatly in point of fullness, according to the situation of the pargana to which they refer. Of the western half of the district I have been able to acquire a thorough personal knowledge. But on the other side of the Jamuná, to the east of the town of Baladeva, I have spent only two months of one cold season. My acquaintance, therefore, with the whole of S'adábád and Jalesar and half of Mahá-ban is very superficial, almost confined to the principal roads and towns, and has been very scantily supplemented by the resident subordinate officials.

The population returns show clearly the relative size of the different villages, and may be accepted as close approximations to the absolute truth. On the night of the Census no pains were spared to ensure accuracy in the enumeration, and I fully believe that success was attained. Whatever errors may exist are due to other causes, for, what with illegible writing to begin with, and a great number of subsequent erasures and insertions, it became a matter of exceeding difficulty to add up the totals correctly; the combination of correctness with rapidity may have been unattainable.

After the final orders on the subject of transliteration issued by the Supreme Government, the system which I have adopted scarcely stands in need either of explanation or defence. I have, however, been more consistent than is prescribed of necessity, in the belief that compromise is always an evil, and in this matter is exceptionally so, for with a definite orthography there is no reason whatever why in the course of two or three generations the immense diversity of Indian alphabets, which at present form such an obstacle to literary intercourse and intellectual progress, should not all be abolished and the Roman character substituted in their stead.

As to the word 'Mathurá' itself: the place has had an historical existence for more than 2,000 years, and may reasonably demur to appearing in its old age under such a vulgar and offensive form as 'Muttra,' which represents neither the correct pro-

nunciation nor the etymology. Though it has been visited by Europeans of many different nationalities, it was never so mutilated till it fell into the hands of the English, now seventy years ago; and even the Chinese, with a language that renders transliteration all but impossible, represent it, more correctly than we have hitherto done, under the form Mothulo. But this is a subject upon which, as my own personal views are not in accord with those of the Local Government, it would be out of place for me here to enlarge.

CAMP, KARAHAI:
November 22nd, 1873.

F. S. GROWSE.

RULES FOR INDIAN PRONUNCIATION.

a unaccented is like ...	... *a* in *India.*
á accented is like ...	... *a* „ *bath.*
e is always long, like ...	... *ê* „ *fête.*
i unaccented is like ...	... *i* „ *India.*
í accented is like ...	... *i* „ *élite.*
u unaccented is like ...	... *u* „ *put.*
ú accented is like ...	... *u* „ *rural.*
o is always long, like ...	... *o* „ *oval.*
ai is like	... *ai* „ *aisle.*
au is like	... *ou* „ *cloud.*

The consonants are pronounced as in English: *th* as in *boot-hook*, never as in *father*; *g* is always hard, as in *gag*; *y* is always a consonant, and *c*, *q*, and *x* are not used at all. The fixed sound of each letter never varies; and it is, therefore, impossible for any person of the most ordinary intelligence to hesitate for a moment as to the correct way of pronouncing a word the first time he sees it. Without the slightest knowledge of the language he may read a page of a Sanskrit or Hindustani book to an Indian audience, and be perfectly intelligible, if he will only take the trouble to remember the few simple rules given above.

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MATHURÁ.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DISTRICT; ITS EARLIER EXTENT AND DIVISIONS; CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE, AND THEIR LANGUAGE; NOTICES OF PECULIAR CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES; AGRICULTURAL CLASSIFICATION OF LAND; CANALS; YEARS OF FAMINE; DELHI ROAD, AND ITS SARÁES.

THE district of Mathurá is in its form the result of political exigencies, and consists of two tracts of country which have little or nothing in common beyond the name which unites them. The outline is that of a carpenter's square, of which the two parallelograms are nearly equal in extent; the upper one lying due north and south, and the other, at right angles to it, stretching eastward below. The capital of the local administration is situated near the interior angle of junction, and is therefore more accessible from the contiguous district of Aligarh and the independent State of Bharat-pur than from the greater part of its own territory. Yet the position is the most central that could be determined in an area of such eccentric outline. It has, however, long been in contemplation to cut off the whole of the Jalesar Pargana; and if this were done, and part of Mursán and Hathras annexed in its stead, unquestionable advantage would result, and the district would be made much more compact and manageable. But if any change is made, it is more probable that the new territory will be detached from Gurgánw; an increment which will leave the district nearly as straggling as ever and only transfer the inconvenience from one point of the compass to another.

The eastern parallelogram, which as yet comprises the parganas of Jalesar, Sa'dabád, and half of Mahában, is some 42 miles long with an average breadth of 16 miles. It is a fair specimen of the ordinary character of the Doáb, and is abundantly watered, mainly by wells and rivers, but also to some extent by the Ganges Canal, and is carefully cultivated. Its luxuriant crops and fine orchards indicate the fertility of the soil and render the landscape not unpleasing to the eye; but though far the most valuable part of the district for the purposes of the farmer and the economist, it possesses few historical associations to detain the antiquary. On the other hand, the western parallelogram, though comparatively poor in natural products, is rich in mythological legend, and contains a series of the masterpieces of modern Hindu architecture. Its still greater wealth in earlier times is attested by the extraordinary merit of the few

specimens which have survived the torrent of Muhammadan barbarism and the more slowly corroding lapse of time.

Yet, widely as the two tracts of country differ in character, there is reason to believe that their first union dates from a very early period. Thus, Varáha Mihira, writing in the latter half of the fifth century of the Christian era, seems to speak of Mathurá as consisting at that time also of two very dissimilar portions. For, in the 16th section of the Brihat Sanhitá, he includes its eastern half, with all river lands (such as is the Doáb) under the protection of the planet Budha, that is, Mercury; and the western half, with the Bharatas and Purohits and other managers of religious ceremonies (classes which still to the present day form the mass of the population of Western Mathurá, and more particularly so if the Bharatas are taken to mean the Bharat-pur Játs) under the tutelage of Jíva, that is, Jupiter. The Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, may also be adduced as a witness to the same effect. He visited India in the seventh century after Christ, and describes the circumference of the kingdom of Mathurá as 5,000 *li*, *i. e.*, 950 miles, taking the Chinese *li* as almost one-fifth of an English mile. The soil, he says, is rich and fertile and specially adapted to the cultivation of grain and cotton; while the mango trees are so abundant that they form complete forests—the fruit being of two varieties, a smaller kind, which turns yellow as it ripens, and a larger, which remains always green. From this description it would appear that the then kingdom of Mathurá extended east of the capital along the Doáb in the direction of Mainpuri; for there the mango flourishes most luxuriantly and almost every village boasts a fine grove; whereas in Western Mathurá it will scarcely grow at all except under the most careful treatment. In support of this inference it may be observed that, notwithstanding the number of monasteries and stúpas mentioned by the Buddhist pilgrims as existing in the kingdom of Mathurá, few traces of any such buildings have been discovered in the modern district, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital In Mainpuri, on the contrary, and more especially on the side where it touches Mathurá, fragments of Buddhist sculpture may be seen lying in heaps in almost every village. In all probability the territory of Mathurá, at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, included not only the eastern half of the modern district but also some small part of Agra and the whole of the Shikohábád and Mustafábád Parganas of Mainpuri; while the remainder of the present Mainpuri District formed a portion of the kingdom of Sankasya, which extended to the borders of Kanauj. But all local recollection of this exceptional period has absolutely perished, and the mutilated effigies of Buddha and Maya are replaced on their pedestals and adored as Brahma and Devi by the ignorant villagers, whose forefathers, after long struggles, had triumphed in their overthrow.

The modern district is one of the five which together make up the Agra Division of the North-West Provinces. It has an area of 1,031,562 acres, and

is subdivided into seven parganas, co-extensive with as many tahsíls; *viz.*, on the right bank of the Jamuná, Kosí, Chhátá, and Mathurá; on the left, Mát *cum* Noh-jhíl, Mahában, Sa'dábad, and Jalesar. Its present existence dates only from the year 1832, when it was formed out of parts of the old Agra and Sa'dabád Districts. In Akbar's time, it came under three different Sarkárs, or divisions, *viz.*, Agra, Sahár, and Kol. The Agra Sarkár comprised 33 maháls, five of them being Mathurá, Maholi, Mangotla, Mahában, and Jalesar. Of these, Maholi (the Madhupurí of Sanskrit literature) is now quite an insignificant village and is only some four miles distant from Mathurá; while Mangotla, or Magora, has disappeared altogether from the revenue roll, having been divided into four pattís, which are now accounted so many distinct villages. In the first years of British administration it was included in the newly formed pargana of Aríng, which has quite recently been again made one with Mathurá. Mahában, in Akbar's time, included some ten villages of the present Sa'dabád Pargana and the whole of Mát; while Noh-jhíl was then the centre of Pargana Noh[1] of Sarkár Kol. The Sa'dabád Pargana was not formed till the reign of Sháhjahán, when his famous minister, Sa'dullah Khán, founded the town which still bears his name and subordinated to it all the surrounding country, including part of Khandaulí, now in Agra. Jalesar extended beyond the modern Aligarh border, over a considerable part of Hathras and Mursán.

The Sahár Sarkár consisted of seven maháls, or parganas, and included the territory of Bharat-pur. Its home pargana comprised a large portion of the modern Mathurá District, extending from Kosi and Shergarh on the north to Aríng on the south. It was not till after the dissolution of the Muhammadan power that Kosi was formed by the Játs into a separate pargana; as also was the case with Sháhpur, near the Gurgánw border, which is now merged again in Kosi. About the same unsettled period a separate pargana was formed of Gobardhan. Subsequently, Sahár dropped out of the list of Sarkárs altogether; great part of it, including its principal town, was subject to Bharat-pur, while the remainder came under the head of Mathurá, then called Islámpur, or Islámábád. Since the mutiny, Sahár has ceased to give a name even to a pargana; as the head-quarters of the tahsíldár were at that time removed, for greater safety, to the large fort-like saráe at Chhátá.

In 1871-72, the number of persons taxed in the district as having an annual income of Rs. 500 and upwards was 2,846; the total of their incomes amounted to Rs. 36,56,394-10, and yielded a tax of Rs. 1,13,920-12-10. The total population, according to the census of the same year was 892,542, making Mathurá seventeenth in the list of 35 districts which compose the North-West Provinces.

[1] There is another large town, bearing the same strange name of Noh, at no great distance, but west of the Jamuná, in the district of Gurgánw. It is specially noted for its extensive salt-works.

The vast majority, *viz.*, 816,870, were Hindus, 75,649 Muhammadans, and the small remainder of 23 Christians. The Muhammadans are insignificant, not only numerically, but also from their social position; a large proportion of them are the descendants of converts made by force of the sword in earlier days and are distinguished by the title of Malakána. In Western Mathurá they nowhere form a considerable community, except at Sháhpur, where they are the zamindárs, and constitute nearly a half of the inhabitants of the town, and at Kosi, where they have been attracted by the large cattle-market, which they attend as dealers. In the principal towns of Eastern Mathurá, as, for instance, Jalesar, they are more numerous and of somewhat higher stamp; and the head of a Muhammadan family seated at Sa'dabád ranks among the leading gentry of the district. There is also, at Mahában, a Saiyid clan, who have been settled there for several centuries, being the descendants of Sufi Yahya of Mashhad, who recovered the fort from the Hindus in the reign of Alá-ud-dín; but they are not in very affluent circumstances, and, beyond their respectable pedigree, have no other claim to distinction. The head of the family, Sardár Ali, now holds the appointment of Náib Tahsíldár at Chhátá. The ancestral estate consists, in addition to the Thok Saiyidái at Mahában, of the villages of Goharpur and Nagara Bháru; while some of his kinsmen are the proprietors of Shahpur Ghosna, where they have resided for several generations.

As might be expected from this almost total absence of the Muhammadan element, the language of the people, as distinct from that of the official classes, is purely Hindi. In ordinary speech, "water" is *jal;* "land" is *dharti;* "a father," *pita;* a "grandson," *náti* (for the Sanskrit *naptri*) and "time" is often *samay*. Generally speaking, the conventional Persian phrases of compliment are represented by Hindi equivalents, as, for instance, *ikbál* by *pratáp* and *tashríf lánd* by *kripá karná*. The number of words absolutely peculiar to the district is probably very small; for Braj Bháshá (and Western Mathurá is coterminous with Braj), is the typical form of Hindi to which other local varieties are assimilated as far as possible. A short list of some expressions that might strike a stranger as unusual has been prepared, and will be found in the Appendix. In village reckonings, the Hindustani numerals, which are of singularly irregular formation and therefore difficult to remember, are seldom employed in their integrity, and any sum above 20, except round numbers, is expressed by a periphrasis—thus, 75 is not *pachhattar*, but *pánch ghat assi*, *i. e.*, 80—5; and 97 is not *sattánawe*, but *tín ghat sau*, *i. e.*, 100—3. In pronunciation, there are some noticeable deviations from established usage; thus—1*st*, *s* is substituted for *sh*, as in *sámil* for *shámil;* *sumár for shumár*; 2*nd*, *ch* takes the place of *s*, as in *chíta* for *sítá*, and occasionally *vice versâ*, as in *charsa* for *charcha;* and 3*rd*, in the vowels there is little or no distinction between *a* and *i*, thus we have *Lakshmin* for *Lakshman*. The prevalence of this latter vulgarism explains the fact of the word *Brahman* being

ordinarily spelt in English as *Brahmin*. It is still more noticeable in the adjoining district of Mainpuri; where, too, *á* generally becomes *ó*, as *chalo gayo*, "he went," for *chalá gayá*—a provincialism seldom heard in the mouths of the Mathurá peasants. It may also, as a grammatical peculiarity, be remarked that *kari*, the older form of the past participle of the verb *karná*, "to do," is much more popular than its modern abbreviation, *kí;* and the demonstrative pronouns with the open vowel terminations, *tá* and *wá*, are always preferred to the sibilant Urdu forms *is* and *us*. As for Muhammadan proper names, they have as foreign a sound and are as much corrupted as English; for example, *Vazír-uddín* would be known in his own village only as *Waju*, and would himself be rather shy about claiming the longer title.

The merest glance at the map is sufficient proof of the almost exclusively Hindi character of the district. In the two typical parganas of Kosi and Chhátá, there are 172 villages, not one of which bears a name with the familiar termination of *-ábád*. Not a score of names altogether betray any admixture of a Muhammadan element, and even these are formed with some Hindi ending, as *-pur*, *-nagar*, or *-garh;* for instance, Akbar-pur, Sher-nagar, and Sher-garh. All the remainder, to any one but a philological student, denote simply such and such a village, but have no connotation whatever, and are at once set down as utterly barbarous and unmeaning. Yet an application of the rules of the ancient Prákrit Grammarian, Vararuchi, will, in many cases, without any wonderful exercise of ingenuity, suffice to discover the original Sanskrit form and explain its corruption. Thus, Maholi is for Madhupuri; Parsoli for Parasu-ráma-puri (Parsa being the ordinary colloquial abbreviation for Parasuráma) Dham-Sinha for Dharma-Sinha, Báti for Bahula-vatí, and Khaira for Khadira. It would seem that the true explanation of these common endings, *-oli*, *-auli*, *-auri*, *-áwar*, has never before been clearly stated. They are merely corruptions of *-puri* or *-pura*, combined with the prior member of the compound, as explained by Vararuchi, in Sútra II., 2, which directs the elision of certain consonants, including the letter *p*, where they are simple and non-initial; the term "non-initial" being expressly extended to the first letter of the latter member of a compound.[1] The Muhammadans in their time made several attempts to remodel the local nomenclature, the most conspicuous illustrations of the vain endeavour being the substitution of Islám-pur for the venerable name of Mathurá and Múminábád for Brindá-ban. The former is still occasionally heard in the law courts when

[1] The practical application of this rule was first suggested to me by observing that the two large tanks at Barsáná and Gobardhan were called indiscriminately in the neighbourhood, the one Kusam-sarovar or Kusumokhar (for Kusuma-Pushkara), the other Brikh-bhán-Pokhar, or Bhánokhar. As the rule was laid down by Vararuchi 1800 years ago, I can only claim credit for its practical resuscitation; but it is of great importance, and at once affords a clue to the formation of otherwise unintelligible local names.

documents of the last generation have to be recited ; and several others, though almost unknown in the places to which they refer, are regularly recorded in the register of the revenue officials. Thus, a village near Gobardhan is Parsoli to its inhabitants, but Muhammad-pur in the office ; and it would be possible to live many years in Mathurá before discovering that the extensive gardens on the opposite side of the river were not, properly speaking, at Hans-ganj, but at a place called Isa-pur. A yet more curious fact, and one which would scarcely be possible in any country but India, is this, that a name has sometimes been changed simply through the mistake of a copying-clerk. Thus, till the last settlement, a village in the Kosi Pargana had always been known as Chacholi ; the name was inadvertently copied as Piloli and has remained so ever since. Similarly with two populous villages now called Great and Little Bharna in the Chhátá Pargana : the Bharna Khurd of the record-room is Lohra Marna on the spot ; *lohra* being the Hindi equivalent for the more common *chhotá*, "little," and Marna being the original name which from the close resemblance in Nágri writing of *m* to *bh* has been corrupted by a clerical error into Bharna.

As in almost every part of the country where Hindus are predominant, the population consists mainly of Brahmans, Thákurs, and Baniyas ; but to these three classes a fourth of equal extent, the Játs, must be added as the specially distinctive element. During part of last century the ancestors of the Ját Rájá, who still governs the border State of Bharat-pur, exercised sovereign power over nearly all the western half of the district ; and their influence on the country has been so permanent in its results that a separate chapter will be devoted to a sketch of their history. Nothing more clearly indicates the alien character of the Jalesar Pargana than the remark that in all its 203 villages the Játs occupy only one ; while in Kosi and Mahában they hold more than half, and in Chhátá at least one-third.

Of Bráhmans the most numerous class is the Sanádh, frequently called Sanaurhiya, and next the Gaur ; but these will be found in every part of India and claim no special investigation. The Chaubes of Mathurá, however, numbering in all some 6,000 persons, are a peculiar race, and must not be passed over so summarily. Their learning and other virtues are extolled in the most extravagant terms in the Mathurá Máhátmya ; but either the writer was prejudiced, or time has had a sadly deteriorating effect. They are now ordinarily described by their own countrymen as a low and ignorant horde of rapacious mendicants. Like the Prág-wálás at Allahábád, they are the recognized local cicerones ; and they may always be seen with their portly forms lolling about the most popular ghâts and temples, ready to bear down upon the first pilgrim that approaches. One of their most noticeable peculiarities is that they are very reluctant to make a match with an outsider, and, if by any possibility it can be managed, will

always find bridegrooms for their daughters among the residents of the town.[1] Hence the popular saying—

मथुरा की बेटी गोकुल की गाय
कर्म्म फूटे तो अंत जाय

which may be thus roughly rendered—

Mathurá girls and Gokul cows
Will never move, while fate allows,

because, as is implied, there is no other place where they are likely to be so well off. This custom results in two other exceptional usages: *first*—that marriage contracts are often made while one, or even both, of the parties most concerned are still unborn; and *secondly*—that little or no regard is paid to relative age; thus a Chaube, if his friend has no available daughter to bestow upon him, will agree to wait for the first grand-daughter. Many years ago, a considerable migration was made to Mainpuri, where the Mathuriya Chaubes now form a large and wealthy section of the community and are in every way of better repute than the parent stock.

Another Brahmanical, or rather pseudo-Brahmanical, tribe peculiar to the district, is that of the Ahivásis, a name which probably no one beyond the borders of Mathurá has ever heard, unless he has had dealings with them in the way of business.[2] They are largely employed as general carriers and have almost a complete monopoly of the trade in salt, and some of them have thus acquired considerable substance. They are also the hereditary proprietors of several villages on the west of the Jamuná, chiefly in the pargana of Chhátá, where they rather affect large brick-built houses, two or more stories in height, and covering a considerable area of ground, but so faultily constructed that an uncracked wall is a noticeable phenomenon. Without exception, they are utterly ignorant and illiterate, and it is popularly believed that the mother of the race was a Chamár woman, who has influenced the character of her offspring more than the Brahman father. The name is derived from *ahi*, the great "serpent" Káliya,

[1] Tieffenthaller mentions this as a peculiarity of the women of Gokul. He says, "Vis a vis d' Aurengabád est un village nommé Gokul, oú l'on dit que demeuraient size mille femmes avec les quelles Krishna était marié Les femmes de ce village se distinguent in ce quelles n'en sortent pas et ne se marient pas ailleurs." The writer, Father Joseph Tieffenthaller, a native of Bolzano, in the Austrian Tyrol, came out to India as a Jesuit missionary in 1743, and remained in the country all the rest of his life, nearly 42 years. As he never resided long in any one place, his travels eventually extended over nearly the whole continent, and supplied him with matter for several treatises, which he composed in Latin. None of them have been published in that language; but a French translation of his Indian Geography, from which the above extract is taken, appeared in 1786 at Berlin, as the first volume of Bernoulli's Description de l' Inde. He died at Lucknow in July 1785, and his remains were interred in the Catholic Cemetery at Agra. I quote from him on several occasions, rather on account of the rarity than the intrinsic value of the book.

[2] They are not mentioned either by Wilson or Elliot in their Glossaries. There are two sub-divisions called Dighiya and Bajrávat.

whom Krishna defeated; and their first home is stated to have been the village of Sunrakh, which adjoins the Káli-mardan Ghát at Brindá-ban. The Pándes of the great temple of Baladeva are all Ahivásis, and it is matter for regret that the revenues of so wealthy a shrine should be at the absolute disposal of a community so extremely unlikely ever to make a good use of them.

The main divisions of Thákurs in Mathurá are the Jádon and the Gaurua. The origin of the latter name is obscure, but it implies impure descent and is merely the generic title which has as many subordinate branches as the original Thákur stock. Thus we have Gauruas, who call themselves—some Kachhwáhas, some Báchhals, some Jasávats, and so on, throughout the whole series of Thákur clans. Similarly, the Jádons of Mathurá are not recognized as the same in rank with the Jádons of Rajwára, though their present head, Rájá Prithi Sinh, is one of the wealthiest landed proprietors in the whole of Upper India.

The great majority of Baniyas in the district are Agarwálas. The Saráugis, whose ranks are recruited exclusively from the Baniya class, are not making such rapid progress here as notably in the adjoining district of Mainpuri and in some other parts of India. In this centre of orthodoxy the naked gods are held in unaffected horror by the great mass of Hindus, and the submission of any well-to-do convert is generally productive of local disturbance, as has been the case more than once at Kosi. The temples of the sect are therefore few and far between, and only to be found in the neighbourhood of the large trading marts. There is one in the centre of the city, close to Abd-un-nabi's mosque and said to be of the same date with it, which is dedicated to Chandra Prabhu, the same as Chandránana, one of the four Sásvat, or eternal, Jinas. In the suburb of Keso-pur is another in honour of Jambu Swámi. He is reputed the last of the Kevalis, or divinely inspired teachers, being the pupil of Sudharma, who was the only surviving disciple of Mahávíra, the great apostle of the Digambaras, as Parsvanáth was of the Svetambara sect. Before the present temple was built by Mani Rám, the father of Seth Lakhmí Chand, there was a *chabutara*, or *charan-chauki*, on the same site, said to be still there and to bear the date *Sambat* 1522. Here is now held an annual fair, lasting for a week, from Kártik badi 5 to 12, which was instituted in 1870 by Nain-sukh, a Saráugi of Bharatpur. There are other Jain temples at Hans-ganj, Jay-sinh-pura, Brinda-ban, and Kosi.

From a report made to the Board of Commissioners by the acting Collector of Aligarh in 1808, we learn that at that time the two principal landed proprietors in this district were Thákur Daya Rám of Hathras, who held Mát, Mahában, Sonái, Raya, Hasan-garh, Sahpau and Khandauli, and Rájá Bhagavant Sinh of Mursán, who owned Sa'dabád, Sonkh, &c. Their title, however, does not appear to have been altogether unquestioned; for the writer goes on to say:—"The valuable and extensive parganas which they farmed were placed

under their authority by Lord Lake, immediately after the conquest of these Provinces; and they have since continued in their possession, as the resumption of them was considered to be calculated to excite dissatisfaction and as it was an object of temporary policy to conciliate their confidence."

This unwise reluctance on the part of the paramount power to enquire into the validity of the title by which its vassals held their estates, was naturally construed as a confession of weakness, and hastened the very evils which it was intended to avert. Both chieftains claimed to be independent, and assumed so menacing an attitude that it became necessary to dislodge them from their strongholds. Mursán was reduced without difficulty; but Hathras, where the defences had been improved in imitation of the neighbouring British fort of Aligarh, was subjected to a regular siege. It is said that Thákur Dayá Rám was anxious to negotiate, but was opposed in this design by Nek Rám Sinh (his son by an *ahíri* concubine), who even made an attempt to have his father assassinated as he was returning in a litter from the English camp. Hostilities at all events were recommenced, and, on the 23rd of February, 1817, the town was breached. On the evening of the same day, a magazine in the fort exploded, and caused such general devastation that Dayá Rám gave up all for lost, and fled away by night on a little hunting pony, which took him the whole way to Bharat-pur.[1] There Rájá Randhír Sinh declined to run the risk of affording him protection, and he continued his flight to Jay-pur. His estates were all confiscated; but subsequently a pension of Rs. 2,200 was assigned him. He died in 1841, leaving one son born in lawful wedlock, Gobind Sinh; who after the mutiny, in compensation for loss sustained at the hand of the rebels during their occupation of Brindá-ban, and in acknowledgment of his loyalty under trying circumstances, received a grant from Government of the confiscated villages in the Mathurá District, which now yield his widow, the Rani Sahib Kunvar, a gross rental of some Rs. 33,000 a year. The present Mursán estate in the Sa'dabád Pargana, as enjoyed by Rájá Tikám Sinh, Bahádur, C.S.I., the son of Rájá Bhagwant Sinh, represents an annual income of not more than Rs. 3,000.

The memory of Thákur Dayá Rám is perpetuated by two poems entitled "Byom Sár" and "Suni Sár," which were written by a Bairágí in his service, named Bakhtáwar, who is most enthusiastic in his patron's praises. Their purport is to show that all is vanity, and that nothing in earth or in heaven, either visible or invisible, natural or supernatural, has any real existence. Atheistical works of the kind are very rare in Hindu literature; and as neither of the poems has ever yet been printed, nor is ever likely to be, some extracts taken from a manuscript in the possession of the Rájá's family are given at the end of this chapter.

[1] Hence "Thákur Dayá Rám's pony" is still a proverb in the neighbourhood.

At the present day, though more than half the population are engaged in agricultural pursuits, the number of landed gentry in the district is exceptionally small. To take four of the largest estates : one belongs to the Seths, who are more properly city people ; two to the heads of religious establishments, *viz.*, Swámi Rangáchári and Gosáin Purushottam Lál ; and the fourth to absentees, the heirs of the Lálá Bábú, who was himself a native of Calcutta. The only resident landowners of any note are Rájá Prithi Sinh, of Awa ; Chaudhari Daulat Sinh, of Rál ; Kunwar Irshád Ali Khán, of Sa'dabád ; Thákur Buddh Sinh, of Umargarh ; and Pachauri Kalyán Sinh, of Gokharáuli.

The fortunate owner of the Awa estate does not lay claim to any very illustrious descent. The family annals go back only to the reign of Muhammad Sháh (1720-48 A. D.), when Thákur Chaturbhuj, a zamindár of Nari in the Chhátá Pargana, came and settled at Jalesar and was employed by the Local Governor in the professional capacity of a physician. His son, Bijay Sinh, for a short time also followed the vocation of his father, but was afterwards appointed to a small military command. The Jádon zamindárs of some adjacent villages having become involved in pecuniary difficulties, were assisted by Chaturbhuj, now become a wealthy man, and his son, themselves also members of the Jádon clan. They thus acquired considerable local influence, which was further extended by Bijay Sinh's eldest son, Bhakt Sinh. Two of his younger brothers were named Ratn Sinh and Jawáhir Sinh ; the third was carried off and killed by wolves while yet an infant. The heir was for a time in the service of Jawáhir Sinh, the Maháráját of Bharat-pur, and also lent some support to Thákur Bahádur Sinh, of Umargarh, from whom he received a grant of the village of Mísa. A number of other villages, belonging to different Thákur clans, also passed into his hands; and this accession of revenue enabled him to enlist under his standard a troop of marauding Mewátís, with whose aid he established himself, according to the custom of the time, as an independent free-booting chief. Finally, he obtained a *sanad* from the Mahrattas, authorizing him to build a fort at Awa. This was simply a *garhi* with a circuit of mud walls ; the present formidable stronghold was built by his successor, Híra Sinh.

For many years Bhakt Sinh was unblessed with issue. At last, in despair, he betook himself to a fakír of much sanctity, who lived in the woods near Rajáuli, and besought him to have compassion on his childless estate. The fakír promised that a son should be born, and in due course the promise was fulfilled by the birth of Híra Sinh. At the very same time the fakír vanished from human sight; and, as the boy, on growing up to manhood, evinced a rude and unsociable disposition, a rumour spread that he was no actual personage, but only the fakír's temporary embodiment. In the Mahratta war he was able to render

some service to the English; and in 1838, it is said that his son, Pitambar Sinh, was honoured with the title of Rájá. The latter, who died in 1845, had no issue save one daughter, who was married to a Rájput chief in the Gwáliar territory. It is probably this alliance to which Elliot refers in his Glossary (written in the year 1844) under the word Jádon, where he says :—" Some marriages lately made by the family of Awa Mísa have raised their respectability to a high standard, insomuch that the Taluka-dár now lays claim to a direct descent from Anand Pál, the son of the Kuráuli Rájá Kunwar Pál." Upon this passage it may be remarked that the title of Rájá, said to have been conferred in 1838, does not appear to have been recognized by the Government six years later ; and, indeed, rumour has it that the title was never formally granted, but only inadvertently slipped into some official document, which established a precedent that was never afterwards disputed.

However that may be, Rájá Prithi Sinh, Pitambar's adopted son and a descendant of Thákur Bijay Sinh, the second of the family, has an estate which many independent princes might envy. It yields an annual income of nearly four lakhs of rupees and consists—*first*, of 55 villages, all immediately round about Awa, which have come down to him from Bhakt Sinh ; *secondly*, of a group of 19 villages called the Amánabád estate, acquired by Thákur Pitambar Sinh from the old proprietors, who were mostly Dhákara Thákurs ; and *thirdly*, of seven villages known as the Rál estate in the home pargana. He is also part proprietor of no less than 129 other villages in the Jalesar Pargana, of two or three more in Sa'dábád, and has land besides in the four adjoining districts of Eta, Agra, Main-puri, and Aligarh.

The mention of the Rál estate naturally suggests the name of Chaudhari Daulat Sinh, whose family has for many years resided in that town. He is the only Honorary Magistrate in the district, a gentleman of approved integrity, and one held in high esteem by all his neighbours. Under the Mahratta Government, his ancestors are said to have enjoyed the *chaudharáyat* of as many as 307 villages ; but his landed estate has now dwindled down almost to nothing, and consists merely of the two small villages of Pasoli and Pilhora, in the Chhátá Pargana, and some 500 bíghas of freehold in the township of Rál. His good services in the mutiny were acknowledged by a donation of Rs. 7,000, to which was originally added a grant of 43 villages ; but he only held them for six months, when they were resumed. Though his proprietary rights in Rál passed some years ago into the hands of the Rájá of Awa, he has hitherto managed the estate in an ill-defined intermediate capacity between landlord and tenant. This anomalous position has naturally, but most unfortunately, engendered a feeling of jealousy which has been developed into the most bitter animosity. The settlement now pending will doubtless determine authoritatively the respective rights and privileges of either party.

Kunwar Irshád Ali Khán of Sa'dábád has already been mentioned as the sole representative in the district of Muhammadan aristocracy. Even he, as his title denotes, is the descendant of an ancient Thákur family, who were converted to Islam in the days of the Delhi Emperors. Strictly speaking, he is only the manager of the estate on behalf of his aunt, the Thakuráni Hakím-ul-nissa, but is the presumptive heir. His brother, Nawáb Faiz Ali Khán, C.S.I., is the Prime Minister of the Mahárájá of Jay-pur.

Thákur Buddh Sinh, of Umar-garh is, like his neighbour the Rájá of Awa, a member of the Jádon clan, with greater pretensions on the score of family, but with means that are quite inadequate to support him in any real rivalry. The fort, where his ancestors have resided for many generations, encloses a wide circuit in its crumbling walls, and spreading round about it in all directions are magnificent mango groves—the unmistakeable signs of former affluence. The family traces its descent from Biána in Bharat-pur; its present representative is the son of Thákur Tikam Sinh, who, in the mutiny, showed his good will to the Government by protecting the inmates of the Umar-garh Indigo Factory. He was the son of Moti Sinh and grandson of Bahádur Sinh, who is said to have been the master of more than 300 villages, and is locally famous for a gallant defence which he maintained for some days against the forces of Sindhia.

Pachauri Kalyán Sinh, of Gokharauli in Mahá-ban is quite a type of the old school in his uncultured address and rude style of living. The actual head of the family, who has adopted one of his sons by name Rám Chand, is the Thakuráni Prán Kunwar, his cousin Bakhtáwar Sinh's widow. They trace their descent from one Bhúpat Sinh of Savaran-khera in Bhadaura, who came from thence to settle at Satoha, a village between Mathurá and Gobardhan. There he died and also his son, Parasu-rám Sinh; but the grandson, Púran Chand, removed to Gokharauli, where he acquired large possessions in the time of the Mahrattas. At the present day there is not a single village in the old pargana of Mahá-ban, in which his descendants have not some share, though it may often be a small one. In several they are sole proprietors, and they have other estates in the Agra District. At the outbreak of the mutiny, the fort of Gokharauli was surprised and taken in the absence of the head of the family, Ballabh Sinh, grandson of Púran Chand. It was, however, soon after recovered by him and his cousin, Kalyán Sinh, then Risáldar Major in the 17th Regiment; and their great local influence further enabled them to raise a large body of volunteers in pursuit of the rebel army. When the disturbances were over, Ballabh Sinh was appointed Tahsildár of Kosi, but he soon threw up the appointment, as he had no taste for office work, and his private property required superintendence.

Of the smaller estates in the district, some few belong to respectable old families of the yeoman type; others have been recently acquired by speculating money-lenders, but the far greater number are split up into infinitesimal fractions

among the whole village community. Owing to this prevalence of the Bhaiyáchári system, as it is called, the small farmers who cultivate their own lands constitute a very large class, while the total of the non-proprietary classes is proportionately reduced. A decided majority of the latter have no assured status, but are merely tenants-at-will. Throughout the district, all the land brought under the plough is classified under two heads,—*first*, according to its productiveness; *secondly*, according to its accessibility. The fields capable of artificial irrigation—and it is the supply of water which most influences the amount of produce—are styled *cháhi*, all others *kháki;* those nearest the village are known as *bárá*, those rather more remote as *manjhá*, and the furthest away *barhá*. The combinations of the two classes give six varieties, and, ordinarily, no others are recognized, though along the course of the Jamuná the tracts of alluvial land are, as elsewhere, called *kádar ;* the high sterile banks are *bángar*, and where broken into ravines *behar ;* a soil exceptionally sandy is *bhúr*, sand-hills are *páth*, and the levels between the hills *púlaj*. The Ganges Canal runs across the north-east corner of the Jalesar Pargana, and has enormously increased the value of land in its vicinity. The same result may be confidently anticipated from the opening of the Agra Canal, now in course of construction. This will traverse the entire length of Western Mathurá, passing close to the towns of Kosi, Sahár, and Aríng, and having, as its extreme points, Hatána to the north and Little Kosi to the south. A cut from the Aligarh Division of the Ganges Canal has also been brought into the north of the Mát Pargana, but it extends only to four villages, and stops short near the town of Bájana. The total area of rabi crops brought under canal irrigation during the present season up to the end of February was 12,544 acres.

In past years, when both roads and canals were alike unknown, Mathurá, like other parts of India, has suffered severely from drought and famine. In 1813-14 Sahár was one of the localities where the distress was most intense. Many died from hunger, and others were glad to sell their wives and children for a few rupees, or even for a single meal. In 1825-26, the whole of the territories known at that time as the Western Provinces were afflicted with a terrible drought. The rabi crops of the then Sa'dábád District were estimated by Mr. Boddam, the Collector, as below the average by more than 200,000 *mans;* Mahában and Jalesar being the two parganas which suffered most. But the famine of 1837-38 was a far greater calamity and still forms an epoch in native chronology under the name of "the *chauranawé*," or "the 94 ;" 1894 being its date according to the Hindu era. Though Mathurá was not one of the districts most grievously afflicted, the distress was still extreme, as appears from the report submitted by the Commissioner, Mr. Hamilton, after personal investigation. About Ráya, Mát, and Mahában, he found the crops scanty and the soil dry, and cultivated only in the immediate vicinity of masonry wells. About

Mathurá, the people were almost in despair from the wells fast turning so brackish and salt as to destroy, rather than refresh, vegetation. "All of the Aríng and Gobardhan Parganas (he writes) which came under my observation was an extensive arid waste, and for miles I rode over ground which had been both ploughed and sown, but in which the seed had not germinated and where there seemed no prospect of a harvest. The cattle in Aríng were scarcely able to crawl, and they were collected in the village and suffered to pull at the thatch, the people declaring it useless to drive them forth to seek for pasture. Emigration had already commenced, and people of all classes appeared to be suffering."

Of the famine of 1860-61, commonly called the *áth-sera*, the following narrative was recorded by Mr. Robertson, the Officiating Collector :—"Among prosperous agriculturists," he says, "about half the land usually brought under cultivation is irrigated, and irrigated lands alone produced crops this year. But though only half the crop procured in ordinary years was obtained by this class of cultivators, the high price of corn enabled them, while realizing considerable profits, to meet the Government demand without much difficulty. The poorer class of cultivators were however ruined, and with the poorest in the cities taking advantage of the position of Mathurá as one of the border famine tracts, they abandoned the district in large numbers, chiefly towards the close of 1860. Rather more than one-fourth of the agricultural emigrants have returned, and the quiet unmurmuring industry with which they have recommenced life is not a less pleasing feature than the total absence of agrarian outrage during the famine. The greatest number of deaths from starvation occurred during the first three months of 1861, when the average per mensem was 497. During the succeeding three months, this average was reduced to 85, while the deaths in July and August were only five and six respectively. The total number of deaths during the eight months has been 1,758. Viewing the universality of the famine, these results sufficiently evidence the active co-operation in measures of relief rendered by the native officials assisted by the Police, and the people everywhere most pointedly express their obligation to the Government and English liberality. No return of the number of deaths caused by starvation seems to have been kept from October, 1860, to January, 1861, but judging by the subsequent returns, 250 per mensem might be considered as the highest average. Thus the mortality caused by the famine in this district in the year 1860-61 may approximately be estimated at 2,500."[1] If such a large number of persons really died simply from starvation—and there seems no reason to doubt the fact—the arrangements for dispensing relief can scarcely have merited all the praise bestowed upon them. There was certainly no lack of funds towards the end,

[1] Mr. Robertson's narrative has been copied from the original paper in the District Office; the other particulars have been extracted from Mr. Girdlestone's report on past famines, published by Government in 1868.

but possibly they came when it was almost too late. In the month of April, some 8,000 men were employed daily on the Delhi road; the local donations amounted to Rs. 16,227, and this sum was increased by a contribution of Rs. 8,000 from the Agra Central Committee, and Rs. 5,300 from Government, making a total of Rs. 29,528. An allotment of Rs. 5,000 was also made from the Central Committee for distribution among the indigent agriculturists that they might have wherewithal to purchase seed and cattle.

The metalling of the Delhi road, which has been incidentally mentioned as the principal relief work, was not only a boon at the time, but still continues a source of the greatest advantage to the district. The old imperial thoroughfare, which connected the two capitals of Agra and Lahor, kept closely to the same line as is shown by the ponderous kos minárs, which are found still standing at intervals of about three miles, and nowhere at any great distance from the wayside. Here was the "delectable alley of trees, the most incomparable ever beheld," which the Emperor Jahángir enjoys the credit of having planted. That it was really a fine avenue is attested by the language of the sober Dutch topographer, John de Laet, who, in his India Vera, written in 1631, that is, early in the reign of Sháhjahán, speaks of it in the following terms:—"The whole of the country between Agra and Lahor is well-watered and by far the most fertile part of India. It abounds in all kinds of produce, especially sugar. The highway is bordered on either side by trees which bear a fruit not unlike the mulberry,[1] and," as he adds in another place, "form a beautiful avenue." "At intervals of five or six coss," he continues, "there are saraés built either by the king or by some of the nobles. In these, travellers can find bed and lodging; when a person has once taken possession he cannot be turned out by any one." The glory of the road, however, seems to have been of short duration, for Bernier, writing only 30 years later, that is, in 1663, says,—"Between Delhi and Agra, a distance of 50 or 60 leagues, the whole road is cheerless and uninteresting;" and even so late as 1825, Bishop Heber, on his way down to Calcutta, was apparently much struck with what he calls "the wildness of the country," but mentions no avenue, as he certainly would have done, had one then existed. Thus it is clear that the more recent administrators of the district, since its incorporation into British territory, are the only persons entitled to the traveller's blessing for the magnificent and almost unbroken canopy of over-arching boughs, which now extends for more than 30 miles from the city of Mathurá to the border of the Gurgánw District, and forms a sufficient protection from even the mid-day glare of an Indian summer's sun. Though the country is now generally brought under cultivation, and can scarcely be described

[1] In the original Latin text the word is *morus*, which Mr. Lethbridge in his scholarly English edition translates by "fig;" but I think that "mulberry" is a more accurate rendering, and that the tree intended is the *imli*, or "tamarind."

as even well-wooded, there are still, here and there, many patches of waste land covered with low trees and jungle, which might be considered to justify the Bishop's epithet of wild-looking. The herds of deer are so numerous that the traveller will seldom go many miles in any direction along a bye-road without seeing a black-buck, followed by his harem, bound across the path. The number has probably increased rather than diminished in late years, as the roving and vagabond portion of the population, who used to keep them in check, were all disarmed after the mutiny. Complaints are now frequent of the damage done to the crops; and in some parts of the district yet more serious injury is occasioned by the increase in the number of wolves.

From Jait, seven miles out of Mathurá, the customs hedge runs beside the Delhi road the whole way; except that at Kosi it makes a detour to avoid passing through the centre of the town. At short intervals all along are huts for the shelter of the chaprásis, and two bungalows for the superior officers of the department, for a patrol at Kosi, for an assistant patrol at Chaumuhá. All salt consumed above the line at a distance of more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the hedge is free from duty, while all imported to any place below is taxed; the duty on sugar, which is solely an export one, being considered an equivalent burden.

The quantity of sugar-cane now grown in this part of the district is very inconsiderable. The case may have been different in De Laet's time; but on other grounds there seems reason for believing that his descriptions are not drawn from actual observation, and are therefore not thoroughly trustworthy. For example, he gives the marches from Agra to Delhi as follows:—"From Agra, the residence of the king, to Rownoctan, twelve coss; to Bady, a saráe, ten; to Achbarpore, twelve; this was formerly a considerable town, now it is only visited by pilgrims who come on account of many holy Muhammadans buried here. To Hondle, 13 coss; to Pulwool, twelve; to Fareedabad, twelve; to Delhi, ten." Now, this passage requires much manipulation before it can be reconciled with established facts. Rownoctan, it may be presumed, would, if correctly spelt, appear in the form Raunak-thán, meaning "a royal halting-place," and was probably merely the fashionable appellation, for the time, of the Hindu village of Rankatá, which is still the first stage out of Agra. Bády or Bád, is a small village on the narrow strip of Bharat-pur territory which so inconveniently intersects the Agra and Mathurá road. There has never been any saráe there; the one intended is the Jalál-pur saráe, some three *kos* further on, at the entrance to the civil station. The fact that Mathurá has dropt out of the Itinerary altogether, in favour of such an insignificant little hamlet as Bád, is a striking illustration of the low estate to which the great Hindu city had been reduced at the time in question.[1] Again, the place with the Muhammadan tombs is not

[1] Similarly it will be seen that Tavernier, writing about 1650, recognizes Mathurá as the name of a temple only, not of a town at all.

Akbar-pur, but the next village, Dotáná; and the saráe, which he ascribes to Hondle, *i. e.*, Hodal, has no existence there, but must be the one at Kosi.

These seráes are fine fort-like buildings, with massive battlemented walls and bastions and high-arched gateways. They are five in number; one at the entrance to the civil station; the second at 'Azamabád, two miles beyond the city on the Delhi road; another at Chaumuhá; the fourth at Chhátá, and the fifth at Kosi. The three latter are generally ascribed by local tradition to Sher Sháh, whose reign extended from 1540 to 1545, though it is also said that Itibár Khán was the name of the founder of the two at Mathurá and Kosi, and A'saf Khán of the one at Chhátá. It is probable that both traditions are based on facts: for at Chhátá it is obvious at a glance that both the gateways are double buildings, half dating from one period, and half from another. The inner front, which is plain and heavy, may be referred to Sher Sháh, while the lighter and more elaborate stone front, looking towards the town, is a subsequent addition. As A'saf Khán is simply a title of honour (the Asaph the Recorder of the Old Testament) which was borne by several persons in succession, a little doubt arises at first as to the precise individual intended. The presumption, however, is strongly in favour of Abd-ul-majíd, who was first Humáyun's Díwán, and on Akbar's accession was appointed Governor of Delhi. The same post was held later on by Khwája Itibár Khán, the reputed founder of the Kosi saráe. The general style of architecture is in exact conformity with that of similar buildings known to have been erected in Akbar's reign, such, for example, as the fort at Agra; and there is a still more special reason for connecting two of the saráes with that monarch, since they both bear, or rather bore, his name. The one in the civil station, which is smaller than the others and has been much modernized, has, for many years past, been occupied by the police reserves and is ordinarily known as the Damdama. But its original name, and the one still borne by the little hamlet at its rear, was Jalálpur saráe, after Akbar's well-known title of Jalál-ud-dín. Similarly the Chaumuhá saráe[1] is always described in the old topographies as at Akbar-pur. This latter name is now restricted in application to a village some three miles distant; but in the 16th century local divisions were few in number and wide in extent, and beyond a doubt the foundation of the imperial saráe was the origin of the village name which has now deserted the spot that suggested it. The separate existence of Chaumuhá is known to date from a very recent period, when the name was bestowed in consequence of the discovery of an ancient Jain sculpture, supposed by the ignorant rustics to represent the four-headed *(chau-muhá)* god, Brahma.

Though these saráes were primarily built mainly from selfish motives on the line of road traversed by the imperial camp, they were at the same time enor-

[1] Chaumuhá is distorted by Tieffenthaler into Tschaomao. He speaks of its saráe as "hotellerie belle et commode."

mous boons to the general public; for the highway was then beset with gangs of robbers, with whose vocation the law either dared not, or cared not, to interfere. On one occasion, in the reign of Jahángir, we read of a caravan having to stay six weeks at Mathurá before it was thought strong enough to proceed to Delhi; no smaller number than 500 or 600 men being deemed adequate to encounter the dangers of the road. Now, the solitary traveller is so confident of protection, that rather than drive his cart up the steep ascent that conducts to the portals of the fortified enclosure, he prefers to spend the night unguarded on the open plain. Hence it comes that not one of the saráes is now applied to the precise purpose for which it was constructed. At Chhátá, one corner is occupied by the school, and another by the offices of the tahsildár and local police, while the rest of the broad area is nearly deserted; at Chaumuhá the solid walls have in past years been undermined and carted away piecemeal for building materials; and at Kosi, the principal bazar lies between the two gateways, and forms the nucleus of the town.

Still more complete destruction has overtaken the 'Azamabád saráe, which seems to have been the largest of the series, as it certainly was the plainest and the most modern. Its erection is ordinarily ascribed by the people on the spot to Prince 'Azam, the son of Aurangzeb, being the only historical personage of the name with whom they are acquainted. But, as with the other buildings of the same character, its real founder was a local governor, 'Azam Khán Mír Muhammad Bákir, also called Irádat Khán, who was Faujdár of Mathurá from 1642 to 1645. In the latter year he was superseded in office, as his age had rendered him unequal to the task of suppressing the constant outbreaks against the Government, and in 1648, he died.[1] As the new road does not pass immediately under the walls of the saráe, it had ceased to be of any use to travellers; and, a few years ago, it was to a great extent demolished and the materials used in paving the streets of the adjoining city. Though there was little or no architectural embellishment, the foundations were most securely laid, reaching down below the ground as many feet as the superstructure which they supported stood above it. Of this, ocular demonstration was recently afforded; for one of the villagers, in digging, came upon what he hoped would prove the entrance to a subterranean treasure chamber; but deeper excavations showed it to be only one of the line of arches forming the foundation of the saráe wall. The original mosque is still standing, but is little used for religious purposes, as the village numbers only nine Muhammadans in a population of 343, all of whom live within the old ruinous enclosure.

[1] For this and several other facts gathered from the Persian chronicles, I am indebted to Mr. Blochmann, the Secretary of the Calcutta Asiatic Society; a gentleman whose knowledge of Muhammadan history and literature is so extensive as only to be equalled by the courtesy with which he communicates it.

NOTE ON CHAPTER I.

Of the following extracts, to which reference is made in page 9, the first forms the commencement of the Byom Sár; the second and third are taken from the Suni Sár.

॥ दोहा ॥

व्योमसार यह ग्रंथ है लयो वेद को सार — श्रीठाकुर दयाराम यह कीनो व्योम विचार ॥ १ ॥
इत यमुना इत सुरसरी मध्य हाथरस जानि — अंतरवेद सु भूमि है करै अघन की हानि ॥ २ ॥
श्रीठाकुर दयाराम तहं नृपता करै अखंड — ताको जसु परताप पुनि छाय रह्यौ नव खंड ॥ ३ ॥
वैरिनि के उर सालु है मित्रन को सुखकंद — बढ़े सदा परतापु पुनि तजि द्वितीया को चंद ॥ ४ ॥
बख़तावर जन आनि कैं कर्‌यो तहां पुनि वास — श्रीठाकुर किरपा करी जानि आपनौं दास ॥ ५ ॥
तिन की कृपा कटाच्छ तें उपज्यो हीयें हुलास — व्योम ज्ञान वरनन कह्यौ अनुभव के परगास ॥ ६ ॥
व्योम रूप सब जानियो है व्योम हि के मांहि — ज्यौं आपु हि में देखिये आपु आपुना छांहि ॥ ७ ॥
श्रीठाकुर यह आपुही मयि मयि काढ़्यो सार — तिनही के उपदेश सुनि मैं यह कह्यौ विचार ॥ ८ ॥
यही ज्ञान की सैन तुम सज्जन है सुनि लेउ — पहलैं याकौं समझि कैं पाछैं उत्तर देउ ॥ ९ ॥
आदि सबनि की पोलि तैं अंत पोलि ठहराइ — मध्य हु में पुनि पोलि है सत गुरु दई बताइ ॥१०॥
सब तें ऊंची पोलि है सब तें नीची पोलि — मध्य हु में पुनि पोलि है सत गुरु कहि दई खोलि ॥११॥
पोलहि में उपजै सबै पोलहि में बिनसंत — पोलि कहत आकाश सों ताको आदि न अंत ॥१२॥
आदि न जा कौ है कछू अंत न कब हूं होइ — सदा एकरस रहत है पोलि कहावै सोइ ॥१३॥

"This book is called the Byom Sár and contains the essence of the Vedas, excogitated by Srí Thákur Dayá Rám. Between the Jamuna and the Sursuri, (*i. e.*, the Ganges) stands Hathras in the midst, in the holy land of Antarbed, where nought ill can thrive. There Thákur Dayá Rám holds undisturbed sway, the fame of whose glory has spread through the whole universe—a thorn in the breast of his enemies, a root of joy to his friends, ever growing in splendour like the crescent moon. One Bakhtáwar came and settled there and was favoured by the Thákur, who recognized his fidelity. Under the light of his gracious countenance, joy sprung up in his soul and he wrote the science of Vanity for the enlightenment of the understanding. Be assured that all things are like the void of heaven, contained in a void, as when you look into yourself and see your own shadow. After long ruminating, the noble Thákur has elicited the cream of the matter. In accordance with his teaching, I publish these thoughts. Listen, ye men of sense, to my array of arguments; first understand, then reply. The beginning of all things is in hollowness, hollow is also the end and hollow the middle; so says the preacher. The highest, the lowest, and the mean are all hollow; so the wise man has expounded. From nothing all things are born; in nothing all things perish; even the illimitable expanse of

sky is all hollowness. What alone has no beginning, nor will ever have an end, and is still of one character, that is vacuum."

जित देखौ तित सुन्नहि दीसै सुन्नहि है सब ईश अनीसै ॥
सुन्नहि माया सुन्नहि ब्रह्म सुन्नहि में सब झूंठौ भर्म ॥ १ ॥
सुन्नहि पिण्ड शून्य ब्रह्मंडा सुन्नहि सात दीप नव खंडा ॥
सुन्नहि धरती शून्य अकाशा सूनहि चंद सूर परकाशा ॥ २ ॥
सुन्नहि ब्रह्मा विष्णु महेशा सुन्नहि कूर्म शून्य ही शेषा ॥
सुन्नहि गुरू शून्य ही चेला सुन्य ही दूजा शून्य अकेला ॥ ३ ॥
शून्यहि देवल शून्य हि देवा सुन्नहि करै शून्य की सेवा ॥
सुन्नहि करै शून्य को जाप समझि करै गुरु के परताप ॥ ४ ॥

"All that is seen is nothing and is not really seen; lord or no lord, it is all one. Mayá is nothing; Brahm is nothing; all is false and delusive. The world is all emptiness; the egg of Brahma, the seven *dwípas*, the nine *khandas*, the earth, the heaven, the moon, the glorious sun, all, all are emptiness; so are Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahádeva; so are Kurma and Seshnág. The teacher is nothing, the disciple nothing; the *ego* and the *non ego* are alike nothing. The temple and the god are nought; nought is the worship of nought, and nought the prayer addressed to nought; so know they who are enlightened by the influence of the Guru."

सकल जगत सों भयौ उदासी शून्य ज्ञान रत सदा बिलासी ॥
आनद मगन सहज रंग राता सदा रहौ अवगति मद माता ॥ १ ॥
सांचौ बाद करौ नहिं संका समझौ नहीं राव अरु रंका ॥
चाहौं नहीं मानता पूजा हितकर संग न राखों दूजा ॥ २ ॥
जो कछु सहज मिलै सुख मानों ग्रह उद्यान एक सम जानों ॥
मेरी तेरी मिटि गई भूल ना कछु दुख नहीं कछु फूल ॥ ३ ॥
जब ऐसे सत गुरु कों पावै कोटि जन्म के भर्म नसावै ॥
ऐसे गुरु परगट है भू पै श्रीठाकुर दयाराम अनूपै ॥ ४ ॥

"The whole world was disconsolate, but is now gladdened for ever by the doctrine of Vacuity: it is plunged in joy and ecstatic delight, drunk with the wine of perfect knowledge. I enuntiate the truth and doubt not; I know neither prince nor beggar; I court neither honour nor reverence; I take a friend by the hand and seek none other; what comes easily I accept and am contented; a palace and a thicket to me are all the same; the error of *mine* and *thine* is obliterated; nothing is loss, nothing is gain. To get such a teacher of the truth puts an end to the errors of a million of births. Such a teacher as has now been revealed—the incomparable Thákur Dayá Rám."

Wilson, in his Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus, translates several passages from the Suni Sár, but does not mention the Byom Sár, and probably was not aware of its existence.

CHAPTER II.

THE JÁTS OF BHARAT-PUR AND SAHÁR.

It is said that the local traditions of Biána and Bharat-pur point to Kandahár as the parent country of the Játs, and attempts have been made[1] to prove their ancient power and renown by identifying them with certain tribes mentioned by the later classical authors—the Xanthii of Strabo, the Xuthii of Dionysius of Samos, the Jatii of Pliny and Ptolemy, and at a more recent period with the Jats or Zaths, whom the Muhammadans found in Sindh when they first invaded that country.[2] These are the speculations of European scholars, which, it is needless to say, have never reached the ears of the persons most interested in the discussion. But lately the subject has attracted the attention of Native enquirers also, and a novel theory has been propounded in a little Sanskrit pamphlet, entitled Játharotpati, compiled by Sástri Angad Sarmma for the gratification of Pandit Giri Prasád, himself an accomplished Sanskrit scholar,[3] and a Ját by caste, who resides as Beswa on the Aligarh border. It is a catena of all the ancient texts mentioning the obscure tribe of the Játharas, with whom the writer wishes to identify the modern Játs and so bring them into the ranks of the Kshatriyas. The origin of the Játharas is related in very similar terms by all the authorities ; we select the passage from the Padma Purána as being the shortest. It runs as follows :—"Of old, when the world had been bereft by the son of Bhrigu of all the Kshatriya race, their daughters, seeing the land thus solitary and being desirous of conceiving sons, laid hold of the Brahmans, and carefully cherishing the seed sown in their womb *(Jathara)* brought forth Kshatriya sons called Játharas."[4] Now, there is no great intrinsic improbability in the hypothesis that the word Játharas has been

[1] Cunningham's Archæological Survey, Vol. II., page 55.

[2] Tod, however, considered the last-mentioned tribe quite distinct. He writes, "The Jats or Jits, far more numerous than perhaps all the Rájput tribes put together, still retain their ancient appellation throughout the whole of Sindh. They are amongst the oldest converts to Islam."

[3] He is the author of a commentary on the White Yajur Veda.

[4] क्षत्रशून्ये पुरा लोके भार्गवेण यदा कृते ॥
त्रिलोक्याक्षत्रियां धात्रीं कन्यास्तेषां सहस्रशः ॥
ब्राह्मणान् जगृहुस्तस्मिन् पुत्रोत्पादनलिप्सया ॥
जठरे धारितं गर्भं संरक्ष्य विधिवत्पुरा ॥
पुत्रान् सुषुविरे कन्या जाठरान् क्षत्रवंशजान् ॥

shortened into Ját; but if the one race is really descended from the other, it is exceedingly strange that the fact should never have been so stated before. This difficulty might be met by replying that the Játs have always been, with very few exceptions, an illiterate class, who were not likely to trouble themselves about mythological pedigrees; while the story of their parentage would not be of sufficient interest to induce outsiders to investigate it. But a more unanswerable objection is found in a passage, which the Sástri himself quotes from the Brihat Sanhitá (XIV. 8.) This[1] places the home of the Játharas in the south-eastern quarter, whereas it is certain that the Játs have come from the west. Probably the leaders of Ját society would refuse to accept as their progenitors both the Játharas of the Beswa Pandit and the Sindhian Zaths of General Cunningham; for the Bharat-pur princes affect to consider themselves as the same race with the Jádavas, and the Court bards in their panegyries are always careful to style them Jadu-vansi.

However, all these speculations and assumptions have little basis beyond a mere similarity of name, which is often a very delusive test; and it is certain that whatever may have been the status of the Játs in remote antiquity, in historic times they were no way distinguished from other agricultural tribes, such as the Kurmis and Lodhas, till so recent a period as the beginning of last century.

The founder of the present royal house was a robber chief, by name Chúrámani[2] who built two petty forts in the villages of Thún and Sinsini[3] a little south of Díg, from which he organized marauding expeditions, and even ventured to harass the rear of the imperial army on the occasion of Aurangzeb's expedition to the Dakhin. This statement is contradicted by Thornton in his Gazetteer, under the word Bharat-pur; but his reasons for doing so are not very conclusive. He writes, "Chúrá-man did not become the leader of the Játs until after the death of Aurangzeb. Besides, the scene of the operations of the Játs was widely remote from that of the disasters of Aurangzeb, which occurred near Ahmad-nagar. According to the Sair-i-Mutá akhkhirín, during the struggle between Aurangzeb's sons 'Azam and Muazzim, Chúrá-man beset the camp of the latter for the purpose of plunder." This correction, if it really is one, is so slight as to be absolutely immaterial; the army, which was led into the Dakhin by Aurangzeb, was brought back by 'Azam after the Emperor's decease, and both father and son died within four months of each other.

A little later, Jay Sinh of Amber was commissioned by the two Saiyids, then in power at Delhi, to reduce the Ját freebooters. He invested their two

[1] आग्नेय्यां दिशि कोशलकलिङ्गवङ्गोपवङ्गजठराङ्गाः ॥

[2] General Cunningham speaks of Chúrá-man, Ját, migrating with his followers to Bharat-pur from the banks of the Indus after the death of Aurangzeb; but this can scarcely be accepted as an accurate statement of facts.

[3] From this place the Bharat-pur Rájá's family derives its name of Sinsinwár.

strongholds, but could not succeed in making any impression upon them, and accordingly retired: only, however, to return almost immediately; this time bringing with him a larger army, and also a local informant in the person of Badan Sinh, a younger brother of Chúrá-mani's, who, in consequence of some family feud, had been placed in confinement, from which he had contrived to escape and make his way to Jay-pur. Thún was then (1712 A.D.) again invested, and, after a seige of six months, taken, and its fortifications demolished. Chúrá-mani and his son Muhkam fled the country and Badan Sinh was formally proclaimed as Díg as leader of the Játs, with the title of Thákur.

He is chiefly commemorated in the Mathurá District by the handsome mansion he built for himself at Sahár. This appears to have been his favourite residence in the latter years of his life. Adjoining it is a very large tank, of which one side is faced with stone, and the rest left unfinished, the works having probably been interrupted by his death. The house was occupied as a tahsíli under the English Government till the mutiny, when all the records were transferred for greater safety to Chhátá, which has ever since continued the head of the pargana, and the house at Sahár is now unoccupied and falling into ruin. He married into a family seated at Kámar, near Kosi, where also is a large masonry tank, and in connection with it a walled garden containing three Chhattris in memory of Chaudhari Mahá Rám, Ját, and his wife and child. The Chaudhari was the Thákuráni's brother, and it appears that her kinsmen were people of considerable wealth and importance, as the Castle Hill at Kámar is still crowned with several imposing edifices of brick and stone where they once resided. For some years before his death, Thákur Badan Sinh had retired altogether from public life. To one of his younger sons, by name Pratáp Sinh,[1] he had specially assigned the newly erected fort at Wayar, south-west of Bharat-pur, with the adjoining district; while the remainder of the Ját principality was administered by the eldest son, Súraj Mal. On his father's death, Súraj Mal assumed the title of Rájá, and fixed his capital at Bharat-pur, from which place he had ejected the previous Governor, a kinsman, by name Khema. The matrimonial alliances which he contracted indicate his inferiority to the Rájput princes of the adjoining territories, for one of his wives was a Kurmin, another a Málin, and the remainder of his own caste, Játnis. Yet, even at the commencement of his rule, he had achieved a conspicuous position, since, in 1748, we find him accepting the invitation of the Emperor Ahmad Sháh to join with Holkar, under the general command of the Vazír Safdar Jang, in suppressing the revolt of the Rohillas. In the subsequent dispute that arose between Safdar Jang and Ghází-ud-dín, the grandson of the old Nizám, the former fell into open rebel-

[1] Two other sons were named Sobhá Rám and Bír Náráyan.

lion and called in the assistance of the Játs, while his rival had recourse to the Mahrattas. Safdar, seeing the coalition against him too strong, withdrew to his viceroyalty of Audh, leaving Súraj Mal to bear alone the brunt of the battle. Bharat-pur was besieged, but had not been invested many days when Gházi-ud-dín, suspecting a secret understanding between his nominal allies, the Mahrattas and the Emperor, discontinued his operations against the Játs and returned hastily to Delhi, where he deposed Ahmad Sháh, and raised Alamgír II. to the throne in his stead. This was in 1754. Three years later, when the army of Ahmad Sháh Duráni, from Kandahár appeared before Delhi, Gházi-ud-dín, by whose indiscretion the invasion had been provoked, was admitted to pardon in consideration of the heavy tribute which he undertook to collect from the Doáb. Sardár Jahán Khán was despatched on a like errand into the Ját territory, but finding little to be gained there, as the entire populace had withdrawn into their numerous petty fortresses, and his foraging parties were cut off by their sudden sallies, he fell back upon the city of Mathurá, which he not only plundered of all its wealth, but further visited with a wholesale massacre of the inhabitants. In the second invasion of the Duráni, consequent upon the assassination of the Emperor Alamgir II., in 1759, the infamous Gházi-ud-dín again appeared at the gates of Bharat-pur; this time not with a hostile army, but as a suppliant for protection. By his unnatural persuasions a powerful Hindu confederacy was formed to oppose the progress of the Muhammadan, but was scattered for ever in the great battle of Pánipat, in January, 1761, when the dreams of Mahratta supremacy were finally dissolved. Súraj Mal, foreseeing the inevitable result, withdrew his forces before the battle, and falling unexpectedly upon Agra ejected from it the garrison of his late allies and adopted it as his own favourite residence. Meanwhile, Sháh Alam was recognized by the Duráni as the rightful heir to the throne, but continued to hold his poor semblance of a Court at Allahabad; and, at Delhi, his son Mírza Jawán Bakht was placed in nominal charge of the Government under the active protectorate of the Rohilla, Najíb-ud-daula. With this administrator of imperial power, Súraj Mal, emboldened by past success, now essayed to try his strength. He put forth a claim to the Faujdárship of Farrukh-nagar; and when the envoy, sent from Delhi to confer with him on the subject, demurred to the transfer, he dismissed him most unceremoniously and at once advanced with an army to Shahdara on the Hindun, only six miles from the capital. Here, in bravado, he was amusing himself in the chase, accompanied by only his personal retinue, when he was surprised by a flying squadron of the enemy and put to death. His army coming leisurely up behind under the command of his son Jawáhir Sinh, was charged by the Mughals, bearing the head of Súraj Mal on a horseman's lance as their standard, the first indication to the son of his father's death. The shock was too much for the Játs,

who were put to flight, but still continued for three months hovering about Delhi in concert with Holkar. This was in 1764.*

In spite of this temporary discomfiture, the Játs were now at the zenith of their power; and Jawáhir had not been a year on the throne when he resolved to provoke a quarrel with the Rájá of Jaypur. Accordingly, without any previous intimation, he marched his troops through Jaypur territory with the ostensible design of visiting the holy lake of Pushkara. There his vanity was gratified by the sovereign of Marwár, Rájá Bijay Sinh, who met him on terms of brotherly equality; but he received warning from Jaypur that if he passed through Amber territory on his return, it would be considered a hostile aggression. As this was no more than he expected, he paid no regard to the caution. A desperate conflict ensued on his homeward route (1765 A.D.), which resulted in the victory of the Kachhwáhas, but a victory accompanied with the death of almost every chieftain of note. Soon after, Jawáhir Sinh was murdered at Agra, at the instigation, as is supposed, of the Jaypur Rájá.

Súraj Mal had left five sons, *viz.*, Jawáhir Sinh, Ratn Sinh, Naval Sinh, and Ranjít Sinh, and also an adopted son, Hardeva Bakhsh, whom he is said to have picked up in the woods one day when hunting. On the death of Jawáhir, Ratn succeeded, but his rule was of very short duration. A pretended alchemist from Brindá-ban had obtained large sums of money from the credulous prince to prepare a process for the transmutation of the meaner metals into gold. When the day for the crucial experiment arrived, and detection had become inevitable, he assassinated his victim and fled.

His brother, Naval Sinh, succeeded, nominally as guardian for his infant nephew Kesari, but virtually as Rájá. The Mahrattas had now (1768) recovered from the disastrous battle of Pánipat, and re-asserting their old claim to tribute, invaded first Jaypur and then Bharat-pur and muleted both territories in a very considerable sum. They then entered into an understanding with the Delhi Government, which resulted in the restoration of Sháh Alam to his ancestral capital. But as the only line of policy which they consistently maintained was the fomentation of perpetual quarrels, by which the strength of all parties in the State might be exhausted, they never remained long faithful to one side; and, in the year 1772, we find them fighting with the Játs against the Imperialists. Naval Sinh, or, according to some accounts, his brother and successor, Ranjít Sinh, laid claim to the fort of Ballabh-garh, held by another Ját chieftain. The latter applied to Delhi for help, and a force was despatched for his relief; but it was too weak to resist the combined armies

* A magnificent cenotaph was erected by Jawáhir Sinh in honour of his father, on the margin of the Kusum Sarovar, an artificial lake a short distance from Gobardhan, and will be described in connection with that town.

of Sindhia and Bharat-pur, and was driven back in disorder. The Mahrattas then pushed on to Delhi, but finding the Commander-in-Chief, Niyaz Khán, ready to receive them, they, with incomparable versatility, at once made terms with him and even joined him in an expedition to Rohilkhand. Meanwhile, the Játs, thus lightly deserted, espoused the cause of Najaf's unsuccessful rival, Zábita Khán. But this was a most illjudged move on their part: their troops were not only repulsed before Delhi, but their garrison was also ejected from Agra,* which they had held for the last 13 years since its occupation by Súraj Mal after the battle of Pánipat in 1761. From Agra the Vazír Najaf Khán hastily returned in the direction of the capital, and found Ranjít Sinh and the Játs encamped near Hodal. Dislodged from this position, they fell back upon Kotban and Kosi, which they occupied for nearly a fortnight, and then finally withdrew towards Díg; but at Barsána were overtaken by the Vazír and a pitched battle ensued. The Ját infantry, 5,000 strong, were commanded by Sumroo, or, to give him his proper name, Walter Reinhard, an adventurer who had first taken service under Ranjít's father, Súraj Mal.† The ranks of the Imperialists were broken by his gallant attack, and the Játs feeling assured of victory were following in reckless disorder, when the enemy rallied from their sudden panic, turned upon their pursuers, who were too scattered to offer any solid resistance, and effectually routed them. They contrived, however, to secure a retreat to Díg,‡ while the town of Barsána, which was then a very wealthy place, was given over to plunder, and several of the stately mansions recently erected almost destroyed in the search for hidden treasure. Díg was not reduced till March of the following year, 1776, the garrison escaping to the neighbouring castle of Kumbhír. The value of the spoil taken is said to have amounted to six lakhs of rupees. The whole of the country also was reduced to subjection, and it was only at the intercession of the Ráni Kishori, the widow of Súraj Mal,§ that the conqueror allowed Ranjít Sinh to retain the fort of Bharat-pur with an extent of territory yielding an annual income of nine lakhs.

* The commander of the Ját garrison in Agra was Dán Sahay, brother-in-law *(sála)* of Naval Sinh.

† In the following year he established himself as a petty sovereign at Sirdhana; where, after his death, which occurred in 1778, as appears from the inscription on his tomb in the old cemetery at Agra, his widow, the Begam, who had been received into the Catholic Church and baptized in 1781, founded a cathedral and native seminary, which are still in existence; though the former has ceased to be the seat of a bishop, and the latter has never yet supplied a candidate for holy orders.

‡ According to local tradition, Naval Sinh died some 20 days after the battle of Barsána.

§ There is a little doubt as to the names of the different Bharat-pur Ránis. They are sometimes given as follows: the Ráni of Súraj Mal, Svarúpi; the Ránis of Ranjít Sinh, Gangá and Kishori; the Ráni of Randhír Sinh, Laksmí.

In 1782, the great minister, Najaf Khán, died ; and in 1786 Sindhia, who had been recognized as his successor in the administration of the empire, proceeded to demand arrears of tribute from the Rájputs of Jaypur. His claim was partly satisfied ; but finding that he persisted in exacting the full amount, the Rájás of Jaypur, Jodh-pur and Uday-pur, joined by other minor chiefs, organized a formidable combination against him. The armies met at Lalsot, and a battle ensued which extended over three days, but without any decisive result, till some 14,000 of Sindhia's infantry, who were in arrears of pay, went over to the enemy. In consequence of this defection, the Mahratta fell back upon the Játs, and secured the alliance of Ranjít Sinh by the restoration of Díg, which had been held by the Emperor since its capture by Najaf Khán in 1776, and the cession of eleven parganas yielding a revenue of ten lakhs of rupees. The main object of the new allies was to raise the siege of Agra, which was then being invested by Ismáil Beg, the Imperial captain, in concert with Zábita Khán's son, the infamous Ghulám Kádir. In a battle that took place near Fatihpur Sikri, the Játs and Mahrattas met a repulse, and were driven back upon Bharat-pur ; but later in the same year, 1788, being reinforced by troops from the Dakhin under Rána Khán, a brother of the officer in command of the besieged garrison, they finally raised the blockade, and the province of Agra again acknowledged Sindhia as its master.

Ghulám Kádir had previously removed to Delhi and was endeavouring to persuade the Emperor to break off intercourse with the Mahrattas. Failing in this, he dropped all disguise and commenced firing upon the palace, and having in a few days taken possession of the city, he indulged in the most brutal excesses, and after insulting and torturing his miserable and defenceless sovereign in every conceivable way, completed the tragedy by, at last, with his own dagger, robbing him of his eye-sight. Sindhia, who had before been urgently summoned from Mathurá, one of his favourite residences, on hearing of these horrors, sent a force to the relief of the city. Ghulám Kádir, whose atrocities had disgusted all his adherents, fled to Merath, and, endeavouring to escape from there at night alone on horseback, fell into a well from which he was unable to extricate himself. There he was found on the following morning by a Bráhman peasant by name Bhikha, who had him seized and taken to the Mahratta camp. Thence he was despatched to Sindhia at Mathurá who first sent him through the bazar on an ass with his head to the tail, and then had him mutilated of all his members one by one, his tongue being first torn out, and then his eyes, and subsequently his nose, ears, and hands cut off. In this horrible condition he was despatched to Delhi ; but to anticipate his death from exhaustion, which seemed imminent, he was hanged on a tree by the roadside. It is said that his barbarous treatment of the Emperor, for which he suffered such a condign penalty, was in

revenge for an injury inflicted upon him when a handsome child by Shâh Alam, who converted him into a haram page.

On the termination of the Mahratta War in 1803, the British Government concluded a treaty with Ranjít Sinh, who with 5,000 horse had joined General Lake at Agra, and thereby contributed to Sindhia's defeat. In return for this service he received a grant of the districts of Kishangarh, Kathâwar, Rewâri, Gokul, and Sahár. After the battle of Díg in the following year, Holkar fled for refuge to the fort of Bharat-pur, whither he was pursued by General Lake. His surrender was demanded; but Ranjít refused to give him up. The fort was thereupon besieged; Ranjít made a memorable defence, and repelled four assaults with a loss to the besiegers of 3,000 men, but finally made overtures for peace, which were accepted on the 4th of May, 1805. A new treaty was concluded, by which he agreed to pay an indemnity of twenty lakhs of rupees, seven of which were subsequently remitted, and was guaranteed in the territories which he held previously to the accession of the British Government. The parganas granted to him in 1803 were resumed.

Ranjít died that same year, leaving four sons, Randhír, Baladeva, Harideva, and Lachhman. He was succeeded by the eldest, Randhír, who died in 1823, leaving the throne to his brother, Baladeva.* After a rule of about 18 months he died, leaving a son, Balavant, then six years of age. He was recognized by the British Government, but his cousin, Durjan Sál, who had also advanced claims to the succession on Randhír's death, rose up against him, and had him cast into prison. Sir David Ochterlony, the resident at Delhi, promptly moved out a force in support of the rightful heir, but their march was stopped by a peremptory order from Lord Amherst, who, in accordance with the disastrous policy of non-interference which was then in vogue, considered that the recognition of the heir apparent during the life of his father did not impose on the Government any obligation to maintain him in opposition to the presumed wishes of the chiefs and people. Vast preparations were made, with the secret support of the neighbouring Rájput and Mahratta States, and at last, when the excitement threatened a protracted war, the Governor-General reluctantly confirmed the eloquent representations of Sir Charles Metcalfe, and consented to the deposition of the usurper. After a siege that extended over nearly six weeks, Bharat-pur was stormed by Lord Combermere on the 18th of January, 1826. Durjan Sál was taken prisoner to Allahabad, and the young Mahárája established on the throne under the regency of his mother and the Superintendence of a Political Agent.† He died in 1853, and was succeeded by his only

* Randhír Sinh and Baladeva Sinh are commemorated by two handsome chhattries on the margin of the Mánasi Gangá at Gobardhan.

† The Ráni of Balavant Sinh was a native of Dhádhu in the Sa'dábád Pargana, where is a garden with a double chhattri erected by her in memory of two of her relatives.

son, Jasavant Singh, the present sovereign, who enjoys a revenue of about Rs. 21,00,000, derived from a territory of 1,974 square miles in extent, with a population of 650,000.

NOTE TO CHAPTER II.

In compiling this chapter, though I have always consulted the original authorities, I have in many places based my narrative on Keene's Mughal Empire; as being a lucid sketch of a dreary and involved period. The book however is strangely misnamed: a more appropriate and far more taking title would have been "The Fall of the Mughal Empire."

CHAPTER III.

THE STORY OF KRISHNA, THE TUTELARY DIVINITY OF MATHURÁ.

Of all the sacred places in India, none enjoys a greater popularity than the capital of Braj, the holy city of Mathurá. For nine months in the year festival follows upon festival in rapid succession, and the ghâts and temples are daily thronged with new troops of wayworn pilgrims. So great is the sanctity of the spot that its panegyrists do not hesitate to declare that a single day spent at Mathurá is more meritorious than a lifetime passed at Banáras. All this celebrity is due to the fact of its being the reputed birthplace of the demi-god Krishna; hence it must be a matter of some interest to ascertain who this famous hero was, and what were the acts by which he achieved immortality.

The attempt to extract a grain of historical truth from an accumulation of mythological legend is an interesting but not very satisfactory undertaking; there is always a risk that the fancied substantial residuum is in reality as imaginary as the later development. However, reduced to simplest elements, the story of Krishna runs as follows:—At a very remote period, a branch of the great Jádav clan settled on the banks of the Jamuná and made Mathurá their capital city. Here Krishna was born. At the time of his birth, Ugrasen, the rightful occupant of the throne, had been deposed by his own son, Kansa; who, relying on the support of Jarásandha, King of Magadha, whose daughter he had married, ruled the country with a rod of iron, outraging alike both gods and men. Krishna, who was a cousin of the usurper, but had been brought up in obscurity and employed in the tending of cattle, raised the standard of revolt, defeated and slew Kansa, and restored Ugrasen to the throne of his ancestors. All authorities lay great stress on the religious persecution that had prevailed under the tyranny of Kansa, from which fact it has been surmised that he was a convert to Buddhism, zealous in the propagation of his adopted faith, and that Krishna owes much of his renown to the gratitude of the Bráhmans, who, under his championship, recovered their ancient influence. If however 1000 B. C. is accepted as the approximate date of the Great War, in which Krishna took part, it is clear that his contemporary, Kansa, cannot have been a Buddhist, since the founder of that religion, according to the received chronology, was not born till the year 598 B. C. Probably the struggle was really between the votaries of Siva and Vishnu; hence Krishna, the apostle of

the latter faction, would find a natural enemy in the King of Kashmir, a country where Saivism has always predominated. On this hypothesis, Kansa was the conservative monarch, and Krishna the innovator, a position which has been inverted by the poets, influenced by the political events of their own times. To avenge the death of his son-in-law, Jarásandha marched an army against Mathurá, and was supported by the powerful king of some western country, who is thence styled Kála-Yavana : *Yavana* in Sanskrit corresponding to the Arabic *Yunan* (Ionia), and, like *Vilayat* in the modern vernacular, denoting any foreign and specially any western country. The actual personage was probably the King of Kashmír, Gonarda I., who is known to have accompanied Jarásandha ; though the description would be more applicable to one of the Bactrian sovereigns of the Panjáb. It is true they had not penetrated into India till some hundreds of years after Krishna ; but their power was well established at the time when the Mahábhárat was written to record his achievements : hence the anachronism. Similarly, in the Bhágavat Purána, which was written after the Muhammadan invasion, the description of the Yavana king is largely coloured by the author's feelings towards the only western power with which he was acquainted. Originally the word denoted the Greeks, and the Greeks only. But the Yavanas were the foremost, the most dreaded of the Mlechhas (*i. e.* Barbarians), so that Yavana and Mlechha became synonymous. When the Muhammadans trod in the steps of the Greeks, they became the chief Mlechhas, consequently Yavanas. Krishna eventually found it desirable to abandon Mathurá, and with the whole clan of Yádavs retired to the Bay of Kachh. There he founded the flourishing city of Dwáraká, which at some later period was totally submerged in the sea. While he was reigning at Dwáraká, the great war for the throne of Indraprastha (Delhi) arose between the five sons of Pándu and Durjodhan, the son of Dhritaráshtra. Krishna allied himself with the Pándav princes, who were his cousins on the mother's side, and was the main cause of their ultimate triumph. Before its commencement Krishna had invaded Magadha, marching by a circuitous route through Tirhút, and so taking Jarásandha by surprise ; his capital was forced to surrender, and he himself slain in battle. Still, after his death, Karna, a cousin of Krishna's, of illegitimate birth, was placed on the throne of Mathurá, and maintained there by the influence of the Kauravas, Krishna's enemies, a clear proof that the latter's retirement to Dwáraká was involuntary.

Whether the above narrative has or has not any historical foundation, it is certain that Krishna was celebrated as a gallant warrior prince for many ages before he was metamorphosed into the amatory swain who now, under the title of Kanhaiya, is worshipped throughout India. He is first mentioned in the Mahábhárat, the most voluminous of all Sanskrit poems, consisting in the printed edition of 91,000 couplets. There he figures simply as the King of

Dwáraká and ally of the Pándavs; nor in the whole length of the poem, of which he is to a great extent the hero, is any allusion whatever made to his early life, except in one disputed passage. Hence it may be presumed that his boyish frolics at Mathurá and Brindá-ban, which now alone dwell in popular memory, are all subsequent inventions. They are related at length in the Harivansa, which is a comparatively modern sequel to the Mahábhárat,* and with still greater circumstantiality in some of the later Puránas, which probably date no further back than the tenth century after Christ. So rapid has been the development of the original idea when once planted in the congenial soil of the sensuous east, that while in none of the more genuine Puránas, even those specially devoted to the inculcation of Vaishnava doctrines, is so much as the name mentioned of his favourite mistress, Rádhá, she now is jointly enthroned with him in every shrine, and claims a full half of popular devotion. Among ordinary Hindus the recognized authority for his life and exploits is the Bhágavat Puránа,† or rather its tenth book, which has been translated into every form of the modern vernacular. The Hindi version, entitled the Prem Ságar, is the one held in most repute. In constructing the following legend of Krishna, in his popular character as the tutelary divinity of Mathurá, the Vishnu Puránа has been adopted as the basis of the narrative, while many supplementary incidents have been extracted from the Bhágavat, and occasional references made to the Harivansa.

In the days when Ráma was king of Ajodhyá, there stood near the bank of the Jamuná a dense forest, once the stronghold of the terrible giant Madhu, who called it after his own name, Madhu-ban. On his death it passed into the hand of his son, Lavana, who in the pride of his superhuman strength sent an insolent challenge to Ráma, provoking him to single combat. The god-like hero disdained the easy victory for himself, but, to relieve the world of such an oppressor, sent his youngest brother, Satrughna, who vanquished and slew the giant, hewed down the wood in which he had entrenched himself, and on its site‡ founded the city of Mathurá. The family of Bhoja, a remote descendant of the great Jadu, the common father of all the Jádav race, occupied the throne for many generations. The last of the line was King Ugrasen. In his

* Though many episodes of later date have been interpolated, the composition of the main body of the Mahábhárat may with some confidence be referred to the second or third century before Christ.

† The Bhágavat is written in a more elegant style than any of the other Puránas, and is traditionally ascribed to the grammarian Bopadeva, who flourished at the Court of Hemádri, Rájá of Devagiri or Daulatabad, in the twelfth or thirteenth century after Christ.

‡ The present Madhu-ban is in the village of Maholi, some five miles from Mathurá and the bank of the Jamuná. The site, however, as now recognized must be very ancient, since it is evident that the *ban* has given its name to the village: Maholi being a corruption of the original form, Madhupuri.

house Kansa was born, and was nurtured by the King as his own son, though in truth he had no earthly father, but was the great demon Kálanemi incarnate. As soon as he came to man's estate he deposed the aged monarch, seated himself on the throne, and filled the city with carnage and desolation. The priests and sacred cattle were ruthlessly massacred, and the temples of the gods defiled with blood. Heaven was besieged with prayers for deliverance from such a monster, nor were the prayers unheard. A supernatural voice declared to Kansa that an avenger would be born in the person of the eighth son of his kinsman, Vasudeva. Now, Vasudeva had married Devaki, a niece of King Ugrasen, and was living away from the Court in retirement at the hill of Gobardhan. In the hope of defeating the prediction, Kansa immediately summoned them to Mathurá and there kept them closely watched.* From year to year, as each successive child was born, it was taken and delivered to the tyrant, and by him consigned to death. When Devaki became pregnant for the seventh time, the embryo was miraculously transferred to the womb of Rohini, another wife of Vasudeva, living at Gokul, on the opposite bank of the Jamuná, and a report was circulated that the mother had miscarried from the effects of her long imprisonment and constant anxiety. The child thus marvellously preserved was first called Sankarshana† but afterwards received the name of Balarám or Baladeva, under which he has become famous to all posterity.

Another year elapsed, and on the eighth of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhádon‡ Devaki was delivered of her eighth son, the immortal Krishna. Vasudeva took the babe in his arms, and, favoured by the darkness of the night and the direct interposition of heaven, passed through the prison guards, who were charmed to sleep, and fled with his precious burden to the Jamuná. It was then the season of the rains, and the mighty river was pouring down a wild and resistless flood of waters. But he fearlessly stepped into the eddying torrent: at the first step that he advanced the wave reached the foot of the child slumbering in his arms; then, marvellous to relate, the waters were stilled at the touch of the divine infant and could rise no higher§ and in a moment of time the wayfarer had traversed the torrent's broad expanse and emerged in safety on the opposite shore.‖ Here he met Nanda, the chief herdsman of Gokul, whose wife Jasodá at that very time had given birth to a

* The site of their prison-house, called the Kárá-grah, or more commonly Janmbhúmi, *i.e.*, 'birth-place,' is still marked by a small temple in Mathurá near the Potara Kund.

† Signifying 'extraction,' *i.e.*, from his mother's womb.

‡ On this day is celebrated the annual festival in honour of Krishna's birth, called the Janm Ashtami.

§ This incident is popularly commemorated by a native toy called Vásudeva, of which great numbers are manufactured at Mathurá. From the centre of a brass cup rises the figure of a man carrying a child at his side, and if water is poured into the cup it cannot rise above the child's foot, being then carried off by a hidden duct and running out at the bottom.

‖ The landing-place is still shown at Gokul and called 'Uttaresvar Ghát.'

daughter, no earthly child however, save in semblance, but the delusive power Joganidra. Vasudeva dexterously exchanged the two infants and, returning, placed the female child in the bed of Devaki. At once it began to cry. The guards rushed in and carried it off to the tyrant. He, assured that it was the very child of fate, snatched it furiously from their hands and dashed it to the ground ; but how great his terror when he sees it rise resplendent in celestial beauty and ascend to heaven, there to be adored as the great goddess Durgá.* Kansa started from his momentary stupor, frantic with rage, and cursing the gods as his enemies, issued savage orders that every one should be put to death who dared to offer them sacrifice, and that diligent search should be made for all young children, that the infant son of Devaki, wherever concealed, might perish amongst the number. Judging these precautions to be sufficient, and that nothing further was to be dreaded from the parents, he set Vasudeva and Devaki at liberty. The former at once hastened to see Nanda, who had come over to Mathurá to pay his yearly tribute to the king, and after congratulating him on Jasodá's having presented him with a son, begged him to take back to Gokul Rohini's boy Balarám and let the two children be brought up together. To this Nanda gladly assented, and so it came to pass that the two brothers Krishna and Balarám spent the days of their childhood together at Gokul, under the care of their foster-mother Jasodá.

They had not been there long, when one night the witch Pútana, hovering about for some mischief to do in the service of Kansa, saw the babe Krishna lying asleep, and took him up in her arms and began to suckle him with her own devil's-milk. A mortal child would have been poisoned at the first drop, but Krishna drew the breast with such strength that her life's blood was drained with the milk, and the hideous fiend, terrifying the whole country of Braj with her groans of agony, fell lifeless to the ground. Another day Jasodá had gone down to the river-bank to wash some clothes, and had left the child asleep under one of the wagons. He all at once woke up hungry, and kicking out with his baby foot upset the big cart, full at it was of pans and pails of milk. When Jasodá came running back to see what all the noise was about, she found him in the midst of the broken fragments quietly asleep again, as if nothing had happened. Again, one of Kansa's attendant demons, by name Trinávart, hoping to destroy the child, came and swept him off in a whirlwind; but the child was too much for him and made that his last journey to Braj.†

The older the boy grew the more troublesome did Jasodá find him; he would crawl about everywhere on his hands and knees, getting into the cattle-sheds and

* The scene of this transformation is laid at the Jog Ghát in Mathurá, so called from the child Joganidra.

† The event is commemorated by a small cell at Mahában, in which the demon whirlwind is represented by a pair of enormous wings overshadowing the infant Krishna.

pulling the calves by their tails, upsetting the pans of milk and whey, sticking his fingers into the curds and butter, and daubing his face and clothes all over; and one day she got so angry with him that she put a cord round his waist and tied him to the great wooden mortar* while she went to look after her household affairs. No sooner was her back turned than the child, in his efforts to get loose, dragged away the heavy wooden block till it got fixed between two immense Arjun trees that were growing in the courtyard. It was wedged tight only for a minute, one more pull and down came the two enormous trunks with a thundering crash. Up ran the neighbours, expecting an earthquake at least, and found the village half buried under the branches of the fallen trees, with the child between the two shattered stems laughing at the mischief it had caused.†

Alarmed at these successive portents, Nanda determined upon removing to some other locality, and selected the neighbourhood of Brindá-ban as affording the best pasturage for the cattle. Here the boys lived till they were seven years old, not so much in Brindá-ban itself as in the copses on the opposite bank of the river, near the town of Mát; there they wandered about, merrily disporting themselves, decking their heads with plumes of peacock's feathers, stringing long wreaths of wild flowers round their necks, and making sweet music with their rustic pipes.‡ At evening-tide they drove the cows home to the pens, and joined in frolicsome sports with the herdsmen's children under the shade of the great Bhándír tree.§

But even in their new home they were not secure from demoniacal aggression. When they had come to five years of age, and were grazing their cattle on the bank of the Jamuná, the demon Bachhásur made an open onset against them.‖ When he had received the reward of his temerity, the demon

* From this incident Krishna derives his popular name of Dámodar, from *dám*, a cord, and *udar*, the body. The mortar, or *utúkhala*, is generally a solid block of wood, three or four feet high, hollowed out at the top into the shape of a basin.

† The traditionary scene of all these adventures is laid, not at Gokul as might have been anticipated, but at Mahában, which is now a distinct town, further inland. There are shown the *jugal arjun ki thaur*, or site of the two Arjun trees, and the spots where Pútana, Trinávart, and Sakatásur, or the cart-demon (for in the Bhágavat the cart is said to have been upset by the intervention of an evil spirit), met their fate. The village of Koila, on the opposite bank, is said to derive its name from the fact that the 'ashes' from Pútana's funeral pile floated down there; or that Vasudeva, when crossing the river and thinking he was about to sink, called out for some one to take the child, saying 'Koile, koile.'

‡ From these childish sports, Krishna derives his popular names of *Ban-máli*, 'the wearer of a chaplet of wild flowers,' and *Bansi-dhar* and *Murli-dhar*, 'the flute-player.' Hence, too, the strolling singers, who frequent the fairs held on Krishna's fête days, attire themselves in high-crowned caps decked with peacocks' feathers.

§ The Bhándír-ban is a dense thicket of *ber* and other low prickly shrubs in the hamlet of Chháhiri, a little above Mát. In the centre is an open space with a small modern temple and well. The Bhándír *bat* is an old tree a few hundred yards outside the grove.

‖ This adventure gives its name to the Bachh-ban near ~~Baoli~~ Sehi.

Bakásur tried the efficacy of stratagem. Transforming himself into a crane of gigantic proportions he perched on the hill-side, and when the cowherd's children came to gaze at the monstrous apparition, snapped them all up one after the other. But Krishna made such a hot mouthful that he was only too glad to drop him; and, as soon as the boy set his feet on the ground again, he seized the monster by his long bill and rent him in twain.

On another day, as their playmate Tosh* and some of the other children were rambling about, they spied what they took to be the mouth of a great chasm in the rock. It was in truth the expanded jaws of the serpent-king, Aghásur, and as the boys were peeping in he drew a deep breath and sucked them all down. But Krishna bid them be of good cheer, and swelled his body to such a size that the serpent burst, and the children stept out into the plain uninjured. Again, as they lay lazily one sultry noon under a Kadamb tree, enjoying their lunch, the calves strayed away quite out of sight.† In fact, the jealous god Brahma had stolen them. When the loss was detected, all ran off in different directions to look for them; but Krishna took a shorter plan, and as soon as he found himself alone, created other cattle exactly like them to take their place. He then waited a little for his companions' return; but when no signs of them appeared, he guessed, as was really the case, that they too had been stolen by Brahma; so without more ado he continued the work of creation, and called into existence another group of children identical in appearance with the absentees. Meanwhile, Brahma had dropped off into one of his periodical dozes, and waking up after the lapse of a year, chuckled to himself over the forlorn condition of Braj, without either cattle or children. But when he got there and began to look about him, he found everything just the same as before: then he made his submission to Krishna, and acknowledged him to be his lord and master.

One day, as Krishna was strolling by himself along the bank of the Jamuná, he came to a deep pool by the side of which grew a tall Kadamb tree. He climbed the tree and took a plunge into the water. Now, this lake was the haunt of a savage dragon, by name Káliya, who at once started from the depth, coiled himself round the intruder, and fastened upon him with his poisonous fangs. The alarm spread, and Nanda, Jasodá, and Balarám, and all the neighbours came running, frightened out of their senses, and found Krishna still and motionless, enveloped in the dragon's coils. The sight was so terrible that all stood as if spell-bound; but Krishna with a smile gently shook off the serpent's folds, and seizing the hooded monster by one of his many heads, pressed it down upon the margin of the lake, and danced upon it till the poor

* Hence the name of the village Tosh in the Mathurá pargana.

† The scene of this adventure is laid at Khadira-ban, near Khaira. The *khadira* is a species of acacia. The Sanskrit word assumes in Prákrit the form *khaira*.

wretch was so torn and lacerated that his wives all came from their watery cells and threw themselves at Krishna's feet and begged for mercy. The dragon himself in a feeble voice sued for pardon ; then the beneficent divinity not only spared his life and allowed him to depart with all his family to the island of Ramanak, but further assured him that he would ever hereafter bear upon his brow the impress of the divine feet, seeing which no enemy would dare to molest him.*

After this, as the two boys were straying with their herds from wood to wood, they came to a large palm-grove (tál-ban), where they began shaking the trees to bring down the fruit. Now, in this grove there dwelt a demon, by name Dhenuk, who, hearing the fruit fall, rushed past in the form of an ass and gave Balarám a flying kick full on the breast with both his hind legs. But before his legs could again reach the ground, Balarám seized them in his powerful grasp, and whirling the demon round his head hurled the carcase on the top of one of the tallest trees, causing the fruit to drop like rain. The boys then returned to their station at the Bhándír fig-trees, and that very night, while they were in Bhadra-ban† close by, there came on a violent storm. The tall dry grass was kindled by the lightning and the whole forest was in a blaze. Off scampered the cattle and the herdsmen too, but Krishna called to the cowards to stop and close their eyes for a minute. When they opened them again, the cows were all standing in their pens, and the moon shone calmly down on the waving forest trees and rustling reeds.

Another day Krishna and Balarám were running a race up to the Bhándír tree with their playmate Sridáma, when the demon Pralamba came and asked to make a fourth. In the race Pralamba was beaten by Balarám, and so, according to the rules of the game, had to carry him on his back from the goal to the starting point. No sooner was Balarám on his shoulders than Pralamba ran off with him at the top of his speed, and recovering his proper diabolical form made sure of destroying him. But Balarám soon taught him differently, and squeezed him so tightly with his knees, and dealt him such cruel blows on the head with his fists, that his skull and ribs were broken, and no life left in the monster. Seeing this feat of strength, his comrades loudly greeted him with the name of Balarám‡ which title he ever after retained.

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* One of the ghâts at Brindá-ban is named in commemoration of this event Káli-mardan, and *the*, or rather *a*, Kadamb tree is still shown there.

† *Bhadra-ban* occupies a high point on the left bank of the Jamuná, some three miles above Mát. With the usual fate of Hindi words, it is transformed in the official map of the district into the Persian *Bahádur-ban*. Between it and Bhándir-ban, is a large straggling wood called *mekh-ban*. This, it is said, was open ground, till one day, many years ago, some great man encamped there, and all the stakes to which his horses had been tethered took root and grew up.

‡ Balarám, under the name of Belus, is described by Latin writers as the Indian Hercules, and said to be one of the tutelary divinities of Mathurá ; a proof that the local *cultus* has a higher antiquity than is sometimes allowed it.

But who so frolicsome as the boy Krishna? Seeing the fair maids of Braj performing their ablutions in the Jamuná, he stole along the bank, and picking up the clothes of which they had divested themselves, climbed up with them into a Kadamb tree. There he mocked the frightened girls as they came shivering out of the water; nor would he yield a particle of vestment till all had ranged before him in a row, and with clasped and uplifted hands most piteously entreated him. Thus the boy-god taught his votaries that submission to the divine will was a more excellent virtue even than modesty.*

At the end of the rains all the herdsmen began to busy themselves in preparing a great sacrifice in honour of Indra, as a token of their gratitude for the refreshing showers he had bestowed upon the earth. But Krishna, who had already made sport of Brahma, thought lightly enough of Indra's claims and said to Nanda:—"The forests where we tend our cattle cluster round the foot of the hills, and it is the spirits of the hills that we ought rather to worship. They can assume any shapes they please, and if we slight them will surely transform themselves into lions and wolves, and destroy both us and our herds." The people of Braj were convinced by these arguments, and taking all the rich gifts they had prepared, set out for Gobardhan, where they solemnly circumambulated the mountain and presented their offerings to the new divinity. Krishna himself, in the character of the mountain god, stood forth on the highest peak and accepted the adoration of the assembled crowd, while a fictitious image in his own proper person joined humbly in the ranks of the devotees.

When Indra saw himself thus defrauded of the promised sacrifice, he was very wroth, and summoning the clouds from every quarter of heaven bid them all descend upon Braj in one fearful and unbroken torrent. In an instant the sky was overhung with impenetrable gloom, and it was only by the vivid flashes of lightning that the terrified herdsmen could see their houses and cattle beaten down and swept away by the irresistible deluge. The ruin was but for a moment; with one hand Krishna uprooted the mountain from its base, and balancing it on the tip of his finger called all the people under its cover. There they remained secure for seven days and nights, and the storms of Indra beat harmlessly on the summit of the uplifted range; while Krishna stood erect and smiling, nor once did his finger tremble beneath the weight. When Indra found his passion fruitless the heavens again became clear; the people of Braj stepped forth from under Gobardhan, and Krishna quietly restored it to its original site. Then Indra, moved with desire to behold and worship the incarnate god, mounted his elephant Airávata and descended upon the plains of

* This popular incident is commemorated by the Chír Ghát at Siyára; *chír* meaning clothes. The same name is frequently given to the Chain Ghát at Brindá-ban, which is also so called in the Vraja-bhakti-vilása, written 1553 A.D.

Braj. There he adored Krishna in his humble pastoral guise, and, saluting him by the new titles of Upendra* and Gobind, placed under his special protection his own son the hero Arjun, who had then taken birth at Indraprastha in the family of Pandu.

When Krishna had completed his twelfth year, Nanda, in accordance with a vow that he had made, went with all his family to perform a special devotion at the temple of Devi. At night, when they were asleep, a huge boa-constrictor laid hold of Nanda by the toe and would speedily have devoured him; but Krishna, hearing his foster-father's cries, ran to his side and lightly set his foot on the great serpent's head. At the very touch the monster was transformed and assumed the figure of a lovely youth; for, ages ago, a Ganymede of heaven's court, by name Sudarsan, in the pride of beauty and exalted birth, had vexed the holy sage Angiras when deep in divine contemplation, by dancing backwards and forwards before him, and by his curse had been metamorphosed into a snake, in that vile shape to expiate his offence until the advent of the gracious Krishna.

Beholding all the glorious deeds that he had performed, the maids of Braj could not restrain their admiration. Drawn from their lonely homes by the low sweet notes of his seductive pipe, they floated around him in rapturous love, and through the moonlight autumn nights joined with him in the circling dance, passing from glade to glade in ever increasing ecstasy of devotion. To whatever theme his voice was attuned, their song had but one burden—his perfect beauty; and as they mingled in the mystic maze, with eyes closed in the intensity of voluptuous passion, each nymph as she grasped the hand of her partner thrilled at the touch, as though the hand were Krishna's and dreamed herself alone supremely blest in the enjoyment of his undivided affection. Rádhá, fairest of the fair, reigned queen of the revels, and so languished in the heavenly delight of his embraces that all consciousness of earth and self was obliterated.†

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* The title Upendra was evidently conferred upon Krishna before the full development of the Vaishnava School; for however Pauránik writers may attempt to explain it, the only grammatical meaning of the compound is 'a lesser Indra.' As Krishna has long been considered much the greater god of the two, the title has fallen into disrepute and is now seldom used. Similarly with 'Gobind;' its true meaning is not, as implied in the text, 'the Indra of cows,' but simply 'a finder' or 'tender of cows,' from the root '*vid*.'

† Any sketch of Krishna's adventures would be greatly defective which contained no allusion to his celebrated amours with the Gopís, or milkmaids of Braj. It is the one incident in his life upon which modern Hindu writers love to lavish all the resources of their eloquence. Yet, in the original authorities it occupies a no more prominent place in the narrative than that which has been assigned it above. In pictorial representations of the 'circular dance,' or Rásmandal, whatever the number of the Gopís introduced, so often is the figure of Krishna repeated. Thus, each Gopí can claim him as a partner, while again, in the centre of the circle, he stands in larger form with his favourite Rádhá.

One night, as the choir of attendant damsels followed through the woods the notes of his wayward pipe, a lustful giant, by name Sankhchúr, attempted to intercept them. Then Krishna showed himself no timorous gallant, but casting crown and flute to the ground pursued the ravisher, and seizing him from behind by his shaggy hair, cut off his head, and taking the precious jewel which he had worn on his front presented it to Balarám.

Yet once again was the dance of love rudely interrupted. The demon Arishta, disguised as a gigantic bull, dashed upon the scene and made straight for Krishna. The intrepid youth, smiling, awaited the attack, and seizing him by the horns forced down his head to the ground ; then twisting the monster's neck as it had been a wet rag, he wrenched one of the horns from the socket and with it so belaboured the brute that no life was left in his body. Then all the herdsmen rejoiced ; but the crime of violating even the semblance of a bull could not remain unexpiated. So all the sacred streams and places of pilgrimage, obedient to Krishna's summons, came in bodily shape to Gobardhan and poured from their holy urns into two deep reservoirs prepared for the occasion.* There Krishna bathed, and by the efficacy of this concentrated essence of sanctity was washed clean of the pollution he had incurred.

When Kansa heard of the marvellous acts performed by the two boys at Brindá-ban, he trembled with fear and recognized the fated avengers who had eluded all his cruel vigilance and would yet wreak his doom. After pondering for a while what stratagem to adopt, he proclaimed a great tournay of arms, making sure that if they were induced to come to Mathurá and enter the lists as combatants, they would be inevitably destroyed by his two champions Chánur and Mushtika. Of all the Jádav tribe Akrúr was the only chieftain in whose integrity the tyrant could confide; he accordingly was despatched with an invitation to Nanda and all his family to attend the coming festival. But though Akrúr started at once on his mission, Kansa was too restless to wait the result: the demon Kesin, terror of the woods of Brindá-ban, was ordered to try his strength against them or ever they left their home. Disguised as a wild horse, the monster rushed amongst the herds, scattering them in all directions. Krishna alone stood calmly in his way, and when the demoniacal steed bearing down upon him with wide-extended jaws made as though it would devour him, he thrust his arm down the gaping throat and, with a mighty heave, burst the huge body asunder, splitting it into two equal portions right down the back from nose to tail.†

* These are the famous tanks of Rádhákund, which is the next village to Gobardhan.

† There are two ghâts at Brindá-ban named after this adventure: the first Kesi Ghát, where the monster was slain ; the second Chain Ghát, where Krishna rested and bathed. It is from this exploit, according to Pauránik etymology, that Krishna derives his popular name of Kesava. The name, however, is more ancient than the legend, and signifies simply the long-haired, 'crinitus,' or radiant—an appropriate epithet, if Krishna be taken for the Indian Apollo.

All unconcerned at this stupendous encounter, Krishna returned to his childish sports and was enjoying a game of blind-man's buff when the demon Byomásur came up in guise as a cowherd and asked to join the party. After a little, he proposed to vary the amusement by a turn at wolf-and-goats, and then lying in ambush and transforming himself into a real wolf he fell upon the children, one by one, and tore them in pieces, till Krishna, detecting his wiles, dragged him from his cover and, seizing him by the throat, beat him to death.

At this juncture, Akrúr* arrived with his treacherous invitation: it was at once accepted, and the boys in high glee started for Mathurá, Nanda also, and all the village encampment accompanying them. Just outside the city they met the king's washerman and his train of donkeys laden with bundles of clothes which he was taking back fresh washed from the river-side to the palace. What better opportunity could be desired for country boys, who had never before left the woods and had no clothes fit to wear. They at once made a rush at the bundles and tearing them open arrayed themselves in the finery just as it came to hand, without any regard for fit or colour; then on they went again, laughing heartily at their own mountebank appearance, till a good tailor called them into his shop, and there cut and snipped and stitched away till he turned them out in the very height of fashion: and to complete their costume, the *máli* Sudáma gave them each a nosegay of flowers. So going through the streets like young princes, there met them the poor humped-back woman Kubja, and Krishna, as he passed, putting one foot on her feet and one hand under her chin, stretched out her body straight as a dart.†

In the courtyard before the palace was displayed the monstrous bow, the test of skill and strength in the coming encounter of arms. None but a giant could bend it; but Krishna took it up in sport and it snapped in his fingers like a twig. Out ran the king's guards, hearing the crash of the broken beam, but all perished at the touch of the invincible child: not one survived to tell how death was dealt.

When they had seen all the sights of the city, they returned to Nanda, who had been much disquieted by their long absence, and on the morrow all repaired to the arena, where Kansa was enthroned in state on a high dais overlooking the lists. At the entrance they were confronted by the savage elephant Kuvalayapída, upon whom Kansa relied to trample them to death. But Krishna, after sporting with it for a while, seized it at last by the tail, and whirling it round his head dashed it lifeless to the ground. Then, each bearing one of its tusks, the two boys stepped into the ring and challenged all comers. Chánur was

* Akrúr is the name of a hamlet between Mathurá and Brindá-ban.

† "Kubja's well" in Mathurá commemorates this event. It is on the Delhi Road, a little beyond the Katra. Nearly opposite, a carved pillar from a Buddhist railing has been set up and is worshipped as Párvati.

matched against Krishna, Mushtika against Balarám. The struggle was no sooner begun than ended: both the king's champions were thrown and rose no more. Then Kansa started from his throne, and cried aloud to his guards to seize and put to death the two rash boys with their father Vasudeva—for his sons he knew they were—and the old King Ugrasen. But Krishna with one bound sprung upon the dais, seized the tyrant by the hair as he vainly sought to fly, and hurled him down the giddy height upon the sand below.* Then they dragged the lifeless body to the bank of the Jamuná, and there by the water's edge at last sat down to 'rest,' whence the place is known to this day as the Visránt Ghát.† Now that justice had been satisfied, Krishna was too righteous to insult the dead; he comforted the widows of the fallen monarch, and bid them celebrate the funeral rites with all due form, and himself applied the torch to the pyre. Then Ugrasen was reseated on his ancient throne, and Mathurá once more knew peace and security.

As Krishna was determined on a lengthened stay, he persuaded Nanda to return alone to Brinda-bán and console his foster-mother Jasodá with tidings of his welfare. He and Balarám then underwent the ceremonies of caste-initiation, which had been neglected during their sojourn with the herdsmen; and, after a few days, proceeded to Ujjayin, there to pursue the prescribed course of study under the Kásya sage Sandípani. The rapidity with which they mastered every science soon betrayed their divinity; and as they prepared to leave, their instructor fell at their feet and begged of them a boon, namely, the restoration of his son, who had been engulfed by the waves of the sea when on a pilgrimage to Prabhása. Ocean was summoned to answer the charge, and taxed the demon Panchajana with the crime. Krishna at once plunged into the unfathomable depth and dragged the monster lifeless to the surface. Then with Balarám he invaded the city of the dead, and claimed from Jama the Brahman's son, whom they took back with them to the light of day and restored to his enraptured parents. The shell in which the demon had dwelt (whence his title Sankhásur) was ever thereafter borne by the hero as his special emblem‡ under the name of Pánchajanya.

* Kansa's Hill and the Rang-Bhúmi, or 'arena,' with an image of Rangesvar Mahádeva, where the bow was broken, the elephant killed, and the champion wrestlers defeated, are still sacred sites immediately outside the city of Mathurá, opposite the new dispensary.

† The Visránt Ghát, or *Resting* Ghát, is the most sacred spot in all Mathurá. It occupies the centre of the river front, and is thus made a prominent object, though it has no special architectural beauty.

‡ The legend has been invented to explain why the *Sankha*, or conch-shell, is employed as a religious emblem: the simpler reason is to be found in the fact of its constant use as an auxiliary to temple worship. In consequence of a slight similarity in the name, this incident is popularly connected with the village of Sonsa in the Mathurá Pargana, without much regard to the exigencies of the narrative, since Prabhása, where Panchajana was slain, is far away on the shore of the Western Ocean in Gujarát.

Meanwhile, the widows of King Kansa had fled to Magadha, their native land, and implored their father, Jarásandha, to take up arms and avenge their murdered lord. Scarcely had Krishna returned to Mathurá from Banáras, when the assembled hosts invested the city. The gallant prince did not wait the attack; but, accompanied by Balarám, sallied forth, routed the enemy and took Jarásandha prisoner. Compassionating the utterness of his defeat, they allowed him to return to his own country, where, unmoved by the generosity of his victors, he immediately began to raise a new army on a still larger scale than the preceding, and again invaded the dominions of Ugrasen. Seventeen times did Jarásandha renew the attack, seventeen times was he repulsed by Krishna. Finding it vain to continue the struggle alone, he at last called to his aid King Kálá-yavana,* who with his barbarous hordes from the far west bore down upon the devoted city of Mathurá. That very night Krishna bade arise on the far distant shore of the Bay of Kachh the stately Fort of Dwáraká, and thither, in a moment of time, transferred the whole of his faithful people: the first intimation that reached them of their changed abode was the sound of the roaring waves when they woke on the following morning. He then returned alone to do battle against the allied invaders; the barbarian king was put to flight and his army annihilated; but it was only by a stratagem that Krishna and Balarám contrived to secure themselves from the fury of the survivor. So Mathurá fell into the hands of Jarásandha, who forthwith destroyed all the palaces and temples and every memento of the former dynasty, and erected new buildings in their place as monuments of his own conquest.†

Thenceforth Krishna reigned with great glory at Dwáraká; and not many days had elapsed when, fired with the report of the matchless beauty of the princess Rukmini, daughter of Bhishmak, king of Kundalpur in the country of Vidarbha, he broke in upon the marriage feast, and carried her off before the very eyes of her betrothed, the Chanderi king Sisupál.‡ After this he contracted many other splendid alliances, even to the number of sixteen thou-

* The soul of Kálá-yavana is supposed in a second birth to have animated the body of the tyrannical Aurangzeb.

† As Magadhá became the great centre of Buddhism, and indeed derives its latter name of Bihár from the numerous Viháras or Buddhist monasteries which it contained, its king Jarásandha and his son-in-law Kansa, have been described by the orthodox writers of the Mahábhárat and Srí Bhágavat with all the animus they felt against the professors of that religion, through in reality it had not come into existence till some 400 years after Jarásandha's death. Thus the narrative of Krishna's retreat to Dwáraká and the subsequent demolition of Hindu Mathurá, besides its primary signification, represents also in mythological language the great historical fact, attested by the notices of contemporary travellers and the results of recent antiquarian research, that for a time Brahmanism was almost eradicated from Central India and Buddhism established as the national religion.

‡ Sisupál was first cousin to Krishna; his mother, Srutadevá, being Vasudeva's sister.

sand and one hundred, and became the father of a hundred and eighty thousand sons.* In the Great War he took up arms with his five cousins, the Pándav princes, to terminate the tyranny of Duryodhan; and accompanied by Bhíma and Arjuna, invaded Magadhá, and taking Jarásandha by surprise, put him to death and burnt his capital: and many other noble achievements did he perform, which are written in the chronicles of Dwáraká; but Mathurá saw him no more, and the legends of Mathurá are ended.

Attempts have been made to establish a connection between the legend of Krishna and the earlier chapters of S. Matthew's Gospel. There is an obvious similarity of sound between the names Christ and Krishna; Herod's massacre of the innocents may be compared with the massacre of the children of Mathurá by Kansa; the flight into Egypt with the flight to Gokul; as Christ had a forerunner of supernatural birth in the person of S. John Baptist, so had Krishna in Balarám; and as the infant Saviour was cradled in a manger and first worshipped by shepherds, though descended from the royal house of Judah, so Krishna, though a near kinsman of the reigning prince, was brought up amongst cattle and first manifested his divinity to herdsmen.† The inference drawn from these coincidences is corroborated by an ecclesiastical tradition that the Gospel which S. Thomas the Apostle brought with him to India was that of S. Matthew, and that when his relics were discovered, a copy of it was found to have been buried with him. It is, on the other hand, absolutely certain that the *name* of Krishna, however late the full development of the legendary cycle, was celebrated throughout India long before the Christian era; thus the only possible hypothesis is that some pandit, struck by the marvellous circumstances of our Lord's infancy, as related in the Gospel, transferred them to his own indigenous mythology, and on account of the similarity of name selected Krishna as their hero. It may be added that the Harivansa, which possibly is as old‡ as any of the Vaishnava Puránas, was certainly written by a stranger to the country of Braj;§ and not only so, but it further shows distinct traces of a southern origin, as in its description of the exclusively Dakhini festival, the Punjal: and it is only in the south of India that a

* These extravagant numbers are merely intended to indicate the wide diffusion and power of the great Jádava (vulgarly Jádon) clan.

† Hindu pictures of the infant Krishna in the arms of his foster-mother Jasodá, with a glory encircling the heads both of mother and child and a background of Oriental scenery, are indistinguishable, except in name, from representations of Christ and the Madonna.

‡ It is quoted by Bírúní (born 970, died 1038 A. D.) as a standard authority in his time.

§ The proof of this statement is that all his topographical descriptions are utterly irreconcilable with facts. Thus he mentions that Krishna and Balaráma were brought up at a spot selected by Nanda on the bank of the Jamuná near the hill of Gobardhan (Canto 61). Now, Gobardhan is some fifteen miles from the river; and the neighbourhood of Gokula and Mahá-ban, which all other written authorities and also ancient tradition agree in declaring to have been the scene of

Bráhman would be likely to meet with Christian traditions. But after all that can be urged, the coincidences, though curious, are too slight, in the absence of any historical proof, to establish a connection between the two narratives: probably they would never have attracted attention had it not been for the similarity of name; and it is thoroughly established by literary criticism that the two names had each an independent origin. Thus the speculation may be dismissed as idle and unfounded.

To many persons it will appear profane to institute a comparison between the inspired oracles of Christianity and Hinduism. But if we fairly consider the legend as above sketched, and allow for a slight element of the grotesque and that tendency to exaggerate which is inalienable from Oriental imagination, we shall find nothing incongruous with the primary idea of a beneficent divinity, manifested in the flesh in order to deliver the world from oppression and restore the practice of true religion. Even as regards the greatest stumbling block, *viz.*, the "Panchádyáya," or five chapters of the Bhágavat, which describe Krishna's amours with the Gopis, the language is scarcely, if at all, more glowing and impassioned than that employed in "the song of songs, which is Solomon's;" and if theologians maintain that the latter must be mystical because inspired, how can a similar defence be denied to the Hindu philosopher? As to those wayward caprices of the child-god, for which no adequate explanation can be assigned, the Bráhman without any derogation from his intellect may regard them as the sport of the Almighty, the mysterious dealings of an inscrutable Providence, styled in Sanskrit terminology *máyá*, and in the language of Holy Church *sapientia—sapientia ludens omni tempore, ludens in orbe terrarum.*

NOTE TO CHAPTER III.

Though it can only be mentioned as a fanciful coincidence rather than as a basis for solid argument, another point of resemblance between Krishna and our Lord may be found in the fact that his genealogy is popularly traced not through the father, but through the mother. As the course of events in the legend is much influenced by the relationship existing between the principal

Krishna's infancy, is several miles further distant from the ridge and on the other side of the Jamuná. Again Tál-ban is described (Canto 70) as lying north of Gobardhan—

गोवर्द्धनस्योत्तरतो यमुनातीरमाश्रितम्
ददृशाते ततो वीरौ रम्यं तालवनं महत्

It is south-east of Gobardhan and with the city of Mathurá between it and Brindá-ban, though in the Bhágavat it is said to be close to the latter town. So also Bhándir-ban is represented in the Harivansa as being on the same side of the river as the Káli-Mardan Ghát, being in reality nearly opposite to it.

characters, it may be convenient to subjoin in a concise form his table of descent on either side:—

Descent of Krishna through his father Vasudeva, from the Súrajvansí Kshatriyas.

From the patriarch Ikshváku, generated by a *sneeze* of the Supreme Being, descended at a long interval

Haryásva, banished King of Ajodhya, founder of Gobardhan. = Madhumati.

Madhu, giant King of Madhu-vana.

Lavana, slain by Satrughna.

Mádhava.

Bhima (annexes Mathurá).

Andhaka.

Revati.

Visvagarbha.

Vasu, or Súra.

Vasudeva = Devaki. The Sun-God = Prithá or Kunti = Pándu. Suprabhá or Sruta-srava = Dama-Ghosha, Rájá of Chedi.

Krishna. Karna. Yudhisthir. Bhima. Arjuna. Sisupál.

Descent of Krishna through his mother Devaki from the Yádava clan of Somavansi Kshatriyas.

Soma, the Moon-God, by Tárá 'the bright star' whom he stole away from Vrihaspati, had a son Budha, married to Ilá. From this union sprang Purúravas = Urvasi, 'the dawn.'

Ayus.

Nahusha.

Yayáti.

Yadu.

Vidarbha.

Andhaka.

Abhijit.

Ahuka.

Devaka. Ugrasen, King of Mathurá.

Devaki = Vasudeva = Rohini. Kansa = Rájivalochana, daughter of Jarasandha, King of Magadha.

Krishna = Rukmini, daughter of Bhishmaka, King of Vidarbha. Balarama = Revati.

Pradyumna = a daughter of Rukmin, the brother of Rukmini.

Aniruddha = Ushá.

Vajra, who is generally said to have been crowned King of Mathurá on Krishna's death. But this belief rests on a verse in the Vishnu Purána, where for Mathurá other MSS.—preferably as it would seem from the context—read Indra-prastha, or Hastinapura. The more unscientific native philologers are disposed to derive from Vajra the name of the country, Vraja (Braj).

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRAJ-MANDAL AND THE BAN-JÁTRA.

Not only the city of Mathurá, but with it the whole of the western half of the district, has a special interest of its own as the birth-place and abiding home of Vaishnava Hinduism. It is about 42 miles in length, with an average breadth of 30 miles, and is intersected throughout by the river Jamuná. On the right bank of the stream are the parganas of Kosi and Chhátá, so named after their principal towns, with the home pargana below them to the south; and on the left bank the united parganas of Mát and Noh-jhíl, with half the pargana of Mahá-ban as far east as the town of Baladeva. This extent of country is almost absolutely identical with the Braj-mandal of Hindu topography; the circuit of 84 kos in the neighbourhood of Gokul and Brindá-ban; where the divine brothers Krishna and Balarám grazed their herds.

The first aspect of the country is a little disappointing to the student of Sanskrit literature, who has been led by the glowing eulogiums of the poets to anticipate a second vale of Tempe. The soil, being poor and thin, is unfavourable to the growth of most large forest trees; the mango and *shísham*, the glory of the lower Doáb, are conspicuously absent, and their place is most inadequately supplied by the *nim*, *farás*, and various species of the fig tribe. For the same reason the dust in any ordinary weather is deep on all the thoroughfares, and if the slightest air is stirring rises in a dense cloud and veils the whole landscape in an impenetrable haze. The Jamuná, the one great river of Braj, during eight months of the year meanders sullenly a mere rivulet between wide expanses of sand, bounded by monotonous flats of arable land, or high banks which the rapidly expended force of contributory torrents has cracked and broken into ugly chasms and stony ravines, naked of all vegetation.

As the limits of Braj from north to south on one side are defined by the high lands to the east of the Jamuná, so are they on the other side by the hill ranges of Bharat-pur; but there are few peaks of conspicuous height, and the general outline is tame and unimpressive. The villages, though large, are meanly built, and betray the untidiness characteristic of Játs and Gújars, who form the bulk of the population. From a distance they are often picturesque, being built on the slope of natural or artificial mounds, and thus gaining dignity by elevation. But on nearer approach they are found to consist of labyrinths of the narrowest lanes winding between the mud walls of large enclosures, which are rather cattle-yards than houses. At the base of the hill is ordi-

narily a broad circle of waste land, studded with low trees, which afford grateful shade and pasturage for the cattle; while the large pond, from which the earth was dug to construct the village site, supplies them throughout the year with water. These natural woods commonly consist of *pilu*, *chhonkar*, and *kadamb* trees, among which are always interspersed clumps of *karíl*, with its leafless evergreen twigs and bright-coloured flower and fruit. The *pasendu*, *pápri*, *arni*, *hingot*, *ajún-rukh*, *gondi*, *barna*, and *dho* also occur, but less frequently; though the last-named, the Sanskrit *dhava*, at Barsána, clothes the whole of the hillside. At sun-rise and sun-set the thoroughfares are all but impassable, as the straggling herds of oxen and buffaloes leave and return to the homestead; for in the straitened precincts of an ordinary village are stalled every night from 500 or 600 to 1,000 head of cattle, at least equalling, often outnumbering, the human population.

The general poverty of the district forms the *motif* of the following popular Hindi couplet, in which Krishna's neglect to enrich the land of his birth with any choicer product than the *karíl*, or wild caper, is cited as an illustration of his wilfulness:

कहा कहैं रघुनाथ की गई सतलो नाहि ।
काबुल में मेवा करी टेंट ब्रज की माहि ॥

which may be thus done into English:

> Krishna, you see, will never lose his wayward whims and vapours;
> For Kábul teems with luscious fruit, while Braj boasts only capers.

In the rains, however, at which season of the year all pilgrimages are made, the Jamuná is a mighty stream, a mile or more broad; its many contributory torrents and all the ponds and lakes with which the district abounds are filled to overflowing; the rocks and hills are clothed with foliage, the dusty plain is transformed into a green sward, and the smiling prospect goes far to justify the warmest panegyrics of the Hindu poets, whose appreciation of the scenery, it must be remembered, has been further intensified by religious enthusiasm. Even at all seasons of the year the landscape has a quiet charm of its own; a sudden turn in the winding lane reveals a grassy knoll with stone-built well and overhanging *pípal;* or some sacred grove, where gleaming tufts of *karíl* and the white-blossomed *arúsa* weed are dotted about between the groups of weird *pilu* trees with their clusters of tiny berries and strangely gnarled and twisted trunks, all entangled in a dense undergrowth of prickly *ber* and *hins* and *chhonkar;* while in the centre, bordered with flowering oleander and *nivára*, a still cool lake reflects the modest shrine and well-fenced bush of *tulsi* that surmount the raised terrace, from which a broad flight of steps, gift of some thankful pilgrim from afar, leads down to the water's edge. The most pleasing architectural works in the district are the large masonry tanks, which are very numerous and often

display excellent taste in design and skill in execution. The temples, though in some instances of considerable size, are all, excepting those in the three towns of Mathurá, Brindá-ban and Gobardhan, utterly devoid of artistic merit.

To a very recent period, almost the whole of this large area was pasture and woodland, and, as we have already remarked, many of the villages are still environed with belts of trees. These are variously designated as *ghaná*, *jhári*, *rakhyá*, *ban*, or *khandi*,* and are often of considerable extent. Thus, the Kokila-ban at Great Bathan covers 723 acres; the *rakhyá* at Kámar more than 1,000; and in the contiguous villages of Pisáyo and Karahla the *rakhyá* and *kadamb-khandi* together amount to nearly as much. The year of the great famine, 1838 A. D., is invariably given as the date when the land began to be largely reclaimed ; the immediate cause being the number of new roads then opened out for the purpose of affording employment to the starving population. Almost every spot is traditionally connected with some event in the life of Krishna or of his mythical mistress Rádhá, sometimes to the prejudice of an earlier divinity. Thus, two prominent peaks in the Bharat-pur range are crowned with the villages of Nand-gánw and Barsána; of which the former is venerated as the home of Krishna's foster-father Nanda, and the latter as the residence of Rádhá's parents, Vrisha-bhánu and Kírat.† Both legends are now as implicitly credited as the fact that Krishna was born at Mathurá ; while in reality, the name Nand-gánw, the sole foundation for the belief, is an ingenious substitution for Nandísvar, a title of Mahá-deva, and Barsána is a corruption of Brahma-sánu, the hill of Brahma. Only the Giri-ráj at Gobardhan was, according to the original distribution, dedicated to Vishnu, the second person of the *tri-murti*, or Hindu trinity; though now he is recognized as the tutelary divinity at all three hill-places. Similarly, Bhau-gánw on the right bank of the Jamuná, was clearly so called from Bhava, one of the eight manifestations of Siva; but the name is now generally modified to Bhay-gánw, and is supposed to commemorate the alarm *(bhay)* felt in the neighbourhood at the time when Nanda, bathing in the river, was carried off by the god Varuná. A masonry landing-place on the water's edge, called Nand-Ghât, with a small temple, dating only from last century, are the foundation and support of the local legend. Of a still more obsolete cultus, *viz.*, snake-worship, faint indications may be detected in a few local names and customs. Thus, at Jait, on the high-road to Delhi, an ancient five-headed Nága, carved in stone, rises beside a small tank in the centre of a low plain to the height of some four feet above the surface of the

* When the last term is used, the name of the most prevalent kind of tree is always added, as for instance *kadamb-khandi*.

† Kírat is the only name popularly known in the locality, but in the Brahma Vaivarta Purána it is given as Kalávati. It may also be mentioned that Vrisha-bhánu is always pronounced Brikh-bhán.

ground, while its tail was supposed to reach away to the Káli-mardan Ghát at Brindá-ban, a distance of seven miles. A slight excavation at the base of the figure has, for a few years at least, dispelled the local superstition. So again, at the village of Pai-gánw, a grove and lake called respectively Pai-ban and Pai-ban-kund are the scene of an annual fair known as the *Barasi Náyá jí mela.* This is now regarded more as the anniversary of the death of a certain Mahant; but in all probability it dates from a much earlier period, and the village name would seem to be derived from the large offerings of milk *(payas)* with which it is usual to propitiate the Nága, or serpent-god.

Till the close of the 16th century, except in the neighbourhood of the one great thoroughfare, there was only here and there a scattered hamlet in the midst of unreclaimed woodland. The Vaishnava cultus then first developed into its present form under the influence of the celebrated Bengáli Gosains of Brindá-ban; and it is not improbable that they were the authors of the Brahma Vaivarta Purána,* the recognized Sanskrit authority for all the modern local legends. From them it was that every lake and grove in the circuit of Braj received a distinctive name, in addition to the some seven or eight spots which alone are mentioned in the earlier Puránas. In the course of time, small villages sprung up in the neighbourhood of the different shrines, bearing the same name with them, though perhaps in a slightly modified form. Thus the *khadiraban*, or acacia grove, gives its name to the village of Khaira; and the *anjan pokhar*, on whose green bank Krishna pencilled his lady's eye-brows with *anjan*, gives its name to the village of Ajnokh, occasionally written at greater length Ajnokhari. Similarly, when Krishna's home was fixed at Nand-gánw and Rádhá's at Barsáná, a grove half-way between the two hills was fancifully selected as the spot where the youthful couple used to meet to enjoy the delights of love. There a temple was built with the title of Rádhá-Raman, and the village that grew up under it walls was called Sanket, that is, 'the place of assignation.' Thus we may readily fall in with Hindu prejudices, and admit that many of the names on the map are etymologically connected with events in Krishna's life, and yet deny that those events have any real connection with the spot; inasmuch as neither the village nor the local name had any existence till centuries after the incidents occurred which they are supposed to comme-

* The Brahma Vaivarta Purána is, as all critics admit, an essentially modern composition, and Professor Wilson has stated his belief that it emanated from the sect of the Vallabhácháris, or Gosáins of Gokul. Their great ancestor settled there about the year 1480 A. D. The popular Hindi authority for Rádhá's Life and Loves is the Braj Bilás of Braj-vási Dás. The precise date of the poem, *sambat* 1800, corresponding to 1743 A. D., is given in the following line—

सम्वत शुभ पुराण शत जानो ॥

Another work of high repute is the Súr Ságar of Súr Dás Jí (one of the disciples of the great religious teacher Rámánand) as edited and expanded by Krishnánand Vyása.

morate. The really old local names are almost all derived from the physical character of the country, which has always been celebrated for its wide extent of pasture land and many herds of cattle. Thus Gokul means originally a herd of kine ; Gobardhan a rearer of kine; Mát is so called from *mát* a milk-pail; and Dadhi-gánw (contracted into Dah-gánw) in the Kosi Pargana, from *dadhi*, 'curds.' Thus, too, 'Braj' in the first instance means 'a herd,' from the root *vraj* 'to go,' in allusion to the constant moves of nomadic tribes. And hence it arises that in the earliest authorities for Krishna's adventures, both Vraja and Gokula are used to denote, not the definite localities now bearing those names, but any chance spot temporarily used for stalling cattle ; inattention to this archaism has led to much confusion in assigning sites to the various legends. The word 'Mathurá,' also, is probably connected with the Sanskrit root *math*, 'to churn ;' the churn forming a prominent feature in all poetical descriptions of the local scenery. Take, for example, the following lines from the Harivansa, 3395 :—

क्षेम्यं प्रचारबहुलं हृष्टपुष्टजनावृतं ।
दामनीप्रायबहुलं गर्गरोद्गारनिस्वनं ॥
तक्रनिस्रावबहुलं दधिमण्डार्द्रभूतलं ।
मन्थानबलयोद्गारैर्गीयमानां जनितस्वनं ॥

"A fine country of many pasture-lands and well-nurtured people, full of ropes for tethering cattle, resonant with the voice of the sputtering churn, and flowing with butter-milk; where the soil is ever moist with milky froth, and the stick with its circling cord sputters merrily in the pail as the girls spin it round."

And, again, in section 73 of the same poem—

व्रजेषु च विशेषेण गर्गरोद्गारहासिषु ॥

"In homesteads gladdened by the sputtering churn."

In many cases a false analogy has suggested a mythological derivation. Thus, all native scholars see in Mathurá an allusion to Madhu-mathan, a title of Krishna. Again, the word Bathan is still current in some parts of India to designate a pasture-ground, and in that sense has given a name to two extensive parishes in Kosi; but as the term is not a familiar one thereabouts, a legend was invented in explanation, and it was said that here Balaráma 'sat down' (*baithen*) to wait for Krishna. The myth was accepted ; a lake immediately outside the village was styled Bal-bhadra kund, was furnished with a handsome masonry ghát by Rúp Rám, the Katára, of Barsána, and is now regarded as positive proof of the popular etymology which connects the place with Balaráma. Of Rúp Rám, the Katára, further mention will be made in connection with his birth-place, Barsána. There is scarcely a sacred site in the

whole of Braj which does not exhibit some ruinous record, in the shape of temple or tank, of his unbounded wealth and liberality. His descendant in the fourth degree, a most worthy man, by name Lakshman Dás, lives in a corner of one of his ancestor's palaces and is dependent on charity for his daily bread. The present owners of many of the villages which Rúp Rám so munificently endowed are the heirs of the Lálá Bábu, of whom also an account will be given further on.

In the Váráhá Puráṇa, or rather in the interpolated section of that work known as the Mathurá Máhátmya, the Mathurá Mandal is described as twenty *yojanas* in extent.

विंशतिर्योजनानां च माथुरं मम मंडलं ॥
यत्र यत्र नरः स्नातो मुच्यते सर्वपातकैः ॥

"My Mathurá circle is one of twenty *yojans;* by bathing at any place therein a man is redeemed from all his sins."

And taking the yojana as 7 miles and the kos as 1¾ mile, 20 yojanas would be nearly equal to 84 kos, the popular estimate of the distance travelled by the pilgrims in performing the Pari-krama or 'perambulation' of Braj. It is probable that if an accurate measurement were made, this would be found a very rough approximation to the actual length of the way; though liberal allowance must be made for the constant ins and outs, turns and returns, which ultimately result in the circuit of a not very wide-spread area. There can be no doubt that the number 84, which in ancient Indian territorial divisions occurs as frequently as a Hundred in English counties, and which enters largely into every cycle of Hindu legend and cosmogony, was originally selected for such general adoption as being the multiple of the number of months in the year with the number of days in the week. It is therefore peculiarly appropriate in connection with the Braj Mandal; if Krishna, in whose honour the perambulation is performed, be regarded as the Indian Apollo, or Sun-God. Thus the magnificent temple in Kashmír, dedicated to the sun under the title of Mártand, has a colonnade of exactly 84 pillars.

It is sometimes said that the circle originally must have been of wider extent than now, since the city of Mathurá, which is described as its centre, is more than 30 miles distant from the most northern point, Kotban, and only six from Társi to the south; and Elliot in his glossary quotes the following couplet as fixing its limits:—

इत बरहद इत सोनहद उत शूरसेन का गांव ॥
ब्रज चौरासी कोस में मथुरा मंडल मांह ॥

"On one side Bar, on another Sona, on the third the town of Súrasen; these are the limits of the Braj Chaurási, the Mathurá circle."

According to this authority the area has been diminished by one half; as Bar is in the Aligarh District; Sona, famous for its hot sulphur springs, is in Gur-gánw; while the 'Súrasen ká gánw' is supposed to be Batesar,* a place of some note on the Jamuná and the scene of a large horse fair held on the full moon of Kártik. It might equally mean any town in the kingdom of Mathurá, or even the capital itself, as king Ugrasen, whom Krishna restored to the thone, is sometimes styled Súrasen. Thus, too, Arrian mentions Mathurá as a chief town of the Súraseni, a people specially devoted to the worship of Hercules, who may be identified with Balaráma: and Manu (II. 19.) clearly intends Mathurá by Súrasena† when he includes that country with Kuru-kshetra, Panchála, and Matsya, in the region of Brahmarshi, as distinguished, from Brahmávarta. But though it must be admitted that the circle is sometimes drawn with a wider circumference, as will be seen in the sequel to this chapter, still it is not certain which of the two rests upon the better authority. In any case, the lines above quoted cannot be of great antiquity, seeing that they contain the Persian word *hadd;* and, as regards the unequal distances between the city of Mathurá and different points on the circumference, it has only to be remembered that the circle is an ideal one, and any point within its outer verge may be roughly regarded as its centre.

As the anniversary of Krishna's birth is kept in the month of Bhádon, it is then that the perambulation takes place, and a series of *melas* is held at the different woods, where the *rás-lílá* is celebrated in commemoration of his sports with the Gopis. The arrangement of these dances forms the recognized occupation of a class of Bráhmans very numerous in some of the villages, who are called Rásdháris, and have no other profession or means of livelihood. The number of sacred places, woods, groves, ponds, wells, hills, and temples—all to be visited in fixed order—is very considerable; there are generally reckoned five hills, eleven rocks, four lakes, eighty-four ponds and twelve wells; but the twelve bans or woods, and the twenty-four upabans or groves, are the characteristic feature of the pilgrimage, which is thence called the Ban-játra. The numbers 12 and 24 have been arbitrarily selected on account of their mystic significance; and few of the local pandits, if required to enumerate either group off hand, would be able to complete the total without some recourse to guess work. A little Hindi manual for the guidance of pilgrims has been published at Mathurá and is the popular

* Father Tieffenthaler in his Geography of India makes the following mention of Batesar "Lieu celebre et bien bâti sur le Djemna, 28 milles d'Agra. Une multitude de peuple s'y rassemble pour se laver dans ce fleuve et pour célébrer une foire en Octobre. On rend un culte ici dans beaucoup de temples bâtis sur le Djemna, à Mahadeo tant révéré de tout l'univers adonné à la luxure; car Mahadeo est le Priape des anciens qu'encensent ah quelle honte! toutes les nations."

† कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पञ्चालाः शूरसेनकाः ॥
एष ब्रह्मर्षिदेशो वै ब्रह्मावर्त्तादनन्तरः ॥

authority on the subject. The compiler, however great his local knowledge and priestly reputation, has certainly no pretensions to accuracy of scholarship. His attempts at etymology are, as a rule, absolutely grotesque, as in the two sufficiently obvious names of Khaira (for Khadira) and Sher-garh (from Sher Sháh), the one of which he derives from *khedna*, 'to drive cattle,' and the other, still more preposterously, from *sihara*, 'a marriage crown.' The list which he gives is as follows, his faulty orthography in some of the words being corrected: —

The 12 Bans: Madhu-ban, Tál-ban, Kumud-ban, Bahulá-ban, Kám-ban, Khadira-ban, Brindá-ban, Bhadra-ban, Bhándír-ban, Bel-ban, Loha-ban and Mahá-ban.

The 24 Upabans: Gokul, Gobardhan, Barsáná, Nand-gánw, Sanket, Paramadra, Aríng, Sessái, Mát, Uncha-gánw, Khel-ban, Srí-kund, Gandharv-ban, Parsoli, Bilchhu, Bachh-ban, Adi-badri, Karahla, Ajnokh, Pisáyo, Kokila-ban, Dadhi-gánw, Kot-ban and Rával.

This list bears internal evidence of some antiquity in its want of close correspondence with existing facts; since several of the places, though retaining their traditionary repute, have now nothing that can be dignified with the name either of wood or grove; while others are known only by the villagers in the immediate neighbourhood and have been supplanted in popular estimation by rival sites of more easy access or greater natural attractions.

Starting from Mathurá, the pilgrims make their first halt at Madhu-ban, in the village of Maholi, some four or five miles to the south-west of the city. Here, according to the Puránas, Ráma's brother, Satrughna, after hewing down the forest stronghold of the giant Madhu, founded on its site the town of Madhu-puri. All native scholars regard this as merely another name for Mathurá, regardless of the fact that the locality is several miles from the river, while Mathurá has always, from the earliest period, been described as situate on its immediate bank. The confusion between the two places runs apparently through the whole of classical Sanskrit literature; as, for example, in the Harivansa (Canto 95) we find the city founded by Satrughna distinctly called, not Madhu-puri, but Mathurá, which Bhíma, the king of Gobardhan, is represented as annexing:—

शत्रुघ्नो लवणं हत्वा चिच्छेद स मधोर्वनं ॥
तस्मिन्मधुवने स्थाने पुरीञ्च मथुरामिमां ॥
निवेशयामास विभुः सुमित्रानन्दवर्द्धनः ॥
पर्य्यायेण चैव रामस्य भरतस्य तथैव च ॥
सुमित्रासुतयोश्चैव प्राप्तयोर्वैष्णवं पदं ॥
भीमेनेयं पुरी तेन राज्यसम्बन्धकारणात् ॥
स्ववंशे स्थापिता पूर्व्वं स्वयमध्यासिता तथा ॥

"When Sumitrá's delight, prince Satrughna, had killed Lavana, he cut down the forest of Madhu, and in the place of that Madhu-ban founded the present city of Mathurá. Then, after Ráma and Bharata had left the world, and the two sons of Sumitrá had taken their place in heaven, Bhíma, in order to consolidate his dominions, brought the city, which had formerly been independent, under the sway of his own family."

Some reminiscence of the ancient importance of Maholi would seem to have long survived; for though so close to Mathurá, it was, in Akbar's time and for many years subsequently, the head of a local division. By the sacred wood is a pond called Madhu-kund, and a temple dedicated to Krishna under his title of Chatur-bhuj, where an annual mela is held on the 11th of the dark fortnight of Bhádon.

From Maholi, the pilgrims turn south to Tál-ban, 'the palm grove,' where Balaráma was attacked by the demon Dhenuk. The village, in which it is situated, is called Társi, probably in allusion to the legend; though locally the name is referred only to the founder, one Tárá Chand, a Kachhwáhá Thákur, who in quite modern times moved to it from Satoha, a place a few miles off on the road to Gobardhan. They then visit Kumud-ban, 'of the many water-lilies,' in Uncha-gánw, and Bahulá-ban in Báti, where the sacred cow Bahulá gored to death the lion that dared to molest her, as is commemorated by the little shrine of Bahulá Gáe, still standing on the margin of the Krishna-kund. They next pass through the villages of Tos, Jakhin-gánw and Mukharái, and arrive at Rádhá-kund, where are the two famous tanks prepared for Krishna's expiatory ablution after he had slain the bull, Arishta. Thence they pass on to Gobardhan, scene of many a marvellous incident, and visit all the sacred sites in its neighbourhood; the village of Basái, where the two divine children with their foster parents once came and dwelt *(basáe)* the Kallol-kund by the grove of Aríng; Mádhuri-kund; Mor-ban, the haunt of the peacock, and Chandra-sarovar, 'the moon lake;' where Brahma, joining with the Gopis in the mystic dance, was so enraptured with delight that, all unconscious of the fleeting hours, he allowed the single night to extend over a period of six months. This is at a village called Parsoli by the people, but which appears on the maps and in the revenue-roll only as Muhammad-pur. The tank is a fine octagonal basin with stone ghâts, the work of Rájá Nahr Sinh of Bharat-pur. After a visit to Paitha, where the people of Braj 'came in' *(paithá)* to take shelter from the storms of Indra under the uplifted range, they pass along the heights of the Giri-ráj to Anyor, 'the other side,' and so by many sacred rocks, as Sugandhi-sila, Sindúri-sila and Sundar-sila, with its temple of Gobardhan-náth to Gopál-pur, Bilchhu, and Gánthauli, where the marriage 'knot' *(gánth)* was tied, that confirmed the union of Rádhá and Krishna.

Then, following the line of frontier, the pilgrims arrive at Kám-ban, now the head-quarters of a tahsíli in Bharat-pur territory, 39 miles from Mathurá, with the Luk-luk cave, where the boys played blind-man's-buff; and Aghásur's cave, where the demon of that name was destroyed; and leaving Kanwáro-gánw, enter again upon British ground near the village of Uncha-gánw, with its ancient temple of Baladeva. High on the peak above is Barsáná, with its series of temples dedicated to Lárlijí, where Rádhá was brought up by her parents, Brikhbhán and Kírat; and in the glade below, Dohani-kund near Chaksauli, where as Jasodá was cleansing her milk-pail *(dohani)* she first saw the youthful pair together, and vowed that one day they should be husband and wife. There too, is Prem Sarovar, or 'love lake,' where first the amorous tale was told; and Sánkari Khor, 'the narrow opening' between the hills, where Krishna lay in ambush and levied his toll of milk on the Gopís as they came in from Gahvar-ban, the 'thick forest' beyond. Next are visited Sanket, the place of assignation; Rithora, home of Chandrávali, Rádhá's faithful attendant; and Nandgánw, long the residence of Nanda and Jasodá, with the great lake Pán-Sarovar, at the foot of the hill, where Krishna morning and evening drove his foster-father's cattle to water *(pán)*. Next in order come Karahla,* with its fine *kadamb* trees; Kamai, where one of Rádhá's humble friends was honoured by a visit from her lord and mistress in the course of their rambles; Ajnokh,† where Krishna pencilled his lady's eye-brows with *anjan*, as she reclined in careless mood on the green sward; and Pisáyo,‡ where she found him fainting with 'thirst,' and revived him with a draught of water. Then, still bearing due north, the pilgrims come to Khadira-ban, 'the acacia grove,' in Khaira; Kumar-ban and Jávak-ban in Jáu, where Krishna tinged his lady's feet with the red Jávak dye, and Kokila-ban, ever musical with the voice of 'the cuckoo'; and so arrive at the base of Charan Pahár in Little Bathan, the favoured spot, where the minstrel god delighted most to stop and play his flute, and where Indra descended from heaven on his elephant Airávata, to do him homage, as is to this day attested by the prints of the divine 'feet' *(charan)* impressed upon the rock.

* Karahla, or, as it is often spelt, Karhela, is locally derived, from *kar hilna*, the movements of the hands in the *rás lilá*. At the village of Little Marna, a pond bears the same name—karhela-kund—which is there explained as *karm hilna*, equivalent to *páp-mochan*. But in the Main-puri district is a large town called Karhal—the same word in a slightly modified form—where neither of the above etymologies could hold. The name is more probably connected with a simple natural feature, *viz.*, the abundance of the *karíl* plant at each place.

† Ajnokh, or, in its fuller form, Ajnokhari, is a contraction for *Anjan-Pokhar*, 'the anjan lake.'

‡ *Bhúkho pisáyo* is, in the language of the country, a common expression for 'hungry and thirsty.' But most of these derivations are quoted, not for their philological value, but as showing how thoroughly the whole country-side is impregnated with the legends of Krishna, when some allusion to him is detected in every village name. In the Vraja-bhakti-vilása, Pisáyo is called Pipása-vana.

They then pass on through Dadhi-gánw, where Krishna stayed behind to divert himself with the milk-maids, having sent Baladeva on ahead with the cows to wait for him at Bathan; and so reach Kot-ban, the northernmost point of the perambulation. The first village on the homeward route is Sessai (a hamlet of Hatána) where Krishna revealed his divinity by assuming the emblems of Náráyan and reclining under the canopying heads of the great serpent Sesha, of whom Baladeva was an incarnation; but the vision was all too high a mystery for the herdsmen's simple daughters, who begged the two boys to doff such fantastic guise and once more, as they were wont, join them in the sprightly dance.* Then, reaching the Jamuná at Khel-ban by Shergarh,† where Krishna's temples were decked with 'the marriage wreath' *(sihara)*, they follow the course of the river through Bihár-ban in Pír-pur, and by Chír-ghát in the village of Siyára, where the frolicsome god stole‡ the bathers' 'clothes' *(chír)*, and arrive at Nand-ghát. Here Nanda, bathing one night, was carried off by the myrmidons of the sea-god, Varuna, who had long been lying in wait for this very purpose, since their master knew that Krishna would at once follow to recover his foster-father, and thus, the depths of ocean too, no less than earth, would be gladdened with the vision of the incarnate deity. The adjoining village of Bhay-gánw derives its name from the 'terror' *(bhay)* that ensued on the news of Nanda's disappearance. The pilgrims next pass through Bachh-ban, where the demon Bachhásur was slain; the two villages of Basái, where the Gopis were first 'subdued' *(bas-ái)* by the power of love; Atas, Nari-semri,§ Chhatíkra, and Akrúr, where Kansa's perfidious invitation to the contest of arms was received; and wending their way beneath the temple of Bhatrond, where one day when the boys' stock of provisions had run short some Brahmans' wives supplied their wants, though the husbands, to whom application was first made, had churlishly refused,‖ and so arrive at Brindá-ban, where many a sacred ghát and venerable shrine claim devout attention.

* According to the Vishnu Purána, this transformation was not effected for the benefit of the Gopis, but was a vision vouchsafed to Akrúr on the bank of the Jamuná the day he fetched the boys from Brindá-ban to attend the tourney at Mathurá.

† This is a curious specimen of perverted etymology illustrating the persistency with which Hindús and Muhammadans each go their own way and ignore the other's existence. The town unquestionably derives its name from a large fort, of which the ruins still remain, built by the Emperor Sher Sháh.

‡ In the Vishnu Purána this famous incident is not mentioned at all.

§ A large fair, called the Nau Durgá, is held at the village of Nari-Semri during the dark fortnight of Chait, the commencement of the Hindu year. The same festival is also celebrated at Sanchauli in the Kosi Pargana and at Nagar-Kot in Gurgánw, though not on precisely the same days.

‖ To commemorate the event, a fair called the Bhatmela, is held on the spot, on the full-moon of Kártik. Compare the story of David repulsed by the churlish Nabal, but afterwards succoured by his wife Abigail.

The pilgrims then cross the river and visit the tangled thickets of Bel-ban in Jahángír-pur; the town of Mát with the adjoining woods of Bhadra-ban, scene of the great conflagration, and Bhándír-ban, where the son of Rohini first received his distinctive title of Bala-ráma, *i. e.*, Ráma the strong, in consequence of the prowess he had displayed in vanquishing the demon Pralamba; Dángoli, where Krishna dropt his 'staff' *(dáng)** and the fair lake of Mán-sarovar, scene of a fit of lover's 'pettishness' *(mán)*. Then follow the villages of Piparauli, with its broad spreading *pípal* trees; Lohaban, perpetuating the defeat of the demon Lohásur† Gopálpur, favourite station of the herdsmen, and Rával, where Rádhá's mother Kírat lived with her father Surbhán till she went to join her husband at Barsána. Next comes Burhiya ká-kherá, home of the old dame whose son had taken in marriage Rádhá's companion, Mánvati. The fickle Krishna saw and loved and, in order to gratify his passion undisturbed, assumed the husband's form. The unsuspecting bride received him fondly to her arms; while the good mother was enjoined to keep close watch below and, if any one came to the door pretending to be her son, by no means to open to him, but rather, if he persisted, pelt him with brick-bats till he ran away. So the honest man lost his wife and got his head broken into the bargain.

After leaving the scene of this merry jest, the pilgrims pass on to Bandigánw, name commemorative of Jasodá's two faithful domestics, Bandi and Anandi, and arrive at Baladeva, with its wealthy temple dedicated in honour of that divinity and his spouse, Revatí. Then, beyond the village of Hataura are the two river landing places, Chintá-haran, 'the end of doubt,' and Brahmánda, 'creation,' ghát. Here Krishna's playmates came running to tell Jasodá that the naughty boy had filled his mouth with mud. She took up a stick to punish him, but then, to prove the story false, he unclosed his lips and showed her there, within the compass of his baby cheeks, the whole 'created' universe with all its worlds and circling seas distinct. Close by is the town of Mahában, famous for many incidents in Krishna's infancy, where he was rocked in the cradle, and received his name from the great pandit, Garg, and where he put to death Pútaná and the other evil spirits whom Kansa had commissioned to destroy him. At Gokul, on the river-bank, are innumerable shrines and temples dedicated to the god under some one or other of his favourite titles, Madan Mohan, Mádhava Ráe, Brajesvar, Gokul-náth, Navanít-priya, and Dwáraká-náth; and when all have been duly honoured with a visit, the weary pilgrims finally recross the stream and sit down to rest at the point from which they started, the Visránt Ghát, the holiest place in the holy city of Mathurá.

* The name Dángoli is really derived from the position of the village on the 'high river-bank,' which is also called *dáng*.

† The name is really derived from the tree *lodha* or *lodhra*.

As may be gathered from the above narrative, it is only the twelve *bans* that, as a rule, are connected with the Pauránik legends of Krishna and Balaráma, and these are all specified by name in the Mathurá Máhátmya. On the other hand, the twenty-four *upabans* refer mainly to Rádhá's adventures and have no ancient authority whatever. Of the entire number, only three were, till quite recent times, places of any note, *viz.*, Gokul, Gobardhan, and Rádhá-kund, and their exceptional character admits of easy explanation: Gokul, in all classical Sanskrit literature, is the same as Mahá-ban, which is included among the *bans;* Gobardhan is as much a centre of sanctity as Mathurá itself, and is only for the sake of uniformity inserted in either list; while Rádhá-kund, as the name denotes, is the one primary source from which the goddess derives her modern reputation. It is now insisted that the parallelism is in all respects complete; for, as Krishna has four special dwelling-places, Mathurá, Mahá-ban, Gobardhan, and Nand-gánw, so has Rádhá four also in exact correspondence, *viz.*, Brindá-ban, Rával, Rádhá-kund, and Barsána.

The perambulation, as traced in the foregoing sketch, is the one ordinarily performed, and includes all the most popular shrines; but a far more elaborate enumeration of the holy places of Braj is given in a Sanskrit work, existing only in manuscript, entitled Vraja-bhakti-vilása. It is of no great antiquity, having been compiled in the year, 1553 A.D. by Náráyan Bhatt,* who is said to have been a resident of Unchá-gánw near Barsána, though he describes himself as writing at Srí-kund. It is divided into 13 sections extending over 108 leaves, and is professedly based on the Paramahansa Sanhita. It specifies as many as 133 *bans* or woods, 91 on the right bank of the Jamuna and 42 on the left, and groups them under different heads as follows:—

I.—The 12 Bans: 1 Mahá-ban; 2 Kámya-ban; 3 Kokila-ban; 4 Tál-ban; 5 Kumud-ban; 6 Bhándír-ban; 7 Chhatra-ban;† 8 Khadira-ban; 9 Loha-ban; 10 Bhadra-ban; 11 Bahulá-ban; 12 Vilva-ban, *i. e.*, Bel-ban.

II.—The 12 Upabans: 1 Brahma-ban; 2 Apsará-ban; 3 Vihvala-ban; 4 Kadamb-ban; 5 Svarna-ban; 6 Surabhi-ban; 7 Prem-ban;‡ 8 Mayúra, *i. e.*, Mor-ban; 9 Manengiti-ban; 10 Sesha-saiyí-ban; 11 Nárada-ban; 12 Paramánanda-ban.

III.—The 12 Prati-bans: 1 Ranka-ban; 2 Vártá-ban; 3 Karaha; 4 Kámya-ban; 5 Anjana-ban; 6 Káma-ban; 7 Krishna-kshipanaka; 8 Nanda-

* Náráyan Bhatt is better known by his work on Sanskrit Prosody, a commentary on the Vritta Ratnákara. The colophon of the Vraja-bhakti-vilása runs as follows:—Srímad Bháskarátmaja-Náráyana-Bhatta-virachite Vraj-bhakti-vilase Paramahansa-sanhito dáharane Vraja-Máhátmya-nirúpane Vana-yátra-prasange Vraja-yátra-prasangike trayodaso 'dhyáyah.

† Chhatra-ban represents the town of Chhátá. The only spot mentioned in connection with it is the Súraj-kund, a pond which still exists and bears the same name, but is not now held in any regard.

‡ Surabhi-ban adjoins Gobardhan. Near Prem-ban is the Prem-sarovar.

prekshana ; 9 Indra-ban ; 10 Siksha-ban ; 11 Chandrávati-ban ; 12 Loha-ban.*

IV.—The 12 Adhi-bans ; 1 Mathurá ; 2 Rádhá-kund ; 3 Nanda-gráma ; 4 Gata-sthána ; 5 Lalita-gráma ; 6 Brisha-bhánu-pur† ; 7 Gokul ; 8 Baladeva ; 9 Gobardhan ; 10 Jáva-ban ; 11 Brindá-ban ; 12 Sanket.

V. The 5 Sevya-bans ; VI. The 12 Tapo-bans ; VII. the 12 Moksha-bans ; VIII. the 12 Káma-bans ; IX. the 12 Artha-bans ; X. the 12 Dharma-bans ; XI. the 12 Siddhi-bans. All of which the reader will probably think it unnecessary to enumerate in detail.

To every Ban is assigned its own tutelary divinity ; thus Haláyudha (Baladeva) is the patron of Mahá-ban ; Gopináth of Kám-ban ; Nata-vara of Kokila-ban ; Dámodar of Tál-ban ; Kesava of Kumud-ban ; Sridhara of Bhándír-ban ; Hari of Chhatra-ban ; Náráyan of Khadira-ban ; Hayagríva of Bhadra-ban ; Padma-nábha of Bahulá-ban ; Janardana of Bel-ban ; Adi-vadrisvara of Paramánanda ; Paramesvara of Kam-ban (prati-ban) ; Jasodá-nandan of Nandgánw ; Gokul-chandrama of Gokul ; Murlidhar of Karahla ; Líla-kamala-lochana of Hásya-ban ; Lokesvara of Upahára-ban ; Lankadhipa-kula-dhvansi of Jahnu-ban ; and Srí-shatsilankshyana of Bhuvana-ban.

The four last named woods are given as the limits of the Braj Mandal in the following sloka, and it is distinctly noted that the city of Mathurá is at the same distance, *viz.*, 21 kos, from each one of them.

पूर्व हास्यवनं नीय पश्चिमस्यांपहारिकं ॥
दक्षिणे जन्हुसंज्ञाकं भुवनाख्यं तथोत्तरे ॥

The Pandits, who were asked to reconcile these limits with those mentioned in the Hindi couplet previously quoted, declared Hásya-ban in the east to be the same as Barhadd in Aligarh ; Upahára-ban in the west as Sona in Gurgánw ; and Jahnu-ban to the south the same as Súrasen-ká-gánw, or Batesar. The identification is probably little more than conjectural ; but a superstition which is at once both comparatively modern and also practically obsolete scarcely deserves a more protracted investigation than has already been bestowed upon it.

* The one Loha-ban on the right bank of the river is described as the scene of the destruction of Jarásandha's armies ; the other, on the left bank is more correctly styled Loha-jangha-ban.

† Brisha-bhánu-pur is intended as the Sanskrit original of Barsána, but incorrectly so.

CHAPTER V.

THE CITY OF MATHURÁ: ITS HISTORY.

Apart from its connection with the deified Krishna, the city of Mathurá has been a place of note from the most distant antiquity. In Buddhist times it was one of the centres of that religion, and its sacred shrines and relics attracted pilgrims even from China, two of whom have left records of their travels. The first, by name Fa Hian, spent, as he informs us, three years in Western Asia, visiting all the places connected with events in the life of the great teacher or of his immediate successors; his main object being to collect authentic copies of the oldest theological texts and commentaries to take back with him to his own country. Commencing his journey from Tibet, he passed successively through Kashmír, Kábul, Kandahár, and the Panjáb, and so arrived in Central India, the *madhya-des* of Hindu geographers. Here the first kingdom that he entered was Mathurá, with its capital of the same name situate on the bank of the Jamuná. All the people from the highest to the lowest were staunch Buddhists, and maintained that they had been so ever since the time of Sakya Muni's translation. This statement must be accepted with considerable reserve, since other evidence tends to show that Hinduism was the prevalent religion during part of the interval between Buddha's death and Fa Hian's visit, which was made about the year 400 A. D. He assures us, however, that many of the ecclesiastical establishments possessed copper plates engraved with the original deeds of endowment in attestation of their antiquity. In the capital—where he rested a whole month—and its vicinity, on the opposite banks of the river, were twenty monasteries, containing in all some 3,000 monks. There were, moreover, six relic-towers, or *stúpas*, of which the most famous was the one erected in honour of the great apostle Sári-putra. The five other *stúpas* are also mentioned by name; two of them commemorated respectively Ananda, the special patron of religious women, and Mudgala-putra, the great doctor of *Samádhi* or contemplative devotion. The remaining three were dedicated to the cultus of the Abhi-dharma, the Sútra and the Vináya, divisions of the sacred books, treating respectively of Metaphysics, Religion, and Morality, and known in Buddhist literature by the collective name of the Tri-pitaka or 'three baskets.'

Some 200 years later, Hwen Thsang, another pilgrim from the Flowery Land, was impelled by like religious zeal to spend sixteen years, from 629 to 645 A. D., travelling throughout India. On his return to China, he compiled,

by special command of the Emperor, a work in twelve books entitled 'Memoirs of Western Countries,' giving succinct geographical descriptions of all the kingdoms, amounting in number to 128, that he had either personally visited, or of which he had been able to acquire authentic information. After his death, two of his disciples, wishing to individualize the record of their master's adventures, compiled in ten books a special narrative of his life and Indian travels. This has been translated into French by the great Orientalist, Mons. S. Julien. Mathurá is described as being 20 *li*, or four miles in circumference, and as containing still, as in the days of Fa Hian, 20 monasteries. But the number of resident monks had been reduced to 2,000, and five temples had been erected to Bráhmanical divinities; both facts indicating the gradual decline of Buddhism. Seven *stúpas* were reverenced as containing relics of the great teachers of the law; and apparently—though there is some slight variation in the titles—are the same as those mentioned by the earlier pilgrim, with the addition of one dedicated to the memory of Ráhula, the son of Buddha. To quote the original:—"In the kingdom of Mathurá there are still to be seen the *stúpas* in which were deposited of old the relics of the holy disciples of Sakya Muni, *viz.*, Sári-putra, Mudgaláyana, Púrna-maitráyani-putra, Upali, Ananda, Ráhula, and Manjusri. On the yearly festivals, the religious assemble in crowds at these *stúpas*, and make their several offerings at the one which is the object of their devotion. The followers of Abhi-dharma offer to Sári-putra, and those who practise contemplation *(dhyána)* to Mudgalyáyana. Those who adhere to the Sútras pay their homage to Púrna-maitráyani-putra; those who study the Vináya honour Upali; religious women honour Ananda; those who have not yet been fully instructed (catechumens) honour Ráhula; those who study the Mahá-yána honour all the Bodhi-satwas.* Five or six *li*—*i.e.*, about a mile and a quarter—to the east of the town is a monastery on a hill, said to have been built by the venerable Upagupta. His nails and beard are preserved there as relics. At a hill to the north of this monastery is a cave in the rock, twenty feet high and thirty feet broad, where had been collected an immense number of little bambu spikes, each only four inches long. When any man or woman, whom the venerable Upagupta had converted and instructed, obtained the rank of an Arhan,† he added a spike. But he took no note of other persons, even though they had attained the same degree of sanctity." In the Memoirs it is added that 25 *li* to the south-east of this cave was a large dry tank, where it was said that one day as Buddha was pacing up and down, he was offered some honey by a monkey, which he graciously accepted. The monkey was so charmed at the condescension that he forgot where he was, and in his ecstasy fell over into

* A Bodhi satwa is defined as a being who has arrived at supreme wisdom *(bodhi)*, and yet consents to remain as a creature *(satwa)* for the good of men.

† An Arhan is a saint who has attained to the fourth grade in the scale of perfection.

the tank and was drowned : as a reward for his meritorious conduct, when he next took birth, it was in human form. A little to the north of this tank* was a wood with several *stúpas* to mark the spots that had been hallowed by the presence of the four earlier Buddhas, and where various famous teachers of the law had either sat in meditation or had expounded the Scriptures.

After Hwen Thsang's visit in 634 A.D., there is no contemporary record of Mathurá till the year 1017, when it was sacked by Mahmúd of Gazni in his ninth invasion of India. The original source of information respecting Mahmúd's campaigns is the Táríkh Yamíni of Al Utbi, who was himself secretary to the Sultán, though he did not accompany him in his expeditions. He mentions by name neither Mathurá nor Mahá-ban, but only describes certain localities which have been so identified by Firishta and later historians. The place supposed to be Mahá-ban, he calls 'the Fort of Kulchand,' a Rája, who (he writes) "was, not without good reason, confident in his strength ; for no one had fought against him without being defeated. He had vast territories, enormous wealth, a numerous and brave army, huge elephants, and strong forts that no enemy had been able to reduce. When he saw that the Sultán advanced against him, he drew up his army and elephants in a 'deep forest'† ready for action. But finding every attempt to repulse the invaders fail, the beleaguered infidels at last quitted the fort, and tried to cross the broad river which flowed in its rear. When some 50,000 men had been killed or drowned, Kulchand took a dagger with which he first slew his wife, and then drove it into his own body. The Sultán obtained by this victory 185 fine elephants besides other booty." In the neighbouring holy city, identified as Mathurá, "he saw a building of exquisite structure, which the inhabitants declared to be the handiwork not of men but of Genii.‡ The town wall was constructed of hard stone, and had opening on to the river two gates, raised on high, and massive basements to protect them from the floods. On the two sides of the city were thousands of houses with idol temples attached, all of masonry and strengthened throughout with bars of iron ; and opposite them were other buildings supported on stout wooden pillars. In the middle of the city was a temple, larger and finer than the rest, to which neither painting nor description could do justice. The Sultán thus wrote respecting it:—'If any one wished to construct a building equal to it, he would not be able to do so without expending a hundred million dinars, and the work would occupy two hundred years, even though the most able and experienced workmen were employed.' Orders were given that all

* Identified with the tank at the back of the Damdama or Jalál-pur saráe, to the north-west of which are the mounds on the Sonkh road.

† These words may be intended as a literal translation of the name Mahá-ban.

‡ Possibly 'Jina,' the name both of the Buddhist and Jaini deity, was the word actually used, which was mistaken for the Arabic 'Jinn.'

the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire, and levelled with the ground." The city was given up to plunder for twenty days. Among the spoil are said to have been five great idols of pure gold with eyes of rubies and adornments of other precious stones, together with a vast number of smaller silver images, which, when broken up, formed a load for more than a hundred camels. The total value of the spoil has been estimated at three millions of rupís; while the number of Hindus carried away into captivity exceeded 5,000.

Nizám-ud-din, Firishta, and the other late Muhammadan historians take for granted that Mathurá was at that time an exclusively Bráhmanical city. It is barely possible that such was really the case; but the original authorities leave the point open, and speak only in general terms of idolaters, a name equally applicable to Buddhists. Many of the temples, after being gutted of all their valuable contents, were left standing; probably because they were too massive to admit of easy destruction. Some writers allege that the conqueror spared them on account of their exceeding beauty, founding this opinion on the eulogistic expressions employed by Mahmúd in his letter to the Governor of Gazni quoted above. It is also stated that, on his return home, he introduced the Indian style of architecture at his own capital, where he erected a splendid mosque, upon which he bestowed the name of 'the Celestial Bride.' But, however much he may have admired the magnificence of Mathurá, it is clear that he was influenced by other motives than admiration in sparing the fabric of the temples; for the gold and silver images, which he did not hesitate to demolish, must have been of still more excellent workmanship.

During the period of Muhammadan supremacy, the history of Mathurá is almost a total blank. The natural dislike of the ruling power to be brought into close personal connection with such a centre of superstition divested the town of all political importance; while the Hindu pilgrims, who still continued to frequent its impoverished shrines, were not invited to present, as the priests were not anxious to receive, any lavish donation which would only excite the jealousy of the rival faith. Thus, while there are abundant remains of the earlier Buddhist period, there is not a single building, nor fragment of a building, which can be assigned to any year in the long interval between the invasion of Mahmúd in 1017 A.D., and the reign of Akbar in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Nor can this be wondered at, since whenever the unfortunate city did attract the emperor's notice, it became at once a mark for pillage and desecration: and the more religious the sovereign, the more thorough the persecution. Take for example the following passage from the Táríkh-i-Dáúdi of Abdullah (a writer in the reign of Jahángír), who is speaking of Sultán Sikandar Lodí (1488—1516 A.D.), one of the most able and accomplished of all the occupants of the Delhi throne: "He was so zealous a Musalmán that he utterly destroyed

many places of worship of the infidels, and left not a single vestige remaining of them. He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathurá, that mine of heathenism, and turned their principal temples into *saráes* and colleges. Their stone images were given to the butchers to serve them as meat-weights, and all the Hindús in Mathurá were strictly prohibited from shaving their heads and beards, and performing their ablutions. He thus put an end to all the idolatrous rites of the infidels there; and no Hindu, if he wished to have his head or beard shaved, could get a barber to do it."

The reign of tolerance which Akbar* had initiated was of very short duration; for in 1636 we find Murshid Kuli Khán made a commander of 2,000 horse, and appointed by the Emperor Sháh-jahán Governor of Mathurá and Mahában with express instructions to be zealous in stamping out all rebellion and idolatry. But the climax of wanton destruction was attained by Aurangzeb, the Oliver Cromwell of India, who, not content with demolishing the most sacred of its shrines, thought also to destroy even the ancient name of the city, by substituting for it Islámpur or Islámabád. Thus it is only from the days when the Játs and Mahrattas began to be the virtual sovereigns of the country, that any series of monumental records exists.

Mathurá was connected with two important events in Aurangzeb's life. Here was born, in 1639, his eldest son, Muhammad Sultán, who expiated the sin of primogeniture in the Oriental fashion by ending his days in a dungeon; as one of the first acts of his father, on his accession to the throne, was to confine him in the fortress of Gwáliar, where he died in 1665. In the last year of the reign of Sháh-jahán, Aurangzeb was again at Mathurá, and here established his pretensions to the crown by compassing the death of his brother, Murád. This was in 1658, a few days after the momentous battle of Samogarh,† in which the combined forces of the two princes had routed the army of the rightful heir, Dárá. The conquerors encamped together, being apparently on the most cordial and affectionate terms; and Aurangzeb, protesting that for himself he desired only some sequestered spot, where, unharassed by the toils of government, he might pass his time in prayer and religious meditation, persistently addressed Murád by the royal title as the recognized successor of Sháh-jahán. The evening was spent at the banquet; and when the wine cup had begun to circulate freely, the pious Aurangzeb, feigning religious scruples, begged permission to retire. It would have been well for Murád, had he also regarded the prohibition of the *Korán*. The stupor of intoxication soon overpowered him, and he was only restored to consciousness by a contemptuous kick from the foot

* As an indication of reviving importance, it may be mentioned that in Akbar's time there was a mint at Mathurá, though only for copper coinage.

† Samogarh is a village, one march from Agra, since named, in honour of the event, Fatha-bád, 'the place of victory.'

of the brother who had just declared himself his faithful vassal. That same night the unfortunate Murád, heavily fettered, was sent a prisoner to Delhi, and thrown into the fortress of Salím-garh.* He, too, was subsequently removed to Gwáliar, and there murdered.

In spite of the agreeable reminiscences which a man of Aurangzeb's temperament must have cherished in connection with a place where an act of such unnatural perfidy had been successfully accomplished, his fanaticism was not a whit mitigated in favour of the city of Mathurá. In 1668, a local rebellion afforded him a fit pretext for a crusade against Hinduism. The insurgents had mustered at Sahora,† a village in the Mahá-ban pargana, where (as we learn from the Maásir-i-Alamgíri) the Governor Abd-ul-Nabi advanced to meet them. "He was at first victorious and succeeded in killing the ringleaders; but in the middle of the fight he was struck by a bullet, and died the death of a martyr." He was followed in office by Saff-Shikan Khán; but as he was not able to suppress the revolt, which began to assume formidable dimensions, he was removed at the end of the year 1669, and Hasan Alí Khán appointed Faujdár in his place. The ringleader of the disturbances, a Ját, by name Kokila, who had plundered the Sa'dábád pargana, and was regarded as the instrument of Abd-ul-Nabi's death, fell into the hands of the new Governor's Deputy, Shaikh Rázi-ud-dín, and was sent to Agra and there executed.‡ A few months earlier, in February of the same year, during the fast of Ramazán, the time when religious bigotry would be most inflamed, Aurangzeb had descended in person on Mathurá. The temple, specially marked out for destruction, was one built so recently as the reign of Jahángir, at a cost of 33 lakhs, by Bír Sinh Deva, Bundela, of Urcha. Beyond all doubt this was the last of the famous shrines of Kesava Deva, of which further mention will be made hereafter. To judge from the language of the author of the Maásir, its demolition was regarded as a death-blow to Hinduism. He writes in the following triumphant strain:—"In a short time, with the help of numerous workmen, this seat of error was utterly broken down. Glory be to God that so difficult an undertaking has been successfully accomplished in the present auspicious reign, wherein so many dens of heathenism and idolatry have been destroyed.

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* Bernier, on whose narrative the above paragraph is founded, calls Salim-garh by the very English-looking name 'Slinger;' a fine illustration of the absurdity of the phonetic system.

† As is always the case when an attempt is made to identify the local names mentioned by any historian who writes in the Persian character, it is extremely uncertain whether Sahora is really the village intended. The word as given in the manuscript begins with *s* and ends with *a*, and has an *r* in the middle; but beyond that much it is impossible to predicate anything with certainty about it.

‡ His son and daughter were both brought up as Muhammadans, and eventually the girl married Sháh Kuli, and the boy, who had received the name of Fázil, became famous for his skill in reciting the Korán.

Seeing the power of Islam and the efficacy of true religion, the proud Rájás felt their breath burning in their throats, and became as dumb as a picture on a wall. The idols, large and small alike, all adorned with costly jewels, were carried away from the heathen shrine and taken to Agra, where they were buried under the steps of Nawáb Kudsia Begam's mosque, so that people might trample upon them for ever." It was from this event that Mathurá was called Islámabád.

In 1707 Aurangzeb died; and the land had rest for 50 years, till the massacre by Ahmad Sháh Duráni. Another lapse of 30 years, and in 1788 it witnesses the horrible death of Ghulám Kádir ; but both these events have already been recorded in the general narrative of the Ját and Mahratta period (pages 24-27), and need not here be repeated. Suffice it to note that, throughout the Muhammadan period, Mathurá twice only claims a conspicuous place in the pages of history; once at the very first appearance of the conquering race, and once again in the last days of the declining empire. On both occasions the events to be recorded are of a similar character, *viz.*, plunder and massacre ; while the more domestic incidents which crop up to the surface during the same long period are equally characterised by baseness and barbarity.

It was in 1803 that Mathurá passed under British rule, and became a military station on the line of frontier, which was then definitely extended to the Jamuná. This was at the termination of the successful war with Daulat Ráo Sindhia ; when the independent French State, that had been established by Perron, and was beginning to assume formidable dimensions, had been extinguished by the fall of Aligarh ; while the protectorate of the nominal sovereign of Delhi, transferred by the submission of the capital, invested the administration of the Company with the prestige of imperial sanction. In September of the following year Mathurá was held for a few days by the troops of Holkar Jasavant Ráo ; but on the arrival of reinforcements from Agra was re-occupied by the British finally and permanently. Meanwhile, Holkar had advanced upon Delhi, but the defence was so gallantly conducted by Ochterlony that the assault was a signal failure. His army broke up into two divisions, one of which was pursued to the neighbourhood of Farrukhábád, and there totally dispersed by General Lake; while the other was overtaken by General Fraser between Díg and Gobardhan, and defeated with great slaughter. In this latter engagement the brilliant victory was purchased by the death of the officer in command, who was brought into Mathurá fatally wounded, and survived only a few days. He was buried in the Cantonment Cemetery, where a monument* is erected to his memory with the following inscription:—

"Sacred to the memory of Major-General Henry Fraser, of His Majesty's 11th Regiment of Foot, who commanded the British Army at the battle of Deig on the 13th of November, 1804,

* To judge from the extreme clumsiness both of the design and execution, the irregular spacing of the inscription, and the quaint shape of some of the letters, this must have been the very first attempt of a native mason to work on European instructions.

and by his judgment and valour achieved an important and glorious victory. He died in consequence of a wound he received when leading on the troops, and was interred here on the 25th of November, 1804, in the 40th year of his age. The army lament his loss with the deepest sorrow; his country regards his heroic conduct with grateful admiration; history will record his fame and perpetuate the glory of his illustrious deeds."

The next half-century was a period of undisturbed peace and growing prosperity; and, simply recording the fact that in 1832 the city of Mathurá was made the capital of a new district, then formed out of parts of the old districts of Agra and Sa'dábád, we come down to the year 1857. It was on the 14th of May in that eventful year that news arrived of the mutiny at Merath. Mr. Mark Thornhill, who was then magistrate and collector of the district, with Ghulám Husain as deputy collector, sent an immediate requisition for aid to Bharat-pur. Captain Nixon, the political agent, accompanied by Chaudhari Ratn Sinh, chief of the five sardárs, and Gobardhan Sinh the faujdár, came with a small force to Kosi on the northern border of the district, and there stayed for a time in readiness to check the approach of the Mewátis of Gurgáon, and the other rebels from Delhi. Mr. Thornhill had meanwhile removed to Chhátá, a small town on the high-road some eight miles short of Kosi, as being a place which was at once a centre of disaffection, and at the same time possessed in its fortified *saráe* a stronghold capable of long resistance against it. The first outbreak, however, was at Mathurá itself. The sum of money then in the district treasury amounted to rather more than 5½ lakhs, and arrangements had been made for its despatch to Agra, with the exception of one lakh kept in reserve for local requirements. The escort consisted of one company of soldiers from the cantonments, supported by another company which had come over from Agra for the purpose.* The chests were being put on the carts, when one of the subadárs suddenly called out *hoshiyár sipáhí*, 'look alive, my man,' which was evidently a preconcerted signal; and at once a shot was fired, which killed Lieut. Burlton, commandant of the escort, dead on the spot.† The rebels then seized the treasure, together with the private effects of the residents

* There were present at the time Mr. Elliot Colvin, the son of the Lieutenant-Governor, who had been sent from Agra to supersede Mr. Clifford, laid up by severe fever; Lieutenant Graham, one of the officers of the Treasury Guard; Mr. Joyce, the Head Clerk, and two of his subordinates, by name Hashman. As they were cut off from the civil station by the rebels, who occupied the intermediate ground, they made their way into the city to the Seth, by whom they were helped on to Mr. Thornhill's camp at Chhátá. Mr. Nicholls, the Chaplain, with his wife and child, and a Native Christian nurse, took refuge in the collector's house, and waited there for some time in hopes of being joined by the others; but on hearing that the jail was broken open, they fled to Agra.

† The site of the old Court-house is now utterly out of the beaten track, and is all overgrown with dense vegetation, among which may be seen a plain but very substantial stone table tomb, with the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Lieut. P. H. C. Burlton, 67th N. I., who was shot by a detachment of his regiment and of the 11th N. I. near this spot on the 30th of May 1857. This tomb is erected by his brother officers."

in the station, which were also ready to be transported to Agra, and went off in a body to the magistrate's court-house, which they set on fire, destroying all the records, and then took the road to Delhi. But first they broke open the jail and carried all the prisoners with them as far as the city, where they got smiths to strike off their fetters. Besides Lieut. Burlton, one of the treasury officials also was killed. An attempt was made to check the rebel body as it marched through Chhátá, but it was quite ineffectual, and on the 31st of May they entered the town of Kosi. There, after burning down the customs bungalow and pillaging the police station, they proceeded to plunder the tahsíli. But some Rs. 150 was all they could find in the treasury, and most of the records also escaped them. The townspeople and most of the adjoining villages remained well-affected to the Government; and subsequently, as a reward, one year's revenue demand was remitted, and a grant of Rs. 50 made to each head-man. Mr. Thornhill and the other Europeans with him now determined to abandon their position at Chhátá and return to Mathurá, where they took refuge in the city in the house of Seth Lakhmi Chand. While there, a report came that the Játs had set up a Rájá, one Deví Sinh, at Rayá on the other side of the Jamuná. His reign was of no long continuance, for the Kota Contingent, which happened to be on the spot at the time, seized and hanged him with little ceremony. But as soon as this was accomplished, they themselves mutinied; and Mr. Thornhill, who had accompanied them to Rayá, had to make a hasty flight back to Mathurá, bringing some small treasure in the buggy with him.

On the 6th of July, the mutineers of Morár and Nimach, on their retreat from Agra, entered the city. In anticipation of their arrival, Mr. Thornhill, disguised as a native, and accompanied by a trusty jamadár, Diláwar Khán, started to flee to Agra. When they reached Aurangabád, only some four miles on the way, they found the whole county on both sides of the road in the possession of the rebels. The men whom the Seth had despatched as an escort took fright and decamped; but the jamadár, by his adroit answers to all enquiries, was enabled to divert suspicion and bring Mr. Thornhill safely through to Agra. On the suppression of the disturbances, he received, as a reward for his loyalty, a small piece of land on the Brindá-ban road, just outside Mathurá, called after the name of a Bairágí who had once lived there, Dudhádhári.

Though the rebels stayed two days in Mathurá before they passed on to Delhi, the city was not given up to general plunder, partly in consequence of the prudent management of Seth Mangi Lal, who levied a contribution, according to their means, on all the principal inhabitants. At this time Seth Lakhmi Chand was at Díg, but the greater part of his establishment remained behind, and rendered Government the most valuable assistance by the despatch

of intelligence. Order in the city was chiefly maintained by Mír Imdád Ali Khán, thasildár of Kosi, who had been specially appointed deputy collector.

On the 26th of September, the rebels, in their retreat from Delhi, again passed through Mathurá. Their stay on this occasion lasted for a week, and great oppression was practised on the inhabitants, both here and in the neighbouring town of Brindá-ban. They were only diverted from general pillage by the influence of one of their own leaders, a súbadár from Nimach, by name Hirá Sinh, who prevailed upon them to spare the Holy City. For a few days there was a show of regular government ; some of the chief officers in the collector's court, such as the sadr kánungo, Rahmat-ullah, the sarishtadár, Manohar Lál and Vazír Alí, one of the muharrirs, were taken by force and compelled to issue the orders of the new administrators; while Maulvi Karámat Ali was proclaimed in the Jama Masjid as the Viceroy of the Delhi Emperor. It would seem that he also was an involuntary tool in their hands, as he was subsequently put on his trial but acquitted. He is since dead. It is said that during their stay in the city, the rebels found their most obliging friends among the Mathuríya Chaubés, who, perhaps, more than any others, have grown rich and fat under the tolerance of British rule. After threatening Brindában with their cannon and levying a contribution on the inhabitants, they moved away to Háthras, and Bareli. Mír Imdád Ali and the Seth returned from Bharat-pur ; and, in October, Mr. Thornhill arrived from Agra with a company of troops, which in the following month he marched up to Chhátá. There the rebel zamindárs had taken possession of the fortified *saráe* and one of its bastions had to be blown up before an entry could be effected : at the same time the town was set on fire and partially destroyed, and twenty-two of the leading men were shot. A few days previously, Mír Imdád Ali, with Nathu Lál, tahsíldár of Sahár, had gone up into the Kosi pargana and restored order among the Gújars there, who alone of all the natives of the district had been active promoters of disaffection. While engaged in their suppression, Imdád Ali received a gun-shot wound in the chest ; but fortunately it had no fatal result, and he is now deputy collector of Kánhpur, with a special additional allowance of Rs. 150 per mensem. By the end of November, general tranquality was restored ; but it was not till July, 1858, that the treasury was transferred from the Seth's house in the city to the police lines in the civil station.* In Christmas week of the following year, 1859, the Viceroy held a Darbár, in which many honours were conferred upon different individuals, and in particular the ten villages, which the Gújars had forfeited by their open

* Here it remained till after the completion, in 1861, of the new court-house and district offices, which, with important results to archæological research, as will hereafter be shown, were rebuilt on a new site.

rebellion were bestowed upon Rájá Gobind Sinh of Háthras, in acknowledgment of his distinguished loyalty and good services. The value of this grant has been largely diminished by the persistent lawlessness of the ejected Gújars, who have always sullenly resented the loss of their estates. A few months ago their ill-deeds culminated in the barbarous murder of the widowed Ráni's land-agent, Jay Rám Sinh, who was rash enough to pass the night in Jatwári, one of the confiscated villages.

CHAPTER VI.

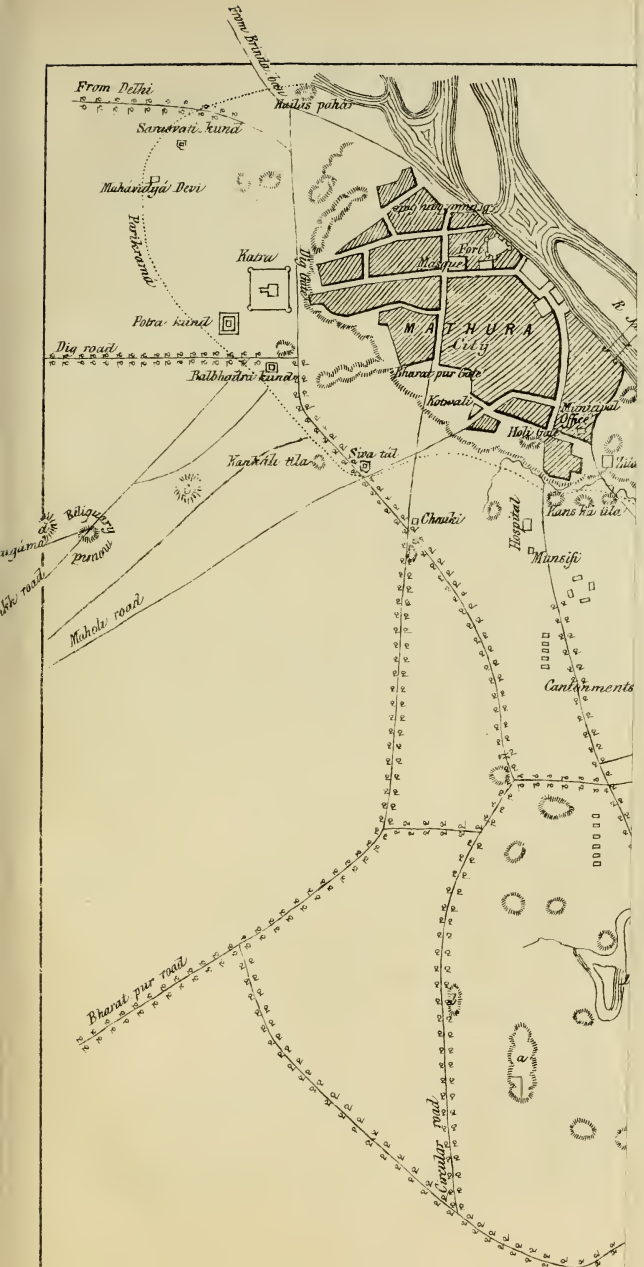
THE CITY OF MATHURÁ: ITS ARCHÆOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY.

In consequence of the changes in religion and the long lapse of time, the whole of the ancient Buddhist buildings described by the Chinese pilgrims had been overthrown, buried, and forgotten, till quite recently, when some fragments of them have been again brought to light. The first discovery was made by General Cunningham in 1853, who noticed some capitals and pillars lying about within the enclosure of the Katra, the site of the Hindu temple of Kesava Deva. A subsequent search revealed the architrave of a gateway and other sculptures, including in particular a standing figure of Buddha, three and-a-half feet high, which was found at the bottom of a well, with an inscription at its base recording the gift of the statue to the 'Jasa Vihara,' or 'Convent of Glory,' which may be taken as the name of one of the Buddhist establishments that had existed on the spot. The date of the presentation was recorded in figures which could not be certainly deciphered.*

A far more important discovery was made in 1860, in digging the foundation of the magistrate and collector's new court-house. The site selected for this building was an extensive mound overhanging the Agra road at the entrance to the civil station. It had always been regarded as merely the remains of a series of brick-kilns, and had been further protected against exploration by the fact that it was crowned by a small mosque. This was, for military reasons, blown down during the mutiny; and afterwards, on clearing away the rubbish and excavating for the new foundations, it was found to have been erected, in accordance with the common usage of the Muhammadan conquerors, upon the ruins of a destroyed temple. A number of Buddhist statues, pillars, and bas-reliefs, were disinterred; and from the inscriptions, which have been partially deciphered, it appears that the mound was occupied by at least four monasteries, bearing, according to General Cunningham, the names of Sanghamittra-sada Vihára, Udapani Aráma, Huvishka Vihára, and Kundokhara,† or as it may be read, Kunda-Suka Vihára. On the pedestal of a seated figure was found recorded the first half of a king's name, Vasu; the latter part was broken away, but the lacuna should probably be supplied with the word 'Deva,' as a group of figures inscribed with the name of King Vasudeva and date Sambat 87, was discovered in 1871 at a neighbouring mound called

* This statue was one of those removed by Dr. Playfair to the Museum at Agra.

† It must be admitted that Kundokhara, *i. e.*, Kunda-pushkara, is a very questionable compound, since the two members of which it is composed would bear each precisely the same meaning.


From Brindabun road
From Delhi
Kusha's pahár
Sanasvati kund
Mahavidyá Devi
Parikrama
Kaisa
Potra kund
Dig road
Balbhadra kunda
Bhárat pur road
Kotwali
Kankáli tila
Siva tál
Chauki
Hospital
Mansifi
Kans ka tila
Holi Gate
Cantonments
Maholi road
Bhárat pur road
Secundra road
MATHURA
City
Fort
Mosque

the 'Kankálí tilá.' Transcripts and translations of many of the inscriptions have been recently made by the learned Sanskrit scholar Bábu Rájendra Lál Mitra, and published in the *Journal of the Calcutta Asiatic Society* for 1870. They are all brief votive records, giving only the name of the obscure donor, accompanied by some stereotyped religious formula. The dates, which it would be interesting to ascertain, are indicated by figures difficult to decipher, and which when deciphered still leave uncertain the era intended. The Bábu concludes that they refer to the Saka era, beginning from 76 A. D.; and if so, they range between 120 and 206 A. D.; but it is quite possible that they are computed from some more exclusively Buddhist era, of which there were several in use. The most numerous remains were portions of stone railing of the particular type used to enclose Buddhist shrines and monuments. These have been collected in the grounds of the Agra Museum and roughly put together in such a way as to indicate the original arrangement. Many of the pillars were marked with figures as a guide to the builder; and thus we learn that one set, for they were of various sizes, consisted of at least as many as 129 pieces. There were also found three large seated figures of Buddha, of which two were full, the third a little less than life-size; and the bases of some 30 large columns. It was chiefly round these bases that the inscriptions were engraved. One of the most noticeable fragments was a stone hand, measuring a foot across the palm, which must have belonged to a statue not less than from 20 to 24 feet in height. It would be interesting to unearth the remainder of this enormous colossus. Most of the sculptures were executed in common red sandstone and were of indifferent workmanship, in every way inferior to the specimens more recently discovered at other mounds in the neighbourhood. The most artistic was the figure of a dancing-girl rather more than half life-size, in a natural and graceful attitude.* Like the so-called figure of Silenus, discovered by James Prinsep in 1836, it was probably the work of a Greek artist: a conjecture which involves no historical difficulty, since in the Yuga-Purána of the Gárgi-Sanhitá, written about the year 50 B. C., it is explicitly stated that Mathurá was reduced by the Greeks, and that their victorious armies advanced into the very heart of Hindustáu, even as far as Pátali-putra. The text is as follows† :—

ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पञ्चालान् मथुरां तथा ।
यवना दुष्टविक्रान्ताः प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजम् ।
ततः पुष्पपुरे प्राप्ते कर्दमे प्रथिते हिते ।
अकुला विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

* Two representations of this figure are given in Cunningham's Archæological Survey, Vol. I., page 240.

† I quote from Dr. Kern's Brihat Sanhitá, for though several of the Mathurá Pandits have good collections of MSS., the genuine Gárgi-Sanhitá is so scarce a work that it is not to be

"Then those hateful conquerors, the Greeks, after reducing Sáketa, the country of Panchála and Mathurá, will take Kusuma-dhvaja (Pátali-putra); and when Pushpa-pura (*i. e.*, Pátali-putra) is taken, every province will assuredly become disordered."

As mentioned above, one of the inscriptions gave the name of Huvishka,* and is therefore of special interest, since the Rájá-Taranginí mentions among the successors of the great Asoka, in the latter half of the century immediately preceding the birth of Christ, three kings of foreign descent named Hushka (or Huvishka), Jushka, and Kanishka. The later Muhammadan writers represent them as brothers; but it is not so stated in the Sanskrit chronicle, the words of which are simply as follows:—

हुष्कजुष्ककनिष्काख्यास्त्रयस्तत्रैव पार्थिवाः।
ते तुरुष्कान्वयोद्भूता अपि पुण्याश्रया नृपाः।
प्राज्ये राज्यक्षणे तेषां प्रायः काश्मीरमण्डलं।
भोज्यमास्ते च बौद्धानां प्रव्रज्योर्जिततेजसां।

"There, too, the three kings Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, born of Turushka descent, monarchs of eminent virtue. In their exalted reign a great part of the region of Kashmír was occupied by peripatetic Buddhist ascetics."

Their dominions are known to have included Kábul, Kashmír, and the Panjáb; and recently-discovered inscriptions, as this at Mathurá, imply that their sway extended further over a considerable portion of Upper India. It is true that many of the religious buildings in holy places have been founded by foreign princes who had no territorial connection with the neighbourhood; but there seems to have been some special bond of union between Mathurá and Kashmír. Incredible as it has been deemed by most geographers, it is yet within the range of possibility that Ptolemy intended, by the close similarity of names, to indicate a connection between Κασπηρία ὑπὸ τὰς τοῦ Βιδά σπου καὶ τοῦ Σανδόβαλ καὶ τοῦ Ροαδίος πηγάς—that is, Kasperia, or Kashmír, at the sources

found in any of them. The siege of Sáketa is ascertained to have taken place early in the reign of Menander, who ascended the throne in the year 144 B. C., Pushpa-mitra being at that time King of Pátali-putra.

* This inscription, which, like most of the others, was round the base of a pillar (now preserved in the Museum of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta), has been deciphered and translated by Bábu Rájendra Lál Mitra, conjecturally, as follows:—

सं ५९ दि ४० महाराजस्य रजाति रजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य विहारे दानं
भिक्षु जीवकस्य उदियनकस्य कुभकस्यसत्र सर्वसत्वहेत सुख भवत् सघ चतुर्द्दशे

"Presented on the 4th day of the year 59, to the Vihára of the great king, king of kings, the heaven-born Huvishka, by the mendicant Jívaka Udiyanaka, known by the name of the breath-suspended! May it prove a blessing to all mankind. The fourteenth congregation!"

of the Vitasta, the Chandra-bhága and the Rávi—and the Kashpeiroei, dwelling lower down on the Vindhya range, and the banks of the Jamuná, one of whose chief towns was Mathurá. For, further, Ptolemy represents ἡ Πανδώου Χώρα the country of Pándu, as lying in the neighbourhood of the Vitasta, or Jhelam; while Arrian, quoting from Megasthenes, says it derived its name from Pandœa, the daughter of Hercules, the divinity specially venerated by the Suraseni on the Jamuná. Thus, as it would seem, he identifies Mathurá, the chief town of the Suraseni, with Pandœa. Balaráma, one of its two tutelary divinities, may be certainly recognized as Belus, the Indian Hercules; while, if we allow for a little distortion of the original legend, Prithá, another name of Kuntí, the mother of the Pándavas and sister of Krishna and Balaráma's father, Vasudeva, may be considered the native form which was corrupted into Pandœa. In historical illustration of the same line of argument, it may be remarked that Gonarda I., the king of Kashmír, contemporary with Krishna, is related (Rája-Taranginí, I., 59)* to have been a kinsman of Jarásandha and to have assisted him in the siege of Mathurá. He was slain there on the bank of the Kalindi, *i. e.*, the Jamuná, by Balaráma. His son and successor, Dámodara, a few years later, thinking to avenge his father's death, made an attack on a party of Krishna's friends as they were returning from a wedding at Gandhára near the Indus, but himself met his death at that hero's hands. The next occupant of the throne of Mathurá in succession to Jarásandha was Karna, the faithful ally of the Kauravas, against whom the great war was waged by Krishna and the Pándavas. Gonarda II., the son of Dámodara, was too young to take any part in the protracted struggle; but the reigning houses of Mathurá and Kashmír acknowledged a common enemy in Krishna, and the fact appears to have conduced to a friendly feeling between the two families, which lasted for many generations. Thus we read in the Rájá-Taranginí (IV., 512)† that when Jayapída, who reigned over Kashmír at the end of the eighth century after Christ, built his new capital of Jayapura, a stately temple was founded there and dedicated to Mahádeva

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* काश्मीरेन्द्रः स गोनर्दः .. .. .. ।
साहायकार्थमाहूतो जरासन्धेन बन्धुना ।
समं सुरोध कंसारेर्मथुरां पृथुभिर्बलैः ।

"Gonarda, the king of Kashmír, having been summoned by his relation, Jarásandha, to his assistance, besieged with a mighty army Krishna's city of Mathurá."

† तस्मिन् जयपुरे कोट्टे जयदत्तोऽथ्यधान्मठं ।
राजक्षत्तुः प्रमोदस्य जामाता मथुरापतेः ।
आचाभिधोऽचरयच्छुचिराचेश्वरं हरं ।

under the title of Achesvara, by Acha, the son-in-law of Pramoda, the king of Mathurá.*

In close proximity to the mound where the antiquities, which we have described above, were discovered, is a large walled enclosure, called the Damdama, for some years past occupied by the reserves of the district police, but originally one of a series of *saráes* erected in the time of the Emperor Jalál-ud-din Akbar, along the road between the two royal residences of Agra and Delhi. Hence the adjoining hamlet derives its name of Jalálpur; and for the sake of convenience, when future reference is made to the mound, it will be by that title. As it is at some distance to the south-east of the katra, the traditional site of ancient Mathurá, and so far agrees with the position assigned by Hwen Thsang to the stúpa erected to commemorate Buddha's interview with the monkey, there is plausible ground for identifying the two places. The identification is confirmed by the discovery of the inscription with the name Kundo Khara or Kundasuka ; for, whichever way the word is read, it would seem to contain a reference to a tank *(kunda)*, and a tank was the characteristic feature of Hwen Thsang's monkey stúpa. It at first appears a little strange that there should be, as the inscriptions lead us to infer, four separate monasteries on one hill, but General Cunningham states that in Barma, where Buddhism is still the national religion, such juxtaposition is by no means uncommon.

Incidental allusion has already been made to the Kankáli, or, as it is occasionally called, the Jaini Tíla.† This is an extensive mound on the side of the road which leads from Jalálpur saráe to the katra. A fragment of a carved Buddhist pillar is set up in a mean little shed on its summit and does duty for the goddess Kankáli, to whom it is dedicated. A few years ago, the hill was partially trenched, when two colossal statues of Buddha in his character of teacher were discovered. They are each seven and a half feet in height, and are now in the grounds of the Agra Museum. Whatever else was found was collected on the same spot as the remains from the Jalálpur mound, and it is therefore possible (as no accurate note was made at the time) that some of the specimens referred to the latter locality were not really found there ; but there is no doubt as to the inscriptions, and this is the only point of any importance. Further excavations resulted in the discovery of several mutilated statues of finer stone and superior execution, and it was thought that many more might still

* I have not been able to trace king Pramoda's name elsewhere. He may have been one of the seven Nágas (or, according to another MS., Mauna) princes, whom the Vayu Purána mentions as destined to reign over Mathurá—

मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यन्ति सप्त वै

"The seven Nágas will possess the pleasant city of Mathurá."

† By the roadside, between the Kankáli Tíla and Siva Tál a handsome chhatri is now being built in memory of Chaubé Genda, Purohit to the Rájá of Jhálrá-pattan.

remain buried; as the adjoining fields for a considerable distance were strewn with fragments applied to all sorts of vile purposes. A large figure of an elephant —unfortunately without its trunk—standing on the capital of a pillar and in all respects similar to the well-known example at Sankisa, but of much coarser work, was found in 1871 in a neighbouring garden. On the front of the abacus is engraved an inscription with the name of King Huvishka and date 'Sambat 39.' Another inscription, containing the name of King Kanishka with date 'Sambat 9,' was discovered the same day on the mound itself below a square pillar, carved with four nude figures, one on each face. This is of special interest, inasmuch as nude figures are always considered a distinctive mark of the Jain sect, which is supposed to be a late perversion of Buddhism; an opinion which will have to be modified if the date in the present instance has been correctly read.

A special grant for the purpose having been sanctioned by the Local Government, a supplementary exploration of the Kankáli Tíla was taken in hand August, 1873, and brought to completion while these sheets were passing through the press. The only objects of interest that have been found are as follows :—

1*st.*—A life-size seated figure with an elaborately carved nimbus and long hair flowing over the shoulders and down the back. The head is lost.

2*nd.*—A teacher of the law standing between two tiers of small figures seated in the attitude of contemplation, with a Caliban-like monster sprawling over the top of the canopy above his head. The arms and feet of the principal figure are missing ; but with this exception the group is in good preservation and is well executed.

3*rd.*—A spandril of a doorway carved with the representation of a triumphal column surmounted by an elephant. This would be of some value as a model.

4*th.*—A *chaumukhi*, or pillar of four (headless) Buddhas, seated back to back, well executed in fine white stone.

5*th.*—A *chaumukhi* of four standing nude figures, roughly carved in coarse red sandstone.

6*th.*—A pair of columns, 3½ feet high, characteristically carved with three horizontal bands of conventional foliage and festoons, which are slightly suggestive of a classic model.

7*th.*—A cross-bar of a Buddhist railing with a sculptured medallion on either side.

The discoveries have been less extensive than was anticipated ; but even a purely negative result, if placed on record, would have been of value, as affording a definite answer to future enquirers. It is worthy of remark that no definite line of foundation was brought to light, nor any large remains of plain

masonry superstructure; but only a confused medley of broken statues without even the pedestals on which they must have been originally erected. This suggests a suspicion that possibly there never was a temple on the site, but that the sculptures were brought from different places in the neighbourhood and here thrown into a pit by the Muhammadans to be buried. They clearly belong to two very different periods. The more ancient are roughly carved in coarse red sandstone, and whenever there is any lettering it is in an obsolete character: the more modern display much higher artistic skill, are executed in much finer material, and from the fragments of inscription, which are all in the Nagari character, apparently belong to the eleventh century after Christ. Explorations have now been commenced at two other large mounds, which have never hitherto attracted the notice of the archæologist, lying about half a mile from the back of the Damdama by the side of the circular road, on the outskirts of the village of Mirzapur and within the limits of cantonments. Here have been found, only partially buried in the soil, the lower extremities of two large figures; the one a seated Buddha with a single line of inscription in the Gupta character, the other a female figure with a child in her lap and other accessories.

The third of the principal Buddhist sites is the vicinity of the katra. Here, at the back of the temple of Bhutesvar Mahádeva, is rather a high hill of very limited area, on the top of which stood, till removed by the writer, a Buddhist pillar of unusually large dimensions. It is carved in front with a female figure, nearly life-size, bearing an umbrella, and above her head is a grotesque bas-relief representing two monkeys, a bird, and a misshapen human dwarf. Immediately opposite the temple is a large ruinous tank, called Balbhadra Kund, with a skirting wall, into which had been built up some perfect specimens of the cross-bars of a Buddhist railing. These are remarkably curious; for though the uprights are often found, the smaller horizontal pieces of the ballustrade are very rare; so much so, that Fergusson, in his History of Architecture, speaks of the Sánchi railing as the only built example yet discovered; as an architectural ornament it may be seen carved on every ancient Buddhist shrine. From an adjoining well was recovered a plain pillar measuring four feet seven inches in height by eleven inches in breadth, carved in front merely with two roses. The elliptical holes in the sides of the pillar were too large for the cross-bars, which must have belonged to a smaller range. They measure only one foot three inches in length, and are enriched with various devices, such as a rose, a lotus, some winged monster, &c. These were eleven in number: four of the most perfect were taken away by General Cunningham, the rest are still *in situ*. Built into the verandah of a *chaupál* close by were five other Buddhist pillars of elaborate design and almost perfect preservation. It is said that there was originally a sixth, which some years ago was sent down to Calcutta; there it has now been

followed by two more; the remaining three are in the possession of the writer. They are each four feet four inches in height and eleven inches broad; the front is carved with a standing female figure whose feet rest upon a crouching monster. In an upper compartment, divided off by a band of Buddhist railing, are two demi-figures, male and female, in amorous attitudes, of very superior execution. On one pillar the principal figure is represented as gathering up her drapery, in another as painting her face with the aid of a mirror, and in the third as supporting with one hand a wine-jar, and in the other, which hangs down by her side, holding a bunch of grapes. Each of these figures is entirely devoid of clothing: the drapery mentioned as belonging to one of them is simply being gathered up from behind. They have, however, a profusion of ornaments—*karas* on the ankles, a belt round the waist, a *mohan-málá* on the neck, *karn phuls* in the ears, and *báju-band*, *chúri*, and *pahunchi* on the arms and wrists. There are also three bas-reliefs at the back of each pillar; the subject of one is most grossly indecent; another represents Buddha's mother, Máyá Devi, with the Bo-tree. A fragment of a pillar from one of the smaller concentric circles of this same set was at some time sent to Lahor, and is now to be seen in the museum there.

Close at the back of the Balbhadra Kund and the katra is a range of hills of considerable elevation, commonly called *dhúl kot*, literally 'dust-heaps,' the name given to the accumulation of refuse that collects outside a city, and so corresponding precisely to the Monte Testaccio at Rome. These are, however, clearly of natural formation, and probably indicate the old course of the Jamuná. But at the distance of about a mile and a half to the south-west is a group of some twelve or fourteen circular mounds, strewn with fragments of brick and stone, which would seem all to have been stúpas. Certainly one was, for in the year 1868 a road, leading to the village of Sonkh, was carried through it, and in the centre was disclosed a masonry cell containing a small gold reliquary, the size and shape of a pill-box. Inside was a tooth, the safe-guard of which was the sole object of box, cell, and hill, but it was thrown away as of no value. The box was preserved on account of the material and has been given to the writer by Mr. Hind, the district engineer, whose workmen had discovered it. As these hills are to the north of the Jalálpur mound, they may with great probability be identified with the group of stúpas described by Hwen Thsang as lying to the north of 'the monkey tank.'

Just outside the south, or, as it is called, the Holi Gate of the city, is a hill known as the Kans-ká Tila, from the summit of which the tyrant of that name is supposed to have been tumbled down by Krishna. General Cunningham suggests that this might be one of the seven great stúpas mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, and adds that on the north of the city there are two hills still bearing the names of Anand and Vináyaka, titles which they specify. But in

this it appears that he was misinformed, as no such localities can be traced. Of the hills to the north of Mathurá, the most conspicuous are called respectively Kailás, Mahal,* Hanumán, and Ganes. An Anant tirtha, easily to be confounded with Anand, is noted in the Mathurá Máhátmya; and the fact that Vináyaka, besides its Buddhist meaning, is also an epithet of Ganes, may have given rise to an error in the other name. Further, all these hills, including the Kans-ká Tíla, appear to be of natural formation, the whole country being broken up into heights and hollows of indefinite number and extent. All the ancient Buddhist sites must be looked for at a greater distance from the river and outside the modern city in the open country between the Dam-dama, the circular road, and the back of the katra.

It is evident that the Kankáli Tíla was the site of a very large religious establishment, most probably the *Upagupta* monastery mentioned by Hwen Thsang as lying to the east of the town. It is a little to the east of the katra, which may be taken as the centre of the old town, since local tradition invariably represents it to have been so. The town, no doubt, always stood on the water's edge; but the tradition is confirmed by the appearance of the ground immediately around the katra, which has evidently been affected by fluvial action and also by the present habits of the river, which is persistent in endeavouring to desert its present channel in favour of one still more to the east. The stream may have so worked its way between the natural hills and artificial mounds that the temples, which once stood on its east bank, found themselves on the west, while those that were originally on the western verge of the river were eventually left far inland. This was the view taken by Tavernier more than two centuries ago,† who was so far influenced by the popular tradition and the appearance of the country as to assert positively, not only that the course of the river had changed, but that the change had taken place quite recently. His words are as follows:—"At Cheki Sera (by which he must intend the ~~Azamabad~~ saráe, then recently built) may be seen one of the largest pagodas in all India. Connected with it is a hospital for monkeys, not only for those that are ordinarily on the spot, but also for any that may come from the surrounding country, and Hindús are employed to feed them. This pagoda is called Maturá, and was once held in much greater veneration by the heathen than it is now ; the reason being that the Jamuná (Gemené) used to flow at its foot, and so the Hindús, whether natives or strangers, who had come from a distance on a pilgrimage for purposes of devotion, had facilities for bathing in the river both before they entered the pagoda and also before eating when they went away. For they must not eat without bathing, and they believe that their sins are best effaced by a dip in flowing water. But for some years

* So called from a dwelling-house that was built there by Sawáe Jay Sinh.

† The edition from which I translate was published at Paris in 1677.

past the river has taken a turn to the north, and now flows at the distance of a *kos* or more; whence it comes about that the shrine is less frequented by pilgrims than it used to be." General Cunningham in his Archæological Report has identified the Upagupta monastery with the Jasa Vihára inside the katra; but in all probability he would not now adhere to this theory; for, at the time when he advanced it, he had never visited the Kankáli Tíla, and was also under the impression that the fort had always been, as it now is, the centre of the city. Even then, to maintain his theory, he was obliged to have recourse to a very violent expedient, and in the text of the Chinese pilgrim alter the word 'east' to 'west,' because, he writes, "a mile to the east would take us to the low ground on the opposite bank of the Jamuná, where no ruins exist;" forgetting, apparently, Fa Hian's distinct statement that in his time there were monasteries on both sides of the river. This expression, it is true, must not be pressed too closely, since it may refer exclusively, as it certainly refers in part, to the religious buildings in the town of Mahá-ban, which stands on the opposite bank of the river. But, however this may be, it is certain that the topographical descriptions of the two pilgrims may be reconciled with existing facts without any tampering with the text of their narrative. Taking the katra, or the adjoining shrine of Bhutesvar, as the omphalos of the ancient city, and the probable site of the great stúpa of Sáriputra, a short distance to the east will bring us to the Kankáli Tíla, *i. e.*, the monastery of Upagupta; while the Jalálpur mound has already been identified with the monkey stúpa, and the mounds on the Sonkh road with "the stúpas of the four earlier Buddhas and other great teachers of the law."

On the decline of Buddhism, Mathurá acquired that character for sanctity which it still retains, as the reputed birth-place of the deified Krishna. Or, more probably, the triumph of Buddhism was a mere episode, on the conclusion of which the city re-acquired a character which it had before enjoyed at a much eralier period; for it may be inferred from the language of the Greek geographers that Bráhmanism was in their time the religion of the country, and Hindu tradition is uniform in maintaining its claims both to holiness and antiquity. Thus it is represented as the second of the capitals of the Lunar race, which were in succession Prayág, Mathurá, Kusasthali, and Dwáraká; and in the following well-known couplet it is ranked among the seven sanctuaries of Hindustán:—

Kásí Kánti cha Máyákhyá twayodhyá Dwáravatyapi
Mathurávantiká chaitá sapta puryo tra mokshadáh.

"Kási (*i. e.*, Banáras), Kánti (probably Kanchi), Mayá (*i. e.*, Haridwár), with Ayodhyá, Dwáravati, Mathurá, and Avantiká, are the seven cities of salvation."

At the present day, though crowded with sacred sites, the traditionary scenes of Krishna's adventures, there is not, thanks to Muhammadan intolerance, a

single building of any antiquity either in the city or its environs. Its most famous temple—that dedicated to Kesava Deva—was destroyed, as mentioned above, in 1669, in the eleventh year of the reign of the iconolastic Aurangzeb. The mosque erected on its ruins is a building of little architectural value, but the natural advantages of its lofty and isolated position render it a striking feature in the landscape. The so-called katra, in which it stands, a place to which frequent allusion has been made in the course of this sketch, is an oblong enclosure, like a *saráe*, 804 feet in length by 653 feet in breadth. Upon a raised terrace, 172 feet long and 86 feet broad, stands the mosque, occupying the entire length of the terrace, but only 60 feet of its breadth. About five feet lower is another terrace measuring 286 feet by 268. There may still be seen let into the Muhammadan pavement some votive tablets with Nágari inscriptions dated Sambat 1713 and 1720, corresponding to 1656 and 1663 A. D. In the latter year the temple was seen standing by Bernier, who writes :— "Between Delhi and Agra, a distance of fifty or sixty leagues, there are no fine towns, the whole road is cheerless and uninteresting; nothing is worthy of observation but Mathurá, where an ancient and magnificent pagan temple is still to be seen." The plinth of the temple-wall was traced by General Cunningham for a distance of 163 feet, and there is reason to believe it extended still further.* The building is described at considerable length by Tavernier, who saw it about the year 1650. He writes :—"After the temples of Jagrenath and Banárous, the most important is that of Matura, about 18 *kos*† from Agra on the road to Delhi. It is one of the most sumptuous edifices in all India, and the place where there used to be formerly the greatest concourse of pilgrims ; but now they are not so many, the Hindus having gradually lost their previous veneration for the temple, on account of the Jamuná, which used to pass close by, now having changed its bed and formed a new channel half a league away. For, after bathing in the river, they lose too much time in returning to the temple, and on the way might come across something to render them unclean.

"The temple is of such a vast size that, though in a hollow, one can see it five or six *kos* off, the building being very lofty and very magnificent. The stone used in it is of a reddish tint, brought from a large quarry near Agra. It splits like our slate, and you can have slabs 15 feet long, and nine or ten broad, and only some six inches thick; in fact, you can split them just as you like and according

* General Cunningham's remarks on the date of this temple are most singularly and unaccountably wide of the mark.

† Here he states the distance correctly ; but in another place he gives the stages from Delhi to Agra as follows :—"From Delhi to Badelpoura, 8 *kos*; from Badelpoura to Pelwel ki sera, 18 ; from Pelwel ki sera to Cot ki sera (Kosi) 15 ; from Cot ki sera to Cheki sera (Mathurá) 16; from Cheki sera to Goodki sera, 5 ; from Goodki sera to Agra, 6." One stage must have been omitted at the end.

to your requirements, while you can also have fine columns. The whole of the fort at Agra, the walls of Jehánábád, the king's palace, and some of the houses of the nobles are built of this stone. To return to the temple.—It is set on a large octagonal platform, which is all faced with cut stone, and has round about it two bands of many kinds of animals, but particularly monkeys, in relief; the one band being only two feet off the ground level, the other, two feet from the top. The ascent is by two staircases of 15 or 16 steps each; the steps being only two feet in length, so that two people cannot mount abreast. One of these staircases leads to the grand entrance of the temple, the other to the back of the choir. The temple, however, occupies only half the platform, the other half making a grand square in front. Like other temples, it is in the form of a cross, and has a great dome in the middle with two rather smaller at the sides. Outside, the building is covered from top to bottom with figures of animals, such as rams, monkeys, and elephants, carved in stone; and all round there are nothing but niches occupied by different monsters. In each of the three towers there are at every stage from the base to the pinnacle windows five or six feet high, each provided with a kind of balcony, where four persons can sit. Each balcony is covered with a little vault, supported some by four, others by eight columns arranged in pairs and all touching. Round these towers there are yet more niches full of figures representing demons, one has four arms, another four legs; some human heads on bodies of beasts with horns and long tails twining round their thighs. There are also many figures of monkeys, and it is quite shocking to have before one's eyes such a host of monstrosities.

"The pagoda has only one entrance, which is very lofty, with many columns and images of men and beasts on either side. The choir is enclosed by a screen composed of stone pillars, five or six inches in diameter, and no one is allowed inside but the chief Bráhmans, who make use of a little secret door which I could not discover. When in the temple, I asked some of the Bráhmans if I could see the great Rám Rám, meaning the great idol. They replied that if I would give them something, they would go and ask permission of their superior;* which they did as soon as I had put in their hands a couple of rupees. After waiting about half an hour, the Bráhmans opened a door on the inside in the middle of the screen—outside, the screen is entirely closed—and, at about 15 or

* Regarding the veneration paid to the head of the temple, Tavernier in another place relates the following anecdote:—"While I was at Agra in the year 1642, a very odd thing happened. A Hindu broker in Dutch employ, by name Voldas, some 70 or 80 years of age, received tidings of the death of the chief Bráhman, that is to say, the high priest of the temple of Maturá. He at once went to the head of the office, and begged him to take his accounts and finish them off, for as his high priest was dead he wished to die too, that he might serve the holy man in the other world. Directly his accounts had been inspected, he got into his carriage together with some relations who followed him, and, as he had taken nothing either to eat or drink since the news had reached him, he died on the road, without ever expressing a wish for any food."

16 feet from the door, I saw, as it were, a square altar, covered with old gold and silver brocade, and on it the great idol that they call Rám Rám. The head only is visible, and is of very black marble, with what seemed to be two rubies for eyes. The whole body from the neck to the feet was covered with an embroidered robe of red velvet, and no arms could be seen. There were two other idols, one on either side, two feet high, or thereabouts, and got up in the same style, only with white faces; these they called Becchor. I also noticed in the temple a structure 15 or 16 feet square, and from 12 to 15 feet high, covered with coloured cloths representing all sorts of demons. This structure was raised on four little wheels, and they told me it was the movable altar, on which they set the great god on high feast days, when he goes to visit the other gods, and when they take him to the river with all the people on their chief holiday."

From the above description, the temple would seem to have been crowded with coarse figure-sculptures, and not in such pure taste as the somewhat older temple of Govind Deva at Brindá-ban and Hari Deva at Gobardhan; but it must still have been a most sumptuous and imposing edifice, and we cannot but detest the bigotry of the barbarian who destroyed it. At the time of its demolition it had been in existence only some fifty years, but it is certain that an earlier shrine, or series of shrines, on the same site and under the same dedication, had been famous for many ages. Thus it is said in the Váráha Purána—

Na Kesava samo deva na Máthura samo dvija.

"No god like Kesava, and no Bráhman like a Mathuriya Chaube."

In still earlier times the site had been appropriated by another religion, as is attested by the Buddhist remains which we have already described as found there.

In anticipation of Aurangzeb's raid, the ancient image of the god was removed by Ráná Ráj Sinh of Mewár, and was set up on the spot where, as they journeyed, the wheels of the chariot sank in the deep sand and refused to be extricated. It happened to be an obscure little village, then called Siarh, on the Banás, 22 miles north-east of Udaypur. But the old name is now lost in the celebrity of the temple of Náth ji, 'the Lord,' which gives its designation to the town of Náth-dwára, which has grown up round it. This is the most highly venerated of all the statues of Krishna. There are seven other of great repute, which also deserve mention here, as a large proportion of them came from the neighbourhood of Mathurá, *viz*, Nava-níta at Náthdwára; Mathurá-náth at Kota; Dwáraká-náth at Kankarauli, brought from Kanauj; Jadu-náth at Súrat from Mahá-ban; Bitthal-náth or Pándu-rang at Kota from Banáras; Madan Mohan from Brindá-ban; and Gokul-náth, or Gokul-chandramá, from Gokul; which two last were at Jaypur till a few years ago, when, in consequence of the Mahárája's dislike to all the votaries of Vishnu, they were

removed to Kám-ban in Bharat-pur territory. In all probability before very long they will be brought back to their original homes.

At the back of the katra is the modern temple of Kesava Deva, a cloistered quadrangle of no particular architectural merit, and, except on special occasions, little frequented in consequence of its distance from the main town. It is supported by an annual endowment of Rs. 1,027, the rents of the village of Undí in the Chhátá pargana. Close by is a very large quadrangular tank of solid masonry, called the Potara-kund, in which, as the name denotes, Krishna's 'baby-linen' was washed. There is little or no architectural decoration, but the great size and massiveness of the work render it imposing, while the effect is greatly enhanced by the venerable trees which overhang the enclosing wall. Unfortunately the soil is so porous that the supply of water is rapidly absorbed, and in every season but the rains the long flights of steps are dry to their very base. Its last restoration was made at considerable cost in 1850 by the Kámdár of the Gwáliár Ráj. A small cell on the margin of the tank, called indifferently Kárá-grah, 'the prison-house,' or Janm-bhúmi, 'the birth-place,' marks the spot where Vasudeva and Devakí were kept in confinement, and where their son Krishna was born. The adjoining suburb, in its name Mall-pura, commemorates, it is said, Kansa's two famous *mallas*, *i. e.*, 'wrestlers,' Chánura and Mushtika.

In connection with the discovery of Buddhist antiquities, allusion has already been made to the temple of Bhutesvar Mahadeva, which overlooks the old and ruinous Balbhadra-kund. In its present form it is a quadrangle of ordinary character with pyramidal tower and cloister built by the Mahrattas towards the end of last century. The site has probably been occupied by successive religious buildings from most remote antiquity, and was at one time the centre of the town of Mathurá, which has now moved away from it more than a mile to the east. In the earlier days of Bráhmanism, before the development of the Krishna cultus, it may be surmised that Bhútesvar was the special local divinity. There are in Braj three other shrines of Mahádeva of high traditional repute, in spite of the meanness of their modern accessories, *viz.*, Kámesvar at Káma, Chakresvar at Gobardhan, and Gopesvar at Brindá-ban.

Of the many little shrines that cluster about the Balbhadra-kund,* one is dedicated to Balaráma under his title of Dáu-jí, 'the elder brother;' another to Ganes, and a third to Nar-Sinha, 'the man-lion,' the fourth incarnation of Vishnu. According to the legend, there was an impious king, by name Hiranya-Kasipu, who claimed universal sovereignty over all powers on earth, in heaven,

* A mela is held by the Balbhadra-kund on the full moon of Sráwan, the feast of the Salúno. A branch of the canal will soon be brought into the immediate neighbourhood, and it may be hoped that some wealthy and devout Hindu may then be moved to undertake the restoration of what is certainly one of the most ancient of all the holy places in Mathurá.

and hell. No one had the hardihood to oppose him, save his own son, the pious prince Prahlád, who was for ever singing the praises of the great god Vishnu. "If," said the king, "your god is everywhere present, let him now show himself in this pillar which I strike." At the word the pillar parted in twain and revealed the god in terrible form, half lion half man, who seized the boastful monarch and tore him in pieces and devoured him.

In an adjoining orchard called the Kázi's Bágh, is a small modern mosque, and in connection with it a curious square building of red sandstone. It now encloses a Muhammadan tomb, and, if originally constructed for that purpose, is a striking illustration of theinfluence of the *genius loci;* for it has nothing Saracenic about it, and is a good specimen of the pure Hindu style of architecture with characteristic columns and quasi arches.

After leaving the great entrance to the katra, the Delhi road passes a masonry well* called 'Kubjá's,' in commemoration of the miracle which Krishna wrought in straightening the hump-backed maiden who met him there. A little further on, a handsome bridge, built by Seth Lakhmi Chand in 1849, crosses a natural watercourse known as the Sarasvati Sangam, or 'confluence of the Sarasvatí,' to the right of which is a hill called Kailás, with the temple of Gokarnesvar Mahádeva, and to the left an open plain, where the sports of the Rám Lilá are celebrated on the festival of the Dasahara. Close by is a tank called the Sarasvati-kund, measuring 125 feet square. Owing to some fault in the construction, it is almost always dry, and the adjoining buildings have also rather a ruinous and deserted appearance. We learn, however, from the following inscription which is on a tablet over the entrance to the temple, that the last restoration was completed so recently as the year 1846 :—

श्रीमत् परमहंस परिव्राजकाचार्य्य श्री ७ स्वामी परमहंसजी तच्चरण सेवापरायण बलदेव दास गोस्वामी बासी मथुराजी दशावतार की गली केनें सरस्वती कुण्ड को जीर्णोद्धार सर्व ओरतें तथा नवीन सरस्वती को मन्दिर श्रीमूर्त्ति प्रतिष्ठा सुद्धां बनवायो मार्फत छोटेलाल मन्नूलाल सनाढ्य की उस्तां चुन्नी में लागत रुपया २०३५) मिति कार्त्तिक शु० १३ सं० १९०३

The above, which exhibits several peculiarities, both in style and phraseology, may be rendered as follows :—"Baladeva Gosain, resident of the Dasávatár Gali of Mathurá, the devoted servant of the venerable contemplative ascetic the right reverend Swámi Paramhans, thoroughly restored from ruin the Sarasvati-kund, and built this new temple and in due form set up a god in it. His agents were Chhote Lál and Mannú Lál, Sanádhs; the head of the works Chunni; the cost Rs. 2,735. Kártik sudi 13th, Sambat 1903." The Swámi's actual name

* Immediately opposite the well a fragment of a sculptured Buddhist pillar has been set up, and receives religious honours as representing the Hindu goddess Devi.

was Náráyan, and his disciple Baladeva was a foundling whom he picked up in the street. Both were Pandits of high local repute. At no great distance is the temple of Mahá-Vidya Devi. The original image with that dedication is said to have been set up by the Pándavas; the present shrine, a *Sikhara* of ordinary character in a small quadrangle, was built by the Peshwá towards the end of last century. The hill upon which it stands is ascended by flights of masonry steps between 30 and 40 in number. At the foot is a small dry tank, completely overgrown with a dense jungle of *ber*, *pílu*, and *kíns*. In the court-yard, which occupies the entire plateau, is a *karíl* tree said to be of enormous age, under which may be seen, among other fragments, a Buddhist pillar carved with the figure of Máyá Devi under a Bo-tree, and a square stone box with a seated Buddha on each of its four sides. Two melas are held here on the 8th of the light fortnight of Chait and Kuwár.

At several of the holy places, as we have had occasion to remark, a large tank forms one of the principal features; but the only one that can be called a success is the Siva Tál, not far from the Kankáli Tíla. This is a spacious quadrangular basin of great depth, and always well supplied with water. It is enclosed in a high boundary wall with corner kiosques and a small arched doorway in the centre of three of its sides. On the fourth side is the slope for watering cattle or 'Go-ghát,' with two memorial inscriptions facing each other, the one in Sanskrit, the other in Persian; from which we learn that the tank was constructed by order of Rájá Patni Mall (of Banáras) in the year 1807 A.D. :—

श्रीमन्माथुरमण्डले सुरनते शैवस्थले निर्मले
वाराहोक्तपुराणवर्णितगुणं प्राक्पुण्यलभ्यंजनैः
तीर्थं तीर्थवरं विशेष सुखदं श्रीनिर्मलोदाह्वयं
दुर्ज्ञेयं बहुकालतस्तदधुना श्रुत्वा महत्वाधिकम् १
कृत्वा नेचपथं सुशिल्पिरचितं नानागवाक्षैर्युतं
तस्योत्सर्गविधिः कृतो हि पटनी मल्लेन राज्ञाद्विजैः
विष्णोः पादसमुद्भवोत्सव इव चैवित्रपानन्ददो
वर्षे व्यङ्गगजेन्दुके सितदले ज्येष्ठे दशम्यां भृगौ २

"In the holy circuit of Mathurá, reverenced by the gods, pure home of the votaries of Siva, is a sacred place, whose virtues are told in the Varáha Purána, inaccessible by men save through the efficacy of virtuous deeds performed in a previous state of existence; chief of all sacred places, giver of special graces; a pellucid lake, whose praises no length of time would suffice fully to tell. After a careful survey and employing the best of architects, who adorned it with tracery of varied design, the ceremony of its donation was performed by Rájá Patni Mall through the Bráhmans, causing gladness like that which arises from

the touch of the foot of Vishnu, rejoicing even the gods. In the year of the (4) oceans, the (6) members, the (8) elephants, and the (solitary) moon, (that is, *Sambat* 1864) on Friday, the 10th of the light fortnight of the month Jeth."

هوالمستعان العباد

شد جديد آثار نام نيک اين دير قديم * در سواد شهر متهرا تيرتهء هرشش جهات
چون بنا فرمود معبد کهنهٔ شوتال نام * باني جود و عنايت منتهائے محسنات
فيض‌بخش اهل عالم‌مرجع‌احسان عام * راجه پتّني‌مل بهادر منبع عالي صفات
ٹکهزار و دوصد و بست و دو آمد در شمار * سال تعميرش برائے يادگار کائنات
در حساب ابجدي هم سال تاريخ از ذکا * مي‌شوداين‌بيگمان‌هرشهار (?) آب حيات
سنه ۱۲۲۲ هجري

"He is the one who is asked for help and who is constantly worshipped. The famous remains of this ancient shrine in the neighbourhood of Mathurá, the place of pilgrimage from all six quarters, have now been renewed. When the old buildings of the Siva Tál were restored by that generous and benevolent founder, the goal of good deeds, the bestower of benefits on all the people of the world, the centre of public gratitude, Rájá Patni Mall, Bahádur, fountain of excellent virtue; then the year of its construction—for the remembrance of all the world—was found to be 1222. Thought (or the poet Zaká) suggested the following *tárikh* according to the abjad reckoning [illegible] water of life."

The design and execution are both of singular excellence, and reflect the highest credit on the architect whom he employed; the sculptured arcades, which project far into the centre of the basin, and break up the long flights of steps into three compartments on each side, being especially graceful. The place is visited by a large number of bathers from the neighbourhood every morning, and is the scene of an annual *mela* held on the 11th of the dark fortnight of the month Bhádon. Outside the enclosure is a small temple in the same style of architecture dedicated to Mahádeva under the title of Achalesvar. In the Manoharpur quarter of the city is a large temple of the Rájá's foundation bearing the title of Dírgha Vishnu. The name is unusual and refers to the 'gigantic' stature which the boy Krishna assumed when he entered the arena to fight with Kansá's champions, Chánura and Mushtiká. The Rájá's dwelling-house is still standing on the Nakárchi Tíla, and was recently occupied for a time as a normal school for the training of female teachers. He is further commemorated by another small shrine near the Holi gate of the city, which he re-built in honour of Víra-bhadra, the terrible being created by Siva and Devi in their wrath to disturb the sacrifice of Daksha, a ceremony to which they had not been invited. His great ambition was to rebuild the ancient temple of Kesava Deva, and with this view he had gradually acquired a considerable part of the site. But as some of the Muhammadans, who had occupied the ground for nearly two centuries, refused to be bought out, and the law upheld them in their refusal,

he was at last, and after great expense had been incurred, reluctantly obliged to abandon the idea. Should a stranger visit the tank early in the morning, and enquire of any Hindu he meets there by whom it was constructed, he will find considerable difficulty in eliciting a straightforward answer. The Rájá, it is said, was a man of such delicate constitution that he never could take at one time more than a very few morsels even of the simplest food: hence arises a belief that anyone who mentions him by name the first thing in the morning, will, like him, have to pass the day fasting.

From the katra, the centre of all the localities which we have hitherto been describing, a fine broad road has been carried through the rising grounds along the outskirts of the city, down to the edge of the river. On the right hand side is the stone-cutter's quarter with the small old temple of Bankandi Mahádeva, and on the left the suburb of Manoharpur, with a mosque which, as we learn from the following inscription over the centre arch, was erected in the year 1158 Hijri, *i. e.*, 1745 A.D., during the reign of Muhammad Sháh—

در زمان شه محمدشاه مسجد عبدالرشید کرد بنا
سال تاریخ او خرد فرمود داد ترتیب مسجدے زیبا

1. In the reign of Sháh Muhammad Sháh, Abdurrashíd built this mosque.

2. Thought suggested the *tárikh*, 'He built a beautiful mosque.' [A. H. 1158; or A.D. 1745].

In the streets are many broken Buddhist pillars and other sculptures. The road was constructed in the collectorate of Mr. Best, and in the progress of the work a column was found bearing an inscription in some ancient character: to reduce the size of the stone, the inscribed face was ruthlessly cut away, and it was then converted into a buttress for a bridge. As it approaches the river, the road opens out into a fine square, with graceful arcades of carved stone. These are the property of the Mahárája of Bharat-pur and Gosáin Purushottam Lál, and though ordinarily they have rather a deserted appearance, on the occasion of any great local festival they let for as much as Rs. 2 or 3 each a day. On the other side of the square opposite the road is a pontoon bridge, which was opened for traffic in 1870. The tolls are farmed at the large sum of Rs. 40,500 for the year: whence it is obvious that any reasonable outlay incurred in its construction would soon have been repaid. But unfortunately in the revision of estimate, everything was sacrificed to a false economy; it was too narrow to allow of two carts passing, and too weak to bear even a single cart if heavily laden. Thus it was no sooner opened than it broke down; and repairs were in constant progress, till the night of the 13th of August, 1871,—when it was completely swept away by a heavy flood. It has since been re-constructed; but it is impossible that it should ever present a satisfactory appearance, while at the same time its cost has been excessive.

The city stretches for about a mile and a half along the right bank of the Jamuná, and from the opposite side has a very striking and picturesque appearance, which is owing not a little to the broken character of the ground on which it is built. Were it not for this peculiarity of site, the almost total absence of towers and spires would be felt as a great drawback; as all the large modern temples have no *sikharas*, as are usually seen in similar edifices, but are simple cloistered quadrangles of uniform height. The only exceptions are the lofty minarets of the Jama Masjid on the one side, and the campanile of the English church seen through the trees in the distance below.

Looking up the stream, the most prominent object is the old Fort, or rather its massive substructure, for that is all that now remains, called by the people Kans-ká Kila. Whatever its legendary antiquity, it was rebuilt in historical times by Rájá Mán Sinh of Jaypur, the chief of the Hindu princes at Akbar's Court; and was the occasional residence of Mán Sinh's still more famous successor on the throne of Amber, the great astronomer Sawái Jay Sinh. He commenced his long reign of 44 years in 1699 A.D., and till the day of his death was engaged in almost constant warfare. Still he is less known to posterity by his military successes, brilliant though they were, than by his enlightened civil administration and still more exceptional literary achievements. At the outset he made a false move; for in the war of succession, that ensued upon the death of Aurangzeb, he attached himself to prince Bedár Bakht, and fought by his side in the fatal battle of Dhol-pur. One of the first acts of Sháh Alam on his consequent elevation to the throne was to sequester the principality of Amber. An Imperial Governor was sent to take possession, but Jay Sinh drove him out, sword in hand, and then formed a league with Ajít Sinh of Márwár for mutual protection. From that day forward he was prominently concerned in all the troubles and warfare of that anarchic period, but never again on the losing side. In 1721, he was appointed Governor of the Province of Agra and later of Málwá; but he gradually loosened his connection with the Court at Delhi, from a conviction that the dissolution of the Muhammadan empire was inevitable, and concluded terms with the Mahrattas. At his accession, Amber consisted only of the three parganas of Amber, Deosa, and Barsao, as the Shaikháwats had made themselves independent, and the western tracts had been attached to Ajmer. He not only recovered all that had been lost, but further extended his frontiers by the reduction of the Bargújars of Deoti and Rájáur, and made his State worthy to be called the dominions of a Rájá—a title which he was the first of his line to assume. The new capital, which he founded, he called after his own name Jaypur, and it is still to the present day the most striking native city in India, and the only one built upon a regular plan. He is said to have been assisted both in the design and the execution by an architect from Bengal. In consequence of his profound knowledge of astronomy, he was entrusted by Mu-

hammad Sháh with the reformation of the calendar. To ensure that amount of accuracy which he considered the small instruments in ordinary use must always fail to command, he constructed observatories with instruments of his own invention on a gigantic scale. One of these was on the top of the Mathurá Fort, the others at Delhi, Jaypur, Ujjaiyin, and Banáras. His success was so signal that he was able to detect errors in the tables of De la Hire, which had been communicated to him by the King of Portugal. His own tables were completed in 1728, and are those still used by native astronomers. He died in 1743. His voluminous correspondence is said by Tod* still to exist, and his acts to be recorded in a miscellaneous diary entitled Kalpadruma, and a collection of anecdotes called the *Eksau nau gun Jay Sinh ká*. The whole of the Mathurá observatory has now disappeared. A little before the mutiny the buildings were sold to the great Government contractor, Joti Prasád, who destroyed them for the sake of the materials. Certainly, they had ceased to be of any practical use; but they were of interest, both in the history of science and as a memorial of one of the most remarkable men in the long line of Indian sovereigns, and their inconsiderate demolition is a matter for regret.

From the Fort a continuous succession of ghâts, all simple flights of stone steps with occasional shrines and kiosques, lines the water's edge down to a large walled garden below the city, called the Jamuná Bágh. This was the property of Seth Lakhmi Chand, and contains two handsome *chhattris* or cenotaphs, in memory of his two predecessors, Mani Rám and Párikh Ji.

The latter was a Gujaráti Bráhman of the Vallabháchárya persuasion, and held the lucrative appointment of Treasurer to the Gwáliár State. Being childless and on bad terms with his only brother, he bequeathed the whole of his immense wealth to Mani Rám, one of his office subordinates, for whom he had conceived a great affection; notwithstanding that the latter was a Jaini, and thus the difference of religion between them so great that it was impossible to adopt him formally as a son. As was to be expected, the will was fiercely disputed by the surviving brother; but after a litigation, which extended over several years, its validity was finally declared by the highest court of appeal, and the property confirmed in Mani Ram's possession. On his death, it devolved in great part upon the eldest of his three sons, the millionaire Seth Lakhmi Chand, who has left an only son, by name Raghunáth Dás, who seems scarcely to have inherited his father's talent for business. His two uncles, Rádhá Krishan and Gobind Dás, became converts to Vaishnavism, under the influence of the learned scholar Swámi Rangachárya, and founded the great temple of Rang Jí at Brindá-ban, the only establishment (it is believed) in all Upper India that is owned by the followers of Rámánuja. The survivor, Gobind Dás, has

* From whom all the facts in the above narrative of Jay Sinh's life are borrowed.

no issue, but stands in the light of a father to his nephew, Lachhman Dás, the only son of his deceased brother, Rádhá Krishan.

About the centre of the river front is the most sacred of all the ghâts, marking the spot where Krishna sat down to take 'rest' after he had slain the tyrant Kansa, and hence called the Visránt Ghát. The small open court has a marble arch facing the water, which distinguishes it from all the other landing-places; and on the other three sides are various buildings erected at intervals during the last century and a half by several princely families, but none of them possesses any architectural beauty. Close by is a natural watercourse, said to have been caused by the passage of Kansa's giant body, as it was dragged down to the river to be burnt, and hence called the 'Kansa Khár.' The following lines in the Vishnu Purána are alleged in support of the tradition :—

गौरवेणातिमहता परिखा तेन कृष्यता ।
कृता कंसस्य देहेन वेगेनेव महाम्भसः ॥

"By the trailing body of Kansa, with its prodigious weight, a channel was made as by the rush of a mighty stream."

It is now arched over like the Fleet river in London, and forms one of the main sewers of the town, a circumstance which possibly does not affect the sanctity, but certainly detracts somewhat from the material purity of this favourite bathing-place. It swarms with turtles of an enormous size, which are considered in a way sacred, and generally receive a handful or two of grain from every visitor.

Reference has already been made more than once to the Mathurá Máhátmya, or Religious Chronicle of Mathurá. It is an interpolation on the Váráha Purána, and of sufficient extent to be itself divided into 29 sections. After expatiating in the most extravagant terms on the learning, piety, and other virtues of the Mathuríya Chaubes, and the incomparable sanctity of the city in which they dwell, it briefly enumerates the twelve Vanas or woods, that are included in the perambulation of the land of Braj, and then at greater length describes the principal shrines which the pilgrim is bound to visit in the capital itself. As a rule, no attempt is made to explain either the names borne by the different holy places, or the origin of their reputed sanctity; but their virtue is attested by the recital of some of the miracles which have been worked through their supernatural influence. Take for example the following legend in connection with the Visránt Ghát :—

"Once upon a time there, was a Bráhman living at Ujjaiyin, who neglected all his religious duties, never bathed, never said a prayer, never went near a temple. One night, when out with a gang of thieves, he was surprised by the city watchmen, and in running away from them fell down a dry well and broke his neck. His ghost was doomed to haunt the place, and was so fierce that it

would tear to pieces and devour everyone who came near it. This went on for many years, till at last one day a band of travellers happened to pitch their tents by the well, and among their number was a very holy and learned Bráhman. So soon as he knew how the neighbourhood was afflicted, he had recourse to his spells and compelled the evil spirit to appear before him. Discovering, in the course of his examination, that the wretched creature had in his lifetime been a Bráhman, he was moved with pity for him and promised to do all in his power to alleviate his sentence. Whereupon the ghost begged him to go straight to Mathurá, and bathe on his behalf at the Visránt Ghát, 'for,' said he, 'I once in my life went into a temple of Vishnu, and heard the priest repeat this holy name and tell its wondrous saving power.' The Bráhman had often bathed there and readily agreed to transfer the merit of one such ablution. The words of consent had no sooner passed his lips than the guilty soul was absolved from all further suffering."*

On either side of this sacred spot, a number of minor ghâts stretch up and down the river, those to the north being called the *uttar kot*, and those to the south the *dakshin kot*. They are invariably represented as twenty-four in all, twelve in either set; but there is a considerable discrepancy as to the particular names. The following list has been supplied by a Pandit of high local repute, Mákhan Misr, a Gaur Bráhman, from whose extensive library of manuscripts I have been able to procure almost every Sanskrit work that I have had occasion to consult.

To the north: Ganes Ghát; Mánasa Ghát; Dasasvamedha Ghát, under the hill of Ambarísha; Chakra tirtha Ghát; Krishna-Gangá Ghát, with the shrine of Kálinjaresvar Mahádeva; Som-tirtha Ghát, more commonly called Vasudeva Ghát or Shaikh Ghát; Brahmalok Ghát; Ghantábharan Ghát; Dhárá-patan

* To a devout Hindu, who believes that Krishna was an incarnation of the Deity, and that he hallowed with his presence the place now called the Visránt Ghát, there is no intrinsic absurdity in the legend as above quoted. It can be paralleled in all its particulars by many that have been recorded for the edification of the faithful by canonized saints of the Church. That the merit of good deeds can be transferred—the point upon which the story mainly turns—is a cardinal Catholic doctrine; and as to the dying in sin and yet being saved through the efficacy of a formal act of devotion, take the following example from the pages of S. Alphonsus Liguori:—"A certain Canon was reciting some prayers in honour of the Divine Mother, and, whilst doing so, fell into the river Seine and was drowned. Being in mortal sin, the devils came to take him to hell. In the same moment Mary appeared and said, 'How do you dare to take possession of one who died in the act of praising me?' Then addressing herself to the sinner, she said, 'Now change thy life and nourish devotion to my Conception.' He returned to life and became a Religious." Here the concluding words correspond precisely with the finale of the story of the barber Tinduk, as told on the next page. In short, the Hindu idea of divine worship, of the religious life, of the efficacy of faith and good works, of the earnest sympathy of the Divine Being with human distress, and his occasional miraculous intervention for its relief, falls little, if at all, short of Catholic truth; but unhappily, with regard to the God, the proper object of this right devotion, their eyes are so blinded that they cannot see.

Ghát ; Sangaman-tirtha Ghát, otherwise called Vaikunth Ghát ; Nava-tirtha Ghát ; and Asikunda Ghát.

To the south : Avimukta Ghát ; Visránti Ghát ; Prág Ghát ; Kankhal Ghát ; Tinduk Ghát ; Súrya Ghát ; Chintá-mani Ghát ; Dhruva Ghát ; Rishi Ghát ; Moksha Ghát ; Koti Ghát ; and Buddh Ghát.

The more common division is to include the Avimukta Ghát in the first set, from which the Mánasa is then omitted, to except the Visránt Ghát altogether from the number of the twenty-four, and to begin the second series with the Balabhadra and the Jog Ghát. By the former of these two are the Satghara or 'seven chapels,' commemorating Krishna's seven favourite titles, and the shrine of Gata Sram or 'ended toil.' The latter is supposed to mark the spot where Joga-Nidra, the infant daughter of Nanda and Jasodá, whom Vasudevá had substituted for his own child Krishna, was dashed to the ground by Kansa, and thence in new form ascended to heaven as the goddess Durgá. Between it and the Prág Ghát is one more modern called Sringár Ghát with two temples dedicated respectively to Pipalesvar Mahádeva and Batuk-náth, and by Prág Ghát the shrine of Rámesvar Mahádeva. The list further omits two ghats which occupy far more conspicuous sites than any of the others, but are devoid of any legendary reputation. The first bears the name of Sámi Ghát, not, as might be supposed, a corruption of *Swámi*, but of *Sámhne*, 'opposite,' as it faces the main street of the city, where is a mansion of carved stone built by the famous Rúp Rám, Katára, of Barsána. The second is the Bengáli Ghát, at the foot of the pontoon bridge, and close to a large house, the property of the Rájá of Jhálra-pattan.

Most of the titles refer to well-known legends, and there is no occasion to dwell at length upon them all. A little beyond the Ganes Ghát, which appropriately heads the list, in the direction of Jay-Sinh-pura, is a shrine bearing the singular name of Gárgi Sárgi, or, as it is sometimes called, the Great and Little Pathawari. They are said to have been the two wives of Gokarn, who was translated to heaven as an equal of Mahádeva. The *mantra* to be repeated in honour of the younger lady runs as follows :—

शार्गीदेवि नमस्तुभ्यमृषिपत्नि मनोरमे ।
शुभगे वरदे गौरि सर्वदा सिद्धिदायिनी ॥

"Honor to thee, O divine Sárgi! the Rishi's beautiful wife, happy mother, beneficent incarnation of Gauri, ever bestowing success."

The word Ghantábharan (which would be derived from *ghantá*, 'a bell,' and *bharan*, 'bearing,') is in the Vraj-bhakti-vilás perhaps more correctly written Ghantábhan, *bhan* meaning 'sound.' The allusion is to the bell, by the ringing of which Vishnu is roused from his four months' slumber on the 11th of the month Kártik.

The name Dhárápatan (from *dhárá*, 'a stream,' and *patan*, 'falling,') probably referred primarily to the position of the ghát, which is on a projecting point where it bears the full force of the 'fall of the stream.' But in the Máhátmya it is explained by the following legend:—"Once upon a time, a woman, whose home was on the bank of the Ganges, came on a pilgrimage to Mathurá, and arrived there on the 12th of Kártik. As she was stepping into a boat near the place where now is the Dhárá-patan Ghát, she fell over and was drowned. By virtue of this immersion in the sacred flood, she was born again in an exalted position as the daughter of the king of Banárás, and, under the name of the Ráni Pívarí, was married to Kshatra-dhanu, the king of Suráshtra, by whom she had seven sons and five daughters. Upon one occasion when the royal pair were comparing notes, it came to light that he too had undergone a very similar experience: for, originally he had been a wild savage, who had come over to Mathurá from the Naimishá forest, and was crossing the Jamuná with his shoes balanced on the top of his head, when they fell off into the water. He dipped down to recover them, and was swept away by the torrent and drowned. Every stain of sin being thus washed out of his body, when he again took birth it was no longer as a barbarous Nishádha, or wild man of the woods, but as a noble Kshatriya king.

Ambarísha, who gives a name to the hill by the Dasasvamedh Ghát, was a devout worshipper of Vishnu, and thereby excited the hostility of the sage Durvásas, the most intolerant apostle of the supremacy of Siva. A terrific encounter took place between the two champions of the rival gods, but no weapons could avail against the magic discus of Vishnu; Durvásas barely escaped with life, and Ambarísha has ever since been one of the most favourite themes for Vaishnava laudation.

Dhruva was the son of King Uttána-páda, and indignant at the slights put upon him by his stepmother, he left his father's palace to make a name for himself in the world. By the advice of the seven great Rishis, Maríchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Kratu, Pulaha, and Vasishta, he repaired to Madhu-ban near Mathurá, and there, absorbed in the contemplation of Vishnu, continued for seven years a course of the severest penance. At last the god appeared to him in person, and promised to grant him any boon he might desire. His request was for a station exalted above every station, and which should endure for ever, whereupon he was translated to heaven as the polar star with his mother Suniti.

On the Dhruva *tíla*, or hill, is a small temple, built *Sambat* 1894, in place of an older shrine of which the ruins remain close by, dedicated to Dhruva Jí. The *Pujáris*, or priests in charge, by name Dámodar Dás and Chhote Lál, belong to the Sanakádi or Nimbárak Sampradáya of Vaishnavas, and produce a manuscript pedigree in Sanskrit in proof of their direct ecclesiastical descent from Kesava Bhatt, Nimbárak's successor, who is regarded as the head of the

secular, or *Grihastha*, subdivision of the sect, as his brother-in-law Hari Vyása was of the celibate, or *Virakta*, order. In the temple are figures of Rádhá Krishan, whom the Nimbáraks have adopted as their special patrons. The List of Superiors, or Guru-Paramparà, as it is called, runs as follows:—

I.—1 Hansavatár; 2 Sanakádi; 3 Nárada; 4 Nimbárak Swámi: all deified characters.

II.—1 Nivásáchárya; 2 Biswachárya; 3 Purushottam; 4 Bilása; 5 Sarúpa; 6 Mádhava; 7 Balbhadra; 8 Padma; 9 Syáma; 10 Gopála; 11 Kripála; 12 Deva: all distinguished by the title of Achárya.

III.—1 Sundar Bhatt; 2 Padma-nábhá; 3 Srí Ráma-chandra; 4 Baman; 5 Srí Krishna; 6 Padmákara; 7 Sravan; 8 Bhúri; 9 Mádhava; 10 Syáma; 11 Gopála; 12 Sri-bal, or Balbhadra; 13 Gopináth; 14 Kesava; 15 Gangal; 16 Kesava Kashmíri; 17 Srí Bhatt; 18 Kesava Bimáni: all bearing the title of Bhatt.

IV.—1 Giridhar Gosáin; 2 Ballabh Lál; 3 Mukund Lál; 4 Nand Lál; 5 Mohan Lál; 6 Rám Jí Lál; 7 Manu Lál; 8 Rádhá Lál; 9 Kanhaiya Lál; and 10 Dámodar Dás: all bearing the title of Gosáin.

The Nimbáraks have also a temple at Brindá-ban, dedicated to Rasak Bihári. Their distinguishing sectarial mark consists of two white perpendicular streaks on the forehead with a black spot in the centre. The natural parents of their founder are said to have been named Aruna Rishi and Jayanti.

Tinduk, who gives his name to a ghát, was, according to the Máhátmya, a barber, lived at Kámpilya, the capital of Pánchála, in the reign of King Devadatta. After losing all his family, he came to live at Mathurá, and there practised such rigorous austerities, and bathed so constantly in the sanctifying stream of the Jamuná, that after death he took birth once more as a high-caste Bráhman.

The legend of the Asikunda Ghát is told on this wise:—"There was a virtuous king, Sumati, who started on a pilgrimage, but died before he was able to complete it. His son, Vimati, on succeeding to the throne, was visited by the sage Nárad, who, at the time of taking his departure, uttered this oracular sentence: 'A pious son settles his father's debts.' After consulting with his ministers, the prince concluded that the debt was a debt of vengeance, which he was bound to exact from the places of pilgrimage, which had tempted his father to undertake the fatal journey. Accordingly, having ascertained that every holy place paid an annual visit in the season of the rains to the city of Mathurá, he assembled an army and marched thither with full intent to destroy them all. They fled in terror to Kalpa-gráma to implore the aid of Vishnu, who at last yielded to their entreaties, and assuming the form of a boar joined in combat with King Vimati on the bank of the Jamuná and slew him. In the fray, the point of the divine sword, '*asi*,' snapped off and fell to the ground; hence the ghát to this day is called Asi-kunda Ghát, and the plain adjoining it Váráha Kshetra, or 'the field of the boar.'

Thus much for the twenty-four ghâts and their legends; but, before leaving the river side, one other building claims a few words, *viz.*, 'the Sati Burj.' This is a slender quadrangular tower of red sandstone commemorating the self-sacrifice of some faithful wife. According to the best authenticated tradition, she is said to have been the Queen of Rájá Bhár Mal of Jaypur, and the mother of the famous Rájá Bhagaván Dás, by whom the monument was erected in the year 1570 A.D. It has a total height of 55 feet and is in four stories, surmounted by a low and ugly modern dome. The lowest story forms a solid basement; the second and third are lighted by square windows, and are supplied with an internal staircase by which access is gained to the top. The exterior is ornamented with rude bas-reliefs of elephants and other devices. It is of no great architectural value, but forms a picturesque feature in the river front.

On a rising ground in the very heart of the city stands the Jama Masjid, erected in the year 1661 A.D., by Abd-un-Nabi Khán, the Local Governor. The following inscription seems very clearly to indicate that it was erected on the ruins of a Hindu temple :—

بعهد شاه عالمگير محيي‌الدين والملة * شهنشاه جهان اورنگ زيب معدلت پيرا
بحمدالله تابان است انوار مسلماني * كه از عبدالنبي‌خان شد بنا اين مسجد زيبا
بتان‌را درسجود آورد اين بيت‌الله ثاني * بهبين معني جاءالحق كه باطل گشت ناپيدا
چوچستم سال تاريخش زفيض حق‌ندا آمد * بگو عبدالنبي‌خان باني اين مسجد زيبا

"1. In the reign of Sháh 'Alamgír Muhíuddín walmillah, the king of the world, Aurangzíb, who is adorned with justice,

"2. The lustre of Islám shone forth to the glory of God; for 'Abdunnabí Khán built this beautiful mosque.

"3. This second 'Holy Temple' caused the idols to bow down in worship. You will now see the true meaning of the text, 'Truth came and error vanished.' ['Korán, XVII., 83.']

"4. Whilst I searched for a *tárikh*, a voice came from blissful Truth, ordering me to say 'Abdunnabi Khán is the builder of this beautiful mosque.' A.H. 1071, or 1660-61."

اين مسجد جامع همايون بنياد * بادا چو دل خدا پرستان آباد
باسے دارد چو همت عشق بلند * صحنے دارد چو عرصهٔ فكر كشاد

"1. May this Jáma Masjid of majestic structure shine forth for ever like the hearts of the pious!

"2. Its roof is high like aspirations of love; its courtyard is wide like the arena of thought."*

The founder is first mentioned by the Muhammadan historians as fighting on the side of Dárá Shikoh at the battle of Samogarh in 1658. About a week

* For this and other translations from the Persian, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Blochmann, the learned Secretary of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.

after the defeat, he joined Aurangzeb, and was immediately appointed Faujdár of Itáwa. This office he retained only till the following year, when he was transferred to Sirhind, and thence, after a few months, to Mathurá. Here he remained from August, 1660, to May, 1668, when, as we have already mentioned, he met his death at Sahora, a village in the Mahá-ban Pargana on the opposite side of the Jamuná, while engaged in quelling a popular *émeute*. The author of the Maasir-i-Alamgíri says of him :—"He was an excellent and pious man, and as courageous in war as successful in his administration. He has left a mosque in Mathurá as a monument, which, for a long time to come, will remind people of him. Muhammad Anwar, his nephew, received from His Majesty a mourning dress of honour; but the property of the deceased lapsed (according to custom) to the State, and the Imperial Mutasaddis reported it to be 93,000 gold muhrs, 13,00,000 rupees, and 14,50,000 rupees' worth of property." The architecture of his mosque is not of particularly graceful character, but there are four lofty minarets, and as these and other parts of the building were originally veneered with bright-coloured plaster mosaics, of which a few panels still remain, it must at one time have presented a brilliant appearance. It is now little used, and is rapidly falling into decay.*

From this central point diverge the main thoroughfares, leading respectively towards Brindá-ban, Díg, Bharat-pur,† and the civil station. They are somewhat broader than is usual in Indian cities, having an average breadth of 24 feet, and were first opened out at the instance of Mr. E. F. Taylor, in 1843. A number of houses were demolished for the purpose, but, in every instance, all claim to compensation was waived. Seth Lakhmi Chand's loss, thus voluntarily sustained for the public good, was estimated at a lakh of rupees, as he had recently completed some handsome premises, which had to be taken down and rebuilt.

These streets have now, throughout their entire length and breadth, been paved at the cost of the municipality with substantial stone flags brought from

* Father Tieffenthaller, who visited Mathurá in 1745, after mentioning the two mosques, says that Abd-un-nabi was a convert from Hinduism, a statement for which there seems to be no authority. He describes the mosaics as "un ouvrage plombé en diverses couleurs et incrusté á la maniére dont sont vernis les poeles in Allemagne." "La ville," he says, "est entouré d'une levée de terre, et obeit aujourdhui au Dját. Auparavant elle etait sous les ordres du Raja de Djepour á qui l'empereur Mogol en avait confié le gouvernement" : *i. e.*, Raja Jay Sinh, who died 1743. He goes on to describe the streets as narrow and dirty, and most of the buildings as in ruins; the fort very large and massive, like a mountain of hewn stone, with an observatory which was only a feeble imitation of the one at Jaypur, but with the advantage of being much better raised. The only other spot that he particularises is the Visránt Ghát.

† Close to the mosque on the left hand side of the Bharat-pur gate bazár, is a high hill with very steep ascent, all built over. On the summit, which is called Sítalá Ghát, may be seen many fragments of Buddhist pillars and bas-reliefs, and an armless seated figure, the size of life.

the Bharat-pur quarries.* Though, as is the custom in the East, many mean tumble-down hovels† are allowed to obtrude themselves upon the view, the majority of the buildings that face the principal thoroughfares, are of handsome and imposing character, all erected during the seventy years of British rule. Whether secular or ecclesiastical, the design is in either case very similar. The front is of carved stone with a grand central archway and arcades on both sides let out as shops on the ground floor. Story upon story above are projecting balconies supported on quaint corbels, the arches being filled in with the most minute reticulated tracery of an infinite variety of pattern, and protected from the weather by broad eaves, the under-surface of which is brightly painted. One of the most noticeable buildings in point of size, though the decorations perhaps are scarcely so elegant as in some of the later examples, is the temple of Dwárakádhís, founded by the Gwáliar Treasurer, Parikh Jí, and visited in 1825 by Bishop Heber, who in his journal describes it as follows:—"In the centre, or nearly so, of the town, Colonel Penny took us into the court of a beautiful temple or dwelling-house, for it seemed to be designed for both in one, lately built, and not yet quite finished, by Gokul Pattie Sinh, Sindhia's Treasurer, and who has also a principal share in a great native banking-house, one branch of which is fixed at Mathurá. The building is enclosed by a small but richly carved gateway with a flight of steps, which leads from the street to a square court, cloistered round, and containing in the centre a building, also square, supported by a triple row of pillars, all which, as well as the ceiling, are richly carved, painted, and gilt. The effect internally is much like that of the Egyptian tomb, of which the model was exhibited in London by Belzoni; externally, the carving is very beautiful. The cloisters round were represented to me as the intended habitations of the Bráhmans attached to the fane; and in front, towards the street, were to be apartments for the founder on his occasional visits to Mathurá." To show how differently the same building sometimes impresses different people, it may be mentioned that Jacquemont, only four years later, describes the temple as like nothing but a barrack or cotton factory: but possibly he may have seen it soon after the festival of the Díwáli, when, according to barbarous Hindu custom, the whole of the stone front is beautified with a thick coat of white-wash.

This temple has always been in the hands of the Vallabhácháryas, the sect to which the founder belonged. It is now administered by Gosain Giridhar Lál, who is the hereditary lord of the much older and yet wealthier shrine with

* This important work was commenced in November, 1867.

† As an indication that many of the houses are not of the most substantial construction, it may be observed that, after three days of exceptionally heavy rain in the month of August this year (1873), as many as 6,000 were officially reported to have come down; 14 persons, chiefly children, having been crushed to death under the ruins.

the same name at Kankarauli in Udaypúr (see page 84). Hitherto the expenses of the Mathurá establishments have been defrayed by annual grants from the Seth's estate; but this year the firm has made an absolute transfer to the Gosáin of landed property yielding an income of Rs. 25,000; thus religiously carrying out the intention of their ancestor, though in so doing they further the interests of a sect not a little antagonistic to the one of which they themselves are members.

On the opposite side of the street is the palace of the Princes of Bharatpur, with a lofty and highly enriched entrance gateway added by Rájá Balavant Sinh; and close by is the mansion of Seth Lakhmi Chand, built at a cost of Rs. 1,00,000. The latest of the architectural works with which the city is decorated, and one of the most admirable for elegance and elaboration is a temple near the Chhata Bazár built by Deva Chand Bohra, and completed only at the end of the year 1871. Whatever other buildings there are of any note will be found enumerated in the list at the end of this chapter. In most cases the greatest amount of finish has been bestowed upon the street front, while the interior court is small and confined; and the practice of having only a single gate both for entrance and exit occasions great, and sometimes dangerous, crowding on high feast days. It is, as before remarked, a peculiarity of the Mathurá temple architecture to have no tower over the seat of the god.

If the city was ever surrounded by walls, not a vestige of them now remains, though the four principal entrances are still called the Brindá-ban, Díg, Bharatpur, and Holi Gates. The last-named is the approach from the civil station, and here a lofty and elaborately sculptured stone arch has been erected over the roadway,* in accordance with a tasteful design in the local style supplied by a native artist. As the work was commenced at the instance of the late Mr. Bradford Hardinge, who was for several years collector of the district, and took a most lively interest in all the city improvements, it is to be named in his honour 'the Hardinge arch.' The clock-case by which the centre of the portal is at present surmounted is too small to present a satisfactory appearance; but over this it is intended to erect a high and richly-decorated cupola at a further cost of Rs. 2,000. It will then be further necessary, in order to complete the design, to build up double-storied shops against the arch on either side, which will serve to receive and conceal the ponderous staged buttresses, which, as now seen, are most obtrusive deformities.

As may be inferred from the above remarks, stone-carving, the only indigenous art of which Mathurá can boast, is carried to great perfection. All the temples afford specimens of elegant design in panels of reticulated tracery *(jáli)* as also do the *chhatris* of the Seth's family in the Jamuná Bágh, and those of the Bharat-pur Rájás at Gobardhan. But the most refined and delicate work of

* At a cost of something over Rs. 9,000.

the kind ever executed is to be seen in a building erected by public subscription at the suggestion of Mr. Mark Thornhill, Collector of the district in 1856. It was intended as a rest-house for the reception of native gentlemen of rank whenever they had occasion to visit the sadr station; but the work was interrupted by the mutiny after an expenditure of Rs. 30,000, and has never been completed. The following inscription is worked into the cornice of the central hall:—

جو بس سرکار کو منظور آرام خلائق تها * کیا با صاحب کیلکٹر و میجسٹریت ایما
اُنهوں نے تب رئیسوں کي مددگاري سے متهرا میں * منبت کام کا نادر مسافرخانه بنوایا
صفائي میں در و دیوار هی مانند آئینه * بگلکاري هر ایک درجه نظر آتا هی گلشن کا
بحد اِعتدال اب اِسنے پائي رفعت و وسعت * بهت خوش قطع اور موزون هی یهه تعمیر سرتاپا
روا هی گر بڑاویں گنبد افراسیاب اِسکو * بجاهی جو کهیں اِسکو که هی یهه قصر قیصر کا
جو دیکها اِسکو شوکت نے یهه تاریخ بنا لکهي * مسافرخانهٔ موزون بهي بس رشک چمن زیبا

سنه ۱۲۶۳ فصلي سنه ۱۸۵۶ عیسوي

"The State having thought good to promote the ease of its subjects, gave intimation to the Magistrate and Collector; who then, by the co-operation of the chief men of Mathurá, had this house for travellers built, with the choicest carved work.* Its doors and walls are polished like a mirror; in its sculpture every kind of flower-bed appears in view; its width and height were assigned in harmonious proportion; from top to bottom it is well shaped and well balanced. It may very properly be compared to the dome of Afrászáb, or it may justly be styled the palace of an emperor. One who saw its magnificence (*or* the poet Shaukat on seeing it) composed this *tárikh:* so elegant a rest-house makes even the flower garden envious."

Unfortunately, the site selected was so remote from the bazár as to render the building unsuitable for the purpose intended, nor has it ever yet been applied to any other. At a slight expense it might be converted into a local museum, an institution which might reasonably expect to flourish in such a centre of wealth, learning, and archæological interest.

In addition to its stone carving, Mathurá has two other minor specialities, the one being the manufacture of little brass images, which, though of exceedingly coarse execution, command a large sale among pilgrims and visitors, especially the religious toy called Vásudeva Katorá, (described at page 33): the other the manufacture of paper. This is made in three sizes; the smallest, which is chiefly in demand, is called Mán-sinhi, and varies in price according to quality from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 2-6 a *gaddi.* The medium size, called Bichanda,

* Upon the word *munabbat,* which is used here to denote arabesque carving, but in Agra the inlaid marble work such as we see at the Táj, Mr. Blochmann has communicated the following note:—"The Arabic *nabata* means 'to plant,' and the intensive form of the verb has either the same signification or that of 'causing to appear like plants:' hence *munabbat* comes to mean 'traced with flowers,' and may be compared with *mushajjar,* 'caused to appear like trees,' which is the word applied to silk with tree-patterns on it," like the more common '*bûta-dár.*'

sells for Rs. 4 a *gaddi;* and the larger size, called Syálkoti, for Rs. 10. The factories are some 100 in number, and can turn out in the course of the day 150 *gaddis*, every *gaddi* containing 10 *dastas* of 24 *takhtas*, or sheets, each.

A light railway on the metre-gauge system, which shall eventually extend from Háthras to Bharat-pur, has been definitely sanctioned by the Government, and the first section from the Háthras Road Station to the city of Mathurá will probably be commenced in the course of the present year. The cost of the undertaking is estimated at 15 lakhs, of which the Government hopes to receive five as a loan from native capitalists resident in the districts which the line would specially benefit, on a guarantee of 4 per cent. per annum; the remainder being supplied from the provincial balances. It is further proposed that the managing board should consist of five non-official members elected by the native shareholders, who should be assisted by a European consulting engineer, and perhaps one or more official but non-professional members. It is impossible to doubt that the new line will be a financial success and will much increase the prosperity of the city of Mathurá: for at the one extremity, Háthras is so large a mart that it will find no difficulty in filling a new channel; while at the other, Mathurá, though at present a place of no mercantile importance, will become a depôt for the vast supplies of cotton from up-country which now pass through it to take the train at Agra. The daily influx of pilgrims alone would suffice to render the passenger traffic exceptionally large from the very beginning.

The municipality has an annual income of a little under Rs. 50,000; derived, in the absence of any special trade, almost exclusively from an octroi tax on articles of food, the consumption of which is naturally very large and out of all proportion to the resident population, in consequence of the frequent influx of huge troops of pilgrims. The celebrity among natives of the Mathurá *perá*, a particular kind of sweetmeat, also contributes to the same result. Besides the permanent maintenance of a large police and conservancy establishment, the entire cost of paving the city streets has been defrayed out of municipal funds, and a fixed proportion is annually allotted for the support of different educational establishments.

The High School, a handsome building though in a very un-Oriental style of architecture, was opened by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor on the 21st of January, 1870, and is now attended by 250 pupils, all learning English. It was erected at a cost of Rs. 13,000; of which sum Rs. 2,000 were collected by voluntary subscription, Rs. 3,000 were voted by the municipality, and the balance of Rs. 8,000 granted by Government. The City Dispensary immediately opposite the Kans ká tíla, and adjoining the Munsif's Court, has accommodation for 20 in-door patients; there is an ordinary attendance *per diem* of 50 applicants for out-door relief, and it is in every respect a well managed and useful institution.

The cantonments, which are of considerable extent, occupy some broken and undulating ground along the river-side between the city and the civil lines. In consequence of the facilities for obtaining an abundant supply of grass in the neighbourhood, they are always occupied by an English cavalry regiment, the present one being the 10th Royal Hussars. The barracks are very widely scattered, an arrangement which doubtless is attended with some inconveniences, but is apparently conducive to the health of the troops, for there is no station in India where there is less sickness*—a happy result, which is also due in part to the dryness of the climate during the greater part of the year and the excellence of the natural drainage in the rains. The English church, consecrated by Bishop Dealtry in December, 1856, is in a nondescript style of architecture, but has an elegant Italian campanile, which is visible from a long distance, and even the body of the building from some points of view has in it an element of the picturesque. Adjoining it is a miserably mean and dilapidated shed, which hitherto has served as a Catholic chapel, and is not inappropriately dedicated to S. Francis, the apostle of poverty. An attempt is now being made to replace it with something more sightly, and a plan has been prepared at an estimated cost of Rs. ~~6,100, of which sum Rs. 2,875 have been raised by subscriptions on the spot.~~ *4,000.*

In the civil station most of the houses are large and commodious, and being the property of the Seth, the most liberal of landlords, are never allowed to offend the eye by falling out of repair. One built immediately after the mutiny for the use of the Collector of the district is an exceptionally handsome and substantial edifice. The Court-house, as already mentioned on page 70, was completed in the year 1861, and has a long and imposing facade; but, though it stands at a distance of not more than 100 yards from the high road, the ground in front of it has been so carelessly laid out, that a person who had no professional business to take him there might live within a stone's throw for years and never see it. In immediate proximity are the offices of the Tahsildár, a singularly mean and contracted range of buildings, as if intended to be a foil to the elegance of Mr. Thornhill's rest-house which stands in the same enclosure. Opposite is the public garden, which contains a large variety of choice trees and shrubs, but unfortunately has not been laid out with much taste and is too extensive to be kept in good order out of the funds that are allowed for its maintenance. A little further on is the jail, constructed on the approved radiating principle, and sufficiently strong under ordinary circumstances to ensure the safe-guard of native prisoners, though a European would probably find its walls not very difficult either to scale or break through. This exhausts the list of public institutions and objects of interest; whence it may be rightly

* Occasionally it has so happened that every single ward in the hospital has been empty.

inferred that the English quarter of Mathurá is as dull and common-place as most other Indian stations. Still, in the rains it has a pleasant park-like appearance; when the wide expanse of green-sward reserved for military uses from the encroachments of the plough, the well-kept roads with substantial bridges to span the frequent ravines, and the long avenues of trees that half conceal the thatched and verandahed bungalows that lie behind, each in its own enclosure of garden and pasture land, while in the distant back ground an occasional glimpse is caught of the broad stream of the Jamuná, all combine to form a landscape that is far from unattractive.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER VI.

The excavations which have been in progress while this chapter was passing through the press, and the more minute knowledge of the neighbourhood, which has been acquired in their superintendence, enable me now to speak in more positive terms as to the site of Buddhist Mathurá. All the villages that lie between Satoha to the north, Maholi to the south, and Mathurá to the east, are distinctly of modern foundation. The ancient Madhu-puri, where the aboriginal king Madhu held his court what time he ruled the province of Mathurá, must have extended its suburbs the whole distance from the modern village of Maholi down to the bank of the Jamuná. Subsequently to his defeat, the Aryan city was built on the lands nearer the river, in the neighbourhood of the present Katra and the temple of Bhutesvar; and, being the seat of the new Government, it appropriated in a special way the name which formerly had denoted, not the capital, but the whole extent of territory. This view is confirmed by observing that, philologically, 'Mathurá' appears a more fitting name for a country than for a city, and one that could be applied to the latter only inferentially. The present city is the third in order, and has for its centre the fort, as the second had the temple of Bhutesvar, and the first the grove of Madhu-ban. Thus, speaking generally, the further we move back from the city in the direction of Maholi, the older will probably be the date of any antiquities that may be discovered.

With regard to the change in the course of the stream, all engineers whom I have consulted are unanimous in declaring that the main channel of the Jamuná can never in historic times have been at the foot of the temple of Kesava Deva, as Tavernier imagined. The traces of fluvial action which he observed are unmistakeable, but they date from the most remote antiquity. This, however, need not occasion any difficulty: for, as Madhu-puri, the first capital, was established at a point which clearly the Jamuná could never have reached, there is no improbability in supposing that the second capital also, though much nearer the stream, was not actually on its bank. The temples, which Fa Hian

mentions as being on the opposite side, must, as I had previously surmised, be those at Mahá-ban.*

Though the discovery of no lines of foundation at the Kankáli tíla seems a little suspicious, it may be explained by the fact that the mound has long served as a quarry, and that bricks and small blocks of stone, being more useful for ordinary building purposes, would all be removed when cumbrous, and at the same time broken statues might be left undisturbed. I see, therefore, no sufficient reason for distrusting the probability of my original theory, stated at page 81, which places the Upagupta Monastery at the Kankáli tílá. It may further be noticed that there is no trace of any large tank in its immediate proximity, and, on this account also, it was more probably the site of a monastery than of a stúpa. For a tank was almost a necessary concomitant of the latter; its excavation supplying the earth for the construction of the mound in the centre of which the relics were deposited. Hence, a different procedure has to be adopted in exploring a mound believed to have been a stúpa from what would be followed in other cases. Unless the object be to discover the relics, it is ordinarily a waste of labour to cut deep into its centre, for the images which surmounted it must have fallen down outside its base, where they have been gradually buried by the crumbling away of the stúpa over them, and will be found at no great depth below the surface. But, in the case of a temple or monastery, the mound is itself the ruined building, and, if Muhammadans were the destroyers, was generally utilized as the substructure of a mosque.

Between the Kankáli tíla and the Sonkh Road, the fields are dotted with a great number of mounds, so close together and so much worn by time that many of them can scarcely be distinguished from the natural level of the ground. At the point where the village-track to Naugáma branches off from the Sonkh Road, and occupying the angle between the two, is the mound where the gold reliquary was discovered. A few hundred yards further on and to the right of the Naugáma cart-track, is a cluster of mounds, one of which is now being trenched (marked *d* in sketch-map, page 72.) It has yielded the head of a colossal figure of very Egyptian cast of features with a round hole in its forehead in which was once set a ruby or other precious stone.† The lower part of a large seated Buddha has also been unearthed with an inscription in the Asoka character on the ledge beneath, of which the first three words read *Mahárájásya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya*, *i.e.*, 'of the great king, the heaven-born Huvishka.'

* A *tributary* stream, the bed of which is now partly occupied by the Delhi Road, flowed past the katra, and being joined at the point still called the Saugam, or 'confluence,' by another considerable stream from the opposite direction, fell into the channel now crossed by the Seth's bridge, and so reached the Jamuná.

† When the Muhammadan historians speak of idols with rubies for eyes, this is probably an error on their part, as it seems that the stone was set, not in, but between, the eyes, as a *tilak*, or frontal mark.

This mound immediately adjoins the boundary pillar which marks the limits of the township of Mathurá. A little further on within the borders of Giridharpur, may be traced a very extensive tank, now converted into ploughed fields, with a series of mounds all round its margin. These are unquestionably Buddhist stúpas, and will be examined. They are covered with small fragments of carved stone, indicating that here destruction was more than usually complete, and that the images were not only thrown down but deliberately broken to pieces. It is, therefore, improbable that any large statue will be recovered, but inscriptions may have escaped, and these will be of equal, if not greater, interest.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VI.

I.—List of Governors of Mathurá in the 17th Century.

1629. Mirza Isa Tarkhán ; who gave his name to the suburb of Isa-pur (now more commonly called Hans-ganj), on the opposite bank of the river.

1636. Murshid Kuli Khán, promoted, at the time of his appointment, to be commander of 2,000 horse, as an incentive to be zealous in stamping out idolatry and rebellion. From him the suburb of Murshid-pur derives its name.

1639. Allah Virdi Khán. After holding office for three years, some disloyal expressions to which he had given utterance were reported to the Emperor, who thereupon confiscated his estates and removed him to Delhi.

1642. Azam Khán Mír Muhammad Bákir, also called Irádat Khán. He is commemorated by the Azam-abad Saráe, which he founded (see page 18), and by the two villages of Azam-pur, and Bákir-pur. He came of a noble family seated at Sáwa in Persia, and having attached himself to the service of Asaf Khán Mirza Jafar, the distinguished poet and courtier, soon after became his son-in-law and was introduced to the notice of the Emperor Jahángir. He thus gained his first appointment under the Crown; but his subsequent promotion was due to the influence of Yamín-ud-daula, Asaf Khán IV., the father of Mumtáz Mahall, the favourite wife of Shah-jahán. On the accession of that monarch he was appointed commander of 5,000, and served with distinction in the Dakhin in the war against the rebel Khán Jahán Lodi and in the operations against the Nizám Sháhi's troops. In the fifth year of the reign, he was made Governor of Bengal in succession to Kásim Khán Juwaini. Three years later he was transferred to Allahabad, but did not remain there long, being moved in the very next year to Gujarát, as Subadar. In the twelfth year of Shah-jahán his daughter was married to Prince Shuja, who had by her a son named Zain-ul-abidin. From 1642 to 1645 he was Governor of Mathurá, but in the latter year, as he did not act with sufficient vigour against the Hindu malcontents, his advanced age was made the pretext for transferring him to

Bihar. Three years later he received orders for Kashmír; but as he objected to the cold climate of that country he was allowed to exchange it for Jaun-pur, where he died in 1648, at the age of 76. He is described in the Maasir-ul-Umará as a man of most estimable character, but very harsh in his mode of collecting the State revenue. Azamgarh, the capital of the district of that name in the Banáras Division, was also founded by him.

1645. Makramat Khán, formerly Governor of Delhi.

1658. Jafar, son of Allah Virdi Khán.

1659. Kásim Khán, transferred from Murádábád, but murdered on his way down.

1660. Abd-un-Nabi, founder of the Jama Masjid (see page 98).

1668. Saff-Shikan Khán. Fails in quelling the rebellion.

1669. Hasan Ali Khán. During his incumbency the great temple of Kesava Deva was destroyed.

1676. Sultán Kuli Khán.

II.—Names of the City Quarters or Mahallas.

1 Mandavi Ráni.
2 Bairág-pura.
3 Khirki Bisáti.
4 Naya-bás.
5 Arjun-pura.
6 Tek-narnaul.
7 Gali Seru Kasera.
8 Gali Ravaliya.
9 Gali Rám-pál.
10 Tek Raná Kháti.
11 Gali Mathurá Megha.
12 Bázár Chauk.
13 Gali Bhairon.
14 Gali Thatherá.
15 Lál Darwázá.
16 Gali Lohiya.
17 Gali Nanda.
18 Teli-párá.
19 Tila Chaube
20 Brindában Darwázá.
21 Gher Gobindi.
22 Gali Gopa Sháh.
23 Shah-ganj Darwázá.
24 Hálan-ganj.
25 Chakra Tírath.
26 Krishan Gangá.
27 Go-ghát.
28 Kans ká kila.
29 Hanumán tila.
30 Zer masjid.
31 Kushk.
32 Sámi Ghát.
33 Makhdum Sháh.
34 Asi-kunda Ghát.
35 Visránt Ghát.
36 Kans-khár.
37 Gali Dasavatár.
38 Gor-párá.
39 Gosáin Ghát.
40 Kil-math.
41 Syám Ghát.
42 Rám Ghat.
43 Rámjí-dwára.
44 Bihári-pura.
45 Ballabh Ghát.
46 Máru Gali.
47 Bengáli Ghát.
48 Kálá Mahal
49 Chúna kankar.
50 Chamarháná.
51 Gopál-pura.
52 Sarái Rájá Bhadauria.
53 Sengal-pura.
54 Chhonkar-párá
55 Mir-ganj.
56 Holi Darwáza.
57 Sítala Gali.
58 Kampu Ghát.
59 Dharmsálá Rájá Awa (built by Rájá Pitambar Sinh).
60 Dhruva Ghát.
61 Dhruva tíla.
62 Bal tíla.
63 Bárá Jay Ram Dás.
64 General-ganj.
65 Anta-párá.
66 Gobind ganj.
67 Chhagan-pura.
68 Santokh-pura.
69 Chháh kathauti.
70 Kotwáli.
71 Bharatpur Darwáza.
72 Lálá ganj.
73 Sítala Paesa.
74 Maholi Pol.
75 Nagara Paesa.
76 Gujarhána.
77 Roshan-ganj.
78 Bhár-kí gali.
79 Khirki Dalpat Ráe.
80 Táj-pura.
81 Chaubachcha.
82 Sat Ghará.
83 Chhatá Bazár.
84 Gali Páthakán.
85 Mandar Párikh Ji.
86 Kázi-pára.

87 Naya Bazár (from Mr. Thornton's time).
88 Ghâti chikno pat haron ki.
89 Gali Gotawálá.
90 Gata sram.
91 Ratn kund.
92 Chhonká-párá.
93 Mánik chauk.
94 Gaja Paesa.
95 Ghâti Bitthal Rao.
96 Sitalá Ghâti.
97 Nakárchi tila.
98 Gûjar Ghâti.
99 Gali Kalál.
100 Kaserat.
101 Gali Durgá Chand.
102 Bazázá.
103 Mandavi Ghiya.
104 Gali Dhúsaron ki.
105 Manohar-pura.
106 Kasûi-párá.
107 Keso-pura.
108 Mandavi Rám Dás.
109 Matiya Darwáza.
110 Díg Darwáza.
111 Mahalla khákrobán

III.—Principal Buildings in the City of Mathurá.

1. Hardinge Arch, or Holi Darwáza, forming the Agra gate of the city, erected by the municipality, at a cost of Rs. 9,200, in the year 1872.

2. Temple of Rádhá Kishan, founded by Deva Chand, bohra, of Tenda-Khera near Jabalpur, in 1870-71. Cost Rs. 40,000. In the Chhata Bazár.

3. Temple of Bijay Gobind, in the Satghara Mahalla, built in 1867 by Bijay Rám, bohra, of Dattia, at a cost of Rs. 65,000.

4. Temple of Bala Deva, in the Khans-khár Bazár, built in 1865 by Kushâli Rám, bohra, of Sher-garh, at a cost of Rs. 25,000.

5. Temple of Bhairav Náth, in the Lohárs' quarter, built by Bishan Lál, Khattri, at a cost of Rs. 10,000. It is better known by the name of Sarvar Sultán, as it contains a chapel dedicated in honour of that famous Muhammadan saint; regarding whom it may be of interest to subjoin a few particulars. The parent shrine, situate in desert country at the mouth of a pass leading into Kandahár, is served by a company of some 1,650 priests besides women and children; who, with the exception of a small grant from Government yielding an annual income of only Rs. 350, are entirely dependent for subsistence on the charity of pilgrims. The shrine is equally reverenced by Hindus, Sikhs, and Muhammadans, and it is said to be visited in the course of a year by as many as 200,000 people of all castes and denominations, who come chiefly from the Panjáb and Sindh. The saint in his lifetime was so eminent for his universal benevolence and liberality (whence his title of *sakhi*) that he is believed still to retain after death the power and will to grant every petition that is presented to him. At the large fair held in February, March, and April, the shrine is crowded with applicants, many of whom beg for aid in money. As the shrine is poor and supported by charity, this cannot be given on the spot; but the petitioner is told to name some liberal-minded person, upon whom an order is then written and sealed with the great seal of the temple and handed to the applicant. When presented by him to the person on whom it was drawn it is not unfrequently honored. Such a parwána, drawn on one Muhammad Khán Afghan was found on the fakír Nawáb Sháh, who in 1871 made a murderous

attack on the Secretary of the Lahor Municipality. A report on the peculiar circumstances of the case was submitted to Government, and it is from it that the above sketch has been extracted in explanation of the singular fact that a Muhammadan saint has been enthroned as a deity in a Hindu temple in the most exclusive of all Hindu cities.

6. Temple of Gata-sram, near the Visránt Ghát, built by Prán-náth Sástri, at a cost of Rs. 25,000, about the year 1800.

7. Temple of Dwárakádhís, commonly called the Seth's temple, in the Asikunda Bazar, built by Párikh Ji, in 1815, at a cost of Rs. 20,000.

8. House of the Bharat-pur Rájás with gateway added by the late Rájá Balavant Sinh.

9. House of Seth Lakhmi Chand, built in 1845 at a cost of Rs. 1,00,000.

10. Temple of Madan Mohan, by the Sámi Ghát, built by Seth Anant Rám of Chúri by Rám-garh, in 1859, at a cost of Rs. 20,000.

11. Temple of Gobardhan Náth, built by Seth Kushál, commonly called Seth Bábú, kámdar of the Barodara Rájá, in 1830.

12. Temple of Bihári Jí, built by Kanhaiya Lál, banker, in 1850, at a cost of Rs. 25,000, in Dhúsar-párá.

13. Temple of Gobind Deva, near the Nakárchi tílá, built by Gaur Sahay Mal and Ghan-Syám Dás, his son, Seths of Chúri, in 1848, with their residences and that of Ghan-Syám's uncle, Rámchandra, adjoining.

14. Temple of Gopi-náth, by the Sámi Ghát, built by Gulráj and Jagannáth, Seths of Chúri, in 1866, at a cost of Rs. 30,000.

15. Temple of Baladeva, near the Hardinge Arch, built by Balá, Ahír, a servant of Seth Lakhmi Chand, as a dwelling-house about the year 1820, at a cost of Rs. 50,000, and sold to Ráe Bái, a baniya's wife, who converted it into a temple.

16. Temple of Mohan Jí, in the Satghara Mahalla, built about 70 years ago by Kripá Rám, Bohra; more commonly known as Daukala Kunj, after the Chaube who was the founder's purohoit.

17. Temple of Madan Mohan, in the Asikunda Mahalla, built by Dhanráj, Bohra, of Aligarh.

18. Temple of Gobardhan Náth, in the Kans-khár, built by Devi Dás, Bohra, of Urai.

19. Temple of Dírgha Vishnu, by the street leading to the Bharat-pur Gate, built by Rájá Patni Mal of Banáras.

20. The Sati Burj, or 'faithful widow's tower,' built by Rájá Bhagaván Dás in 1570.

21. The mosque of Abd-un-Nabi Khán, built 1662.

22. The mosque of Aurangzeb, built 1669 on the site of the temple of Kesava Deva.

IV.—Calendar of Festivals observed in the City of Mathurá.

Chait Sudi (April 1-15).

1. *Chait Sudi* 8.—Durgá Ashtami. Held at the temple of Mahávidya Devi.
2. *Chait Sudi* 9.—Rám Navami. Held at the Rám Jí Dwára.

Baisákh (April—May).

3. *Baisákh Sudi* 14.—Nar Sinh ká mela. Held at Gor-párá, Mánik Chauk, and the temple of Dwárakádhís.
4. *Baisakh full moon.*—Perambulation of Mathurá, called Ban-bihár, starting from the Visránt Ghát.
5. *Jeth Sudi* 10.—The Jeth Dasahara. In the middle of the day, bathing at the Dasasvamedh Ghát, in the evening kite-flying from the Gokarnesvar hill.
6. *Jeth full moon.*—Jal-játra. All the principal people bring the water for the ablution of the god into the temples on their own shoulders in little silver urns.

Asárh (June—July).

7. *Asárh Sudi* 2.—Rath-játra.
8. *Asárh Sudi* 11.—Principal perambulation of the city. From this day the god is supposed to go to sleep for four months.
9. *Asárh full moon.*—Byás-púja. In the morning the Guru is formally reverenced; in the evening there are wrestling matches, and the Pandits assemble on the hills or house-tops for the 'pavan pariksha,' or watching of the wind; from which they predict when the rains will commence and what sort of a season there will be.
10. *Srávan Sudi* 3.—Mela at the temple of Bhutesvar Mahadeva.

Srávan (July—August).

11. *Srávan Sudi* 5.—The Panch Tirath mela begins. A pilgrimage starts from the Visránt Ghát for Madhu-ban, and proceeds on the next day to Santana kund at Satoha and the Gyán-bauli near the Katra, on the third day to Gokarnesvar, on the fourth to the shrine of Garur Gobind at Chhatíkra and on the fifth to the Brahm kund at Brindá-ban.
12. *Srávan Sudi* 11.—Perambulation of Mathurá and Pavitra-dháran, or offering of Brahmanical threads to the Thákur.
13. *Srávan full moon.*—The Salúno. At the temple of Bhutesvar.

Bhádon (August—September).

14. *Bhádon Badi* 8.—Janm Ashtami; Krishna's birthday. A fast till midnight.
15. *Bhádon Sudi* 11.—A special pilgrimage to Madhu-ban, Tál-ban, and Kumud-ban. The general Ban-játra also commences and lasts for 15 days.

Kuvár (September—October).

16. *Kuvár Badi* 8.—Perambulation of the city followed by five days' festivities, with offerings in the different temples of the little figures called *sánjhi*,

and performances all through the night of the Rás dance, in which the actors are dressed to represent Krishna and the Gopis.

17. *Kuvár Sudi* 8.—Meghnáth Líla. Commencement of the Rám Líla by a representation of the death of Rávan's son Megh-náth. Held near the temple of Mahávidya.

18. *Kuvár Sudi* 9.—Kumbhakaran Líla, with representation of the death of Rávan's brother, Kumbhakaran.

19. *Kuvár Sudi* 10.—Great day of the Dasahara, with representation of Rámá's final victory over Rávan. Though this fête attracts a large concourse of people, the show is a very poor one, and the display of fireworks much inferior to what may be seen in many second-rate Hindu cities.

20. *Kuwar Sudi* 11.—Bharat Miláp. A platform is erected in the street under the Jama Masjid, on which is enacted a representation of the meeting at Ajudhyá between Prince Bharat and Ráma, Sitá and Lakshman on their return from their wanderings. For the whole distance from that central spot to the Holi Gate not only the thoroughfare itself, but all the balconies and tops of the houses are crowded with people in gay holiday attire; and as the fronts of all the principal buildings are also draped with party-colored hangings, and the shops dressed up to look their best, the result is a very picturesque spectacle, which is more pleasing to the European eye than any other feast in the Hindu calendar; the throng, however, is so dense that it is rather a hazardous matter to drive a carriage through it.

21. *Kuvár full moon.*—Sarad-púrno. Throughout the night visits are paid to the different temples.

Kártik (October—November).

22. *Kártik, new moon.*—Diwáli, or Díp-dán—feast of lamps.

23. *Kártik Sudi* 1.—Anna-kút. The same observances as at Gobardhan, but on a smaller scale.

24. *Kártik Sudi* 7.—Dhobi-maran Líla. Held near the Brindaban Gate to commemorate Krishna's spoliation of Kansa's washermen.

25. *Kártik Sudi* 8.—Gochárun, or pasturing the cattle. Held in the evening at the Gopál Bagh on the Agra Road.

26. *Kártik Sudi* 9.—Akhay Navami. The second great perambulation of the city, beginning immediately after midnight.

27. *Kártik Sudi* 10.—Kans badh ka mela, at the Rangesvar Mahadeva. Towards evening, a large wicker figure of Kans is brought out on to the road near the Katra, when two boys, dressed to represent Krishna and Baladeva, and mounted either on horses or an elephant, give the signal, with the staves all wreathed with flowers that they have in their hands, for an assault upon the monster. In a few minutes it is torn to shreds and tatters by the crowd, and a procession is then made to the Visránt Ghát.

28. *Kártik Sudi* 11.—Deotthán. The awakening of the god from his four months' slumber.

Mágh (January—February).

29. *Mágh Sudi* 5.—Basant Panchami. The return of spring; corresponding to the English May-day.

Phálgun (February—March).

30. *Phálgun, fullmoon.*—The Holi, or Indian saturnalia.

Chait badi (March 15—30*).*

31. *Chait Badi* 1.—Gathering at the temple of Kesava Deva.

32. *Chait Badi* 5.—Phúl-dol. Processions with flowers and music and dancing.

V.—List of the Wealthiest Residents in the City.

No.	Name.	Estimated net annual income.
		Rs.
1	Seths Gobind Dás, Raghunáth Dás, and Lachhman Dás	2,25,000
2	Swámi Rangáchárya, head of the Seth's temple at Brindaban ...	93,000
3	Gosain Purushottam Lál	54,000
4	Devi Dás and Ganga Bishan, of Díg, trading also at Ghazipur, Mirzapur, and Hathras.	30,000
5	Sahs Kundan Lál and Mádhuri Saran	29,000
6	Chunni Lál, Sáhukár	28,120
7	Durgá Prasád, son of Jwálá Náth, Khattri	25,000
8	Seth Roshan Lál, Khattri	17,400
9	Chaudhari Rádha Krishan, son of Srí Gopál	15,200
10	Rádhá Lál and Nand Rám of Roshan-ganj	11,000
11	Joshi Amar Lál, Muáfidár	10 600
12	Seth Gobardhan Dás, son of Rúpchand	10,300

In England, the publication of such a list as the above, based on the income-tax returns, would be considered a breach of confidence. But I do not anticipate that it will be so regarded here in India, where every one, as a rule, knows his neighbour's income as accurately as his own; and where a well-to-do native, calling on a stranger, will probably mention, among his other claims to consideration, the exact amount at which he was rated in the last assessment.

CHAPTER VII.

BRINDÁ-BAN.

Some six miles above Mathurá is a point where the right bank of the Jamuná assumes the appearance of a peninsula, owing to the eccentricity of the stream, which first makes an abrupt turn to the north and then as sudden a return upon its accustomed southern course. Here, washed on three of its sides by the sacred flood, stands the town of Brindá-ban, at the present day a rich and increasing municipality, and for many centuries past one of the most holy places of the Hindus. A little higher up the stream a similar promontory occurs, and in both cases the curious formation is traditionally ascribed to the resentment of Baladeva. He, it is said, forgetful one day of his habitual reserve, and emulous of his younger brother's popular graces, led out the Gopis for a dance upon the sands. But he performed his part so badly, that the Jamuná could not forbear from taunting him with his failure and recommending him never again to exhibit so clumsy an imitation of Krishna's agile movements. The stalwart god was much vexed at this criticism, and, taking up the heavy plough which he had but that moment laid aside, he drew with it so deep a furrow from the shore that the unfortunate river, perforce, fell into it, was drawn helplessly away, and has never since been able to recover its original channel.

Such is the local rendering of the legend; but in the Puránas and other early Sanskrit authorities, the story is differently told, in this wise; that as Balaráma was roaming through the woods of Brindá-ban, he found concealed in the cleft of a *kadamb* tree some spirituous liquor, which he at once consumed with his usual avidity. Heated by intoxication he longed, above all things, for a bathe in the river, and seeing the Jamuná at some little distance, he shouted for it to come near. The stream, however, remained deaf to his summons; whereupon the infuriated god took up his ploughshare and breaking down the bank drew the water into a new channel, and forced it to follow wherever he led. In the Bhágavata it is added that the Jamuná is still to be seen following the course along which she was thus dragged. Professor Wilson in his edition of the Vishnu Purána says, "The legend probably alludes to the construction of canals from the Jamuná for the purpose of irrigation; and the works of the Muhammadans in this way, which are well known, were no doubt preceded by similar canals dug by order of Hindu princes." Upon this suggestion it may be remarked, first, that in Upper India no irrigation works

of any extent are known ever to have been executed either by Hindus or Muhammadans ; certainly, there are no traces of any such operations in the neighbourhood of Brindá-ban ; and secondly, both legends represent the Jamuná itself as diverted from its straight course into a single winding channel, not as divided into a multiplicity of streams. Hence it may more reasonably be inferred that the still existing involution of the river is the sole foundation for the myth.

The high road from Mathurá to Brindá-ban passes through two villages, Jay-sinh-pur and Ahalya-ganj ; but with these exceptions, the country on either side has rather a waste and desolate appearance, with fewer gardens and houses than would be expected on a thoroughfare connecting two places of such popular resort. An explanation is afforded by the fact that the present road is of quite recent construction ; its predecessor kept much closer to the Jamuná, lying just along the *kádar* lands—which in the rains form part of the river-bed—and then among the ravines, where it was periodically destroyed by the rush of water from the land. This is now almost entirely disused ; but for the first two miles out of Brindá-ban its course is marked by lines of trees and several works of considerable magnitude. The first is a large garden more than 40 bighas in extent, surrounded by a masonry wall and supplied with water from a distance by long aqueducts. In its centre is a stone temple of some size, and among the trees, with which the grounds are over-crowded, some venerable specimens of the *khirni* form an imposing avenue. The garden bears the name of Kushál, a wealthy Seth from Gujarát, at whose expense it was constructed, and who also founded one of the largest temples in the city of Mathurá. A little beyond, on the opposite side of the way, in a piece of waste ground, which was once an orchard, is a large and handsome *báuli* of red sandstone, with a flight of 57 steps leading down to the level of the water. This was the gift of Ahalya Bái, the celebrated Mahratta Queen of Indor, who died in 1795. It is still in perfect preservation, but quite unused. Further on, in the hamlet of Akrúr, on the verge of a cliff overlooking a wide expanse of alluvial land, is the temple of Bhat-rond, a solitary tower containing an image of Bihári Jí. In front of it is a forlorn little court-yard with walls and entrance gateway all crumbling into ruin. Opposite is a large garden of the Seth's, and on the roadway that runs between, a fair, called the Bhat-mela, is held on the full moon of Kártik; when sweetmeats are scrambled among the crowd by the visitors of higher rank, seated on the top of the gate. The word Bhat-rond is always popularly connected with the incident in Krishna's life which the mela commemorates—how that he and his brother Balarám one day, having forgotten to supply themselves with provisions before leaving home, had to borrow a meal of rice *(bhát)* from some Brahmans' wives—but the true etymology (though an orthodox Hindu would regard the suggestion

as heretical) refers, like most of the local names in the neighbourhood, merely to physical phenomena, and Bhat-rond may be translated 'tide-wall,' or 'breakwater.'

Similarly, the word Brindá-ban is derived from an obvious physical feature, and when first attached to the spot signified no more than the 'tulsi grove;' *brindá* and *tulsi* being synonymous terms, used indifferently to denote the sacred aromatic herb known to botanists as *Ocymum sanctum*. But this explanation is far too simple to find favour with the more modern and extravagant school of Vaishnava sectaries; and in the Brahma Vaivarta Purána, a mythical personage has been invented bearing the name of Vrindá. According to that spurious composition (Brah. Vai., v. iv. 2) the deified Rádhá, though inhabiting the Paradise of Goloka, was not exempt from human passions, and in a fit of jealousy condemned a Gopa by name Sridáma to descend upon earth in the form of the demon Sankháchura. He, in retaliation, sentenced her to become a nymph of Brindá-ban; and there accordingly she was born, being, as was supposed, the daughter of Kedára, but in reality the divine mistress of Krishna; and it was simply his love for her which induced the god to leave his solitary throne in heaven and become incarnate. Hence in the following exhaustive list of Rádhá's titles, as given by the same authority (Brah. Vai., v. iv. 17), there are three which refer to her predilection for Brindá-ban:—

Rádha, Rásesvari, Rásavásini, Rásikesvari,
Krishna-pránádhiká, Krishna-priya, Krishna-swarupini,
Krishná, Vrindávani, Vrindá, Vrindávana-vinodini,
Chandávati, Chándra-kántá, Sata-chandra-nibhánaná,
*Krishna-vámánga-sambhútá, Paramánanda-rúpini.**

There is no reason to suppose that Brindá-ban was ever the seat of any large Buddhist establishment; and though from the very earliest period of Brahmanical history it has enjoyed high repute as a sacred place of pilgrimage, it is probable that for many centuries it was merely a wild uninhabited jungle, a description still applicable to Bhándír-ban, on the opposite side of the river, a spot of equal celebrity in Sanskrit literature. Its most ancient temples, four in number, take us back only to the reign of our own Queen Elizabeth; the stately courts that adorn the river bank and attest the wealth and magnificence of the Bharat-pur Rájás, date only from the middle of last century; while the space now occupied by a series of the largest and most magnificent shrines ever erected in Upper India was, fifty years ago, an unclaimed belt of jungle and pasture-ground for cattle. Now that communication has been established with

* "Rádhá, queen of the dance, constant at the dance, queen of the dancer; dearer than Krishna's life, Krishna's delight, Krishna's counter-part; Krishná, Brindá, Brindá-ban-born, sporting at Brindá-ban; moon-like spouse of the moon-like god, with face bright as a hundred moons; created as at the left half of Krishna's body, incarnation of heavenly bliss."

the remotest parts of India, every year sees some splendid addition made to the artistic treasures of the town; as wealthy devotees recognize in the stability of British rule an assurance that their pious donations will be completed in peace and remain undisturbed in perpetuity.

When Father Tieffenthaler visited Brindá-ban in 1754, he noticed only one long street, but states that this was adorned with handsome, not to say magnificent buildings of beautifully carved stone, which had been erected by different Hindu Rájás and nobles, either for mere display, or as occasional residences, or as embellishments that would be acceptable to the local divinity. The absurdity of people coming from long distances merely for the sake of dying on holy ground, all among the monkeys—which he describes as a most intolerable nuisance—together with the frantic idolatry that he saw rampant all around, and the grotesque resemblance of the Bairágis to the hermits and ascetics of the earlier ages of Christianity, seem to have given the worthy missionary such a shock that his remarks on the buildings are singularly vague and indiscriminating.

At the present time there are within the limits of the municipality about a thousand temples, including, of course, many which, strictly speaking, are merely private chapels, and thirty-two ghâts constructed by different princely benefactors. The tanks of reputed sanctity are only two in number. The first is the Brahm Kund at the back of the Seth's temple, which is now in a very ruinous condition. The other, called Gobind Kund, is in an out-of-the-way spot near the Mathurá Road. Hitherto it has been little more than a natural pond, but has lately been enclosed on all four sides with masonry walls and flights of steps at a cost of Rs. 30,000 by Chaudharáni Káli Sundari from Rájshahi in Bengal. The peacocks and monkeys, with which the place abounds, enjoy the benefit of special endowments, bequeathed by deceased Rájás of Kotá and Bharat-pur. There are some fifty *chhattras*, or dole houses, for the distribution of alms, and extraordinary donations are not unfrequently made by royal and distinguished visitors. Thus the Rájá of Dátiá, a few years ago, made an offering to every single shrine and every single Bráhman that was found in the city. The whole population amounts to 21,000, of which the Bráhmans, Bairágis, and Vaishnavas together make up about one-half. In the time of the emperors, the Muhammadans made a futile attempt to abolish the ancient name, Brindá-ban, and in its stead substitute that of Múmináhád; but now, more wisely, they leave the place to its own Hindu name and devices, and keep themselves as clear of it as possible. Thus, besides an occasional official, there are in Brindá-ban no followers of the prophet beyond only some fifty families who live close together in its outskirts, and are all of the humblest order, such as oilmen, lime-burners, and the like.

It is still customary to consider the religion of the Hindus as a compact system, which has existed continuously and without any material change

ever since the remote and almost pre-historic period when it finally abandoned the comparatively simple form of worship inculcated by the ritual of the Vedas. The real facts, however, are far different. So far as it is possible to compare things sacred with profane, the course of Hinduism and Christianity has been identical in character; both were subjected to a violent disruption which occurred in the two quarters of the globe nearly simultaneously, and which is still attested by the multitude of uncouth fragments into which the ancient edifice was disintegrated as it fell. In the west, the revival of ancient literature and the study of forgotten systems of philosophy stimulated enquiry into the validity of those theological conclusions which previously had been unhesitatingly accepted—from ignorance that any counter-theory could be honestly maintained by thinking men. Similarly in the east, the Muhammadan invasion and the consequent contact with new races and new modes of thought brought home to the Indian moralist that his old basis of faith was too narrow; that the division of the human species into the four Mánava castes, and an outer world of barbarians was too much at variance with facts to be accepted as satisfactory, and that the ancient inspired oracles, if rightly interpreted, must disclose some means of salvation applicable to all men alike, without respect to colour or nationality. The professed object of the Reformers was the same in Asia as in Europe—to discover the real purpose for which the second Person of the Trinity became incarnate; to disencumber the truth, as He had revealed it, from the accretions of later superstition; to abolish the extravagant pretensions of a dominant class and to restore a simpler and more severely intellectual form of public worship.* In Upper India the tyranny of the Muhammadans was too tangible a fact to allow of the hope or even the wish that the conquerors and conquered could ever coalesce in one common faith; but in the Dakhin and the remote regions of Eastern Bengal, to which the sword of Islam had scarcely extended, and where no inveterate antipathy had been created, the contingency appeared less improbable. Accordingly, it was in those parts of India that the great teachers of the reformed Vaishnava creed first meditated and reduced to system those doctrines which it was the one object of all their later life to promulgate throughout Hindustan. It was their ambition to elaborate a scheme so broad and yet so orthodox that it might satisfy the requirements of the Hindu and yet not exclude the Muhammadan, who was to be admitted on equal terms into the new fraternity: all mankind becoming one great family and every caste distinction being utterly abolished.

Thus Kabír, a contemporary of the Emperor Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517 A. D.), is acknowledged as one of the greatest leaders among the Reformers,

* Thus, as it may be interesting to note, the Bráhma Samáj of the present day is no isolated movement, but only the most modern of a long series of similar reactions against corrupt superstition.

and was the founder of a sect called the Kabír-Panthis. Though a foundling, and therefore of uncertain parentage, he was certainly brought up in a family of *juláhas*, Muhammadan weavers; and after his death a violent dispute arose as to the disposal of his body—the Hindus claiming it for cremation, the Muhammadans for burial. Neither party succeeded in establishing an absolute right to the sacred remains; for, on lifting up the cloth with which they had been reverently covered, their miraculous assumption into heaven was attested by the heap of divine flowers which alone marked the spot where they had reposed. Of these flowers, half were taken to Banáras and there burnt, the other half were buried at Magar near Gorakhpur, where he had died. This latter shrine has been richly endowed and is visited specially by Muhammadans, as the Kabír Chaura at Banáras is by Hindus.

Similarly, the fundamental doctrine of the Prán Náthis, or Dhámís (Dhá n being a name of the Supreme Being or Paramátma), is the absolute equality before God, not only of Hindus and Muhammadans, but also of Christians. Their founder, Prán Náth, was a Kshatriya by caste and a native of Bundelkhand, who lived towards the end of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb. His polemical treatises, fourteen in number, are written in Hindi verse with a large admixture of the Arabic phraseology of the Korán.* He is represented in Mathurá by a solitary ascetic named Karak Dás, who has a small shrine near the Seth's garden on the Jamuná. The only object exposed for adoration on the altar is a set of Prán Náth's works, the whole of which he knows by heart. It is said to be an essential part of the ceremony of initiation that Hindus and Muhammadans should eat together; but in the presence of his Hindu countrymen whose prejudices on the point are so strong, he was very reluctant to admit the fact, and maintained, what no doubt is the case, that the practice at all events was never repeated after once the initiation had been effected.

Hence it is by no means correct to assert of modern Hinduism that it is essentially a non-proselytizing religion; accidentally it has become so, but only from concession to the prejudices of the outside world and in direct opposition to the tenets of its founders. Their initial success was necessarily due to their intense zeal in proselytizing, and was marvellously rapid. At the present day their followers constitute the more influential, and it may be even numerically the larger half of the Hindu population: but precisely as in Europe so in India, no two men of the reformed sects, however immaterial their doctrinal

* The fourteen books are named as follows: the titles alone being sufficient to indicate the curious mixed dialect in which they are composed: 1 the book of Rás; 2 of Prakás; 3 of Shatrit; 4 of Kalas; 5 of Sanandh; 6 of Kirantan; 7 of Khulása; 8 of Khelvat; 9 of Prakrama Iláhi Dulhan, an allegory in which the Church, or 'Bride of God,' is represented as a holy city; 10 of Ságar Singár; 11 of Bare Singár; 12 of Sindhi Bhása; 13 of Márafat Ságar; 14 of Kyámat-náma.

differences, can be induced to amalgamate; each forms a new caste more bigoted and exclusive than any of those which it was intended to supersede, while the founder has become a deified character, for whom it is necessary to erect a new niche in the very Pantheon he had laboured to destroy.

The four main divisions, or Sampradáyas, as they are called, of the reformed Vaishnavas are the Srí Vaishnava, the Nimbáratk Vaishnava, the Madhva Vaishnava, and the Vishnu Swámi. The last sect is now virtually extinct; for though the name is occasionally retained, their doctrines were entirely remodelled in the sixteenth century by the famous Gokul Gosáin Vallabhácháryа, after whom his adherents are ordinarily styled either Vallabhácháryas or Gokulastha Gosáins. Their history and tenets will find more appropriate place in connection with the town of Gokul, which is still their head-quarters: suffice it here to say that, both in the lateness of their origin and the scandalous nature of their peculiar doctrines, they correspond most closely with the Mormons of the west, and are as little to be regarded as exponents of ordinary Hindu belief and practice as the followers of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young are of conventional Christianity.

In addition to the four Sampradáyas, there are two schools of somewhat more modern origin, called respectively Bengáli or Gauriya Vaishnavas and Rádhá Vallabhís. The former are the disciples of Chaitanya, the latter of Harivansa, a far less celebrated character. Both are very largely represented at Brindá-ban, where the latter originated, and the former established their principal propaganda.

The Srí Sampradáya was altogether unknown at Brindá-ban till quite recently, when the two brothers of Seth Lakhmi Chand, after abjuring the Jaini faith, were enlisted in its ranks, and by the advice of the Guru, who had received their submission, founded at enormous cost the great temple of Rang Jí. It is the most ancient and the most respectable of the four reformed Vaishnava communities, and is based on the teaching of Rámánuja, who flourished in the 11th or 12th century of the Christian era. The whole of his life was spent in the Dakhin, where he is said to have established no less than 700 monasteries, of which the chief were at Kánchi and Srí Ranga. The standard authorities for his theological system are certain Sanskrit treatises of his own composition entitled the Srí Bháshya, Gítá Bháshya, Vedártha Sangraha, Vedánta Pradípa and Vedánta Sára. All the more popular works are composed in the dialects of the south, and the establishment at Brindá-ban is attended exclusively by foreigners, the rites and ceremonies there observed exciting little interest among the Hindus of the neighbourhood, who are quite ignorant of their meaning. The sectarial mark by which the Srí Vaishnavas may be distinguished consists of two white perpendicular streaks down the forehead joined by a cross line at the root of the nose with a streak of red between. Their chief dogma, called

Visishthádwaita, is the assertion that Vishnu, the one Supreme God, though invisible as cause, is, as effect, visible in a secondary form in material creation.

They differ in one marked respect from the mass of the people at Brindá-ban, in that they refuse to recognise Rádhá as an object of religious adoration. In this they are in complete accord with all the older authorities, which regard her simply as Krishna's mistress and Rukmini as his wife. Their *mantra* or formula of initiation, corresponding to the *In nomine Patris*, &c., of Christian Baptism, is said to be *Om Rámáya namah*, that is, 'Om, reverence to Rámá.'

The Nimbárak Vaishnavas, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, have one of their oldest shines on the Dhruva hill at Mathurá. Literally interpreted, the word Nimbárak means 'the sun in a *nim* tree;' a curious designation, which is explained as follows. The founder of the sect, an ascetic, by name Bháskárácháryа, had invited a Bairágí to dine with him, and had prepared everything for his reception, but unfortunately delayed to go and fetch his guest till after sunset. Now, the holy man was forbidden by the rules of his order to eat except in the day-time, and was greatly afraid that he would be compelled to practise an unwilling abstinence : but at the solicitation of his host, the sun-god, Súraj Náráyan, descended upon the *nim* tree under which the repast was spread and continued beaming upon them till the claims of hunger were fully satisfied. Thenceforth the saint was known by the name of Nimbárka or Nimbáditya. His special tenets are little known; for, unlike the other Sampradáyas, his followers have no special literature of their own either in Sanskrit or Hindi; a fact which they explain by saying that all their books were burnt by Aurangzeb, the conventional *bête noire* of Indian history, who is made responsible for every act of destruction. Though they form a numerous class at Brindá-ban, they have no temple there of any note.

The same may be said of the Madhva Vaishnavas whose founder, Madhvácháryá was a native of Southern India, born in the year 1199 A. D. The temple where he ordinarily resided is still in existence at a place called Udipi. Here he had set up a miraculous image of Krishna, made with the hero Arjun's own hands, which had been casually thrown as ballast into a ship from Dwáraka, which was wrecked on the Malabar coast. He is said to have been only nine years of age when he composed the Bhásha or commentary on the Gíta, which his disciples accept as of divine authority. Their distinctive doctrine is the assertion of an essential Duality (Dwaita) between the Jívatma, or principle of life, and the Paramátma, or Supreme Being. Their sectarial mark consists of two perpendicular white lines down the forehead, joined at the root of the nose and with a straight black streak between, terminating in a round mark made with turmeric.

The Rádhá Vallábhís have a temple at Brindá-ban dedicated to Krishna under his title Srí Rádhá Vallabha, which is said to have been built in the

year 1585, by Hari Vansa, the founder of the sect, a native of Deva-ban in the Saháranpur District. There are several inscriptions rudely scrawled on the walls, but the oldest at present visible bears the date of *Sambat* 1684 (1627A.D.) Most of their works are written in Hindi, and apparently agree in doctrine with the teaching of Chaitanya, the father of the Bengáli Vaishnavas.

This last-named community has had a more marked influence on Brindá-ban than any of the rival schools, as the foundation of all the material prosperity and religious exclusiveness, by which the place is now pre-eminently characterized, was laid by Chaitanya's immediate disciples. He was born at Nadiya in Bengal in 1485 A.D., and in his youth is said to have married a daughter of Vallabháchárya. However that may be, when he had arrived at the age of 24 he formally resigned all connection with secular and domestic affairs and commenced his career as a religious teacher. After spending six years in pilgrimages between Mathurá and Jagannáth, he finally settled down at the latter place, where in 1527 A.D., being then only 42 years old, he disappeared from the world. There is reason to believe that he was drowned in the sea, into which he had walked in an ecstasy, mistaking it for the shallow waters of the Jamuná, where he saw, in a vision, Krishna sporting with the Gopis. His life and doctrines are recorded in a most voluminous Bengáli work entitled Chaitanya Charitámrita, composed in 1590 by one of his disciples, Krishna Dás. Two of his colleagues, Adwaitanand and Nityánand who, like himself, are styled Mahá Prabhus, presided over his establishments in Bengal; while other six Gosains settled at Brindá-ban. Apart from metaphysical subtleties, which naturally have but little hold on the minds of the populace, the special tenet of the Bengáli Vaishnavas is the all sufficiency of faith in the divine Krishna; such faith being adequately expressed by the mere repetition of his name without any added prayer or concomitant feeling of genuine devotion. Thus roughly stated, the doctrine appears absurd; and possibly its true bearing is as little regarded by many of the more ignorant among the Vaishnavas themselves, as it is by the majority of superficial outside observers. It is, however, a legitimate deduction from sound principles: for it may be presumed that the formal act of devotion would never have been commenced, had it not been prompted at the outset by a devotional intention, which intention is virtually continued so long as the act is in performance. And to quote from a manual of a purer faith, "it is not necessary that the intention should be actual throughout; it is sufficient if we pray in a human manner; and for this only a virtual intention is required; that is to say, an intention which has been actual and is supposed to continue although through inadvertence or distraction we may have lost sight of it." The sectarial mark consists of two white perpendicular streaks down the forehead, united at the root of the nose, and continued to near the tip. Another characteristic is the use of a rosary of 108 beads made of the wood of the *tulsi*.

The recognized leaders of the Brindá-ban community were by name Rúpa and Sanátana, the authors of several doctrinal commentaries, and also, as is said, of the Mathurá Mahátmya. With them were associated a nephew, named Jíva, who founded the temple of Rádhá Dámodar ; Gopál Bhatt, founder of the temple of Rádhá Raman ; Raghunáth Dás, a Káyath from Rádhá Kund ; and, completing the six, Raghunáth Bhatt. Of the last nothing special has been recorded, and in some lists another name is substituted in his place.* One of the earliest converts, Swámi Hari Dás, a native of the adjoining village of Rájpur, has acquired a celebrity equal to that of any of his masters, and in some parts of Bengal is said to receive divine honours in the same way as Chaitanya. Tradition goes that he established his reputation for sanctity by spending several years in solitude in the woods and every day repeating Krishna's name 300,000 times. In the Bhakta Málá, Rúpa and Sanátana and their companions are mentioned as follows :—

श्रीरूपसनातन भक्तिजल श्रीजीवगुसाँई सर गंभीर ॥
वेला भजन सुपक्व कषायन कबहु न लागी ।
विन्दावन दृढ़वास जुगल चरनन अनुरागी ।
पोथी लेखनि पाँनि अघट अक्षर चित दीनौ ।
सद ग्रन्थन कौ सार सबै हस्तामल कीनौ ।
संदेह ग्रन्थ छेदन समर्थ रस राशि उपासिक परम धीर ।
श्रीरूपसनातन भक्तिजल श्रीजीवगुसाँई सर गंभीर ॥ १ ॥

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श्रीविन्दावन की माधुरी इनि मिलि आस्वादन कियौ ॥
सरवस राधारमन भट्टगोपाल उजागर ।
हृषीकेश भगवान् विपुलवीठल रस सागर ।
थानेश्वरी जगन्नाथ लोकनाथ महामुनि मधू श्रीरंग ।
कृष्णदास पण्डित उभै अधिकारी हरि अंग ॥
घमण्डी जुगलकिशोर भृत्य भूगर्भ दृढ़ व्रत लियौ ।
विन्दावन की माधुरी इनि मिलि आस्वादन कियौ ॥ २ ॥ †

* The Tuzúk mentions another famous Gosáin of somewhat later date, 1619 A. D., by name Jadu-Rup, who came from Ujjaiyin to Mathurá, and who had been visited both by Akbar and Jahángír.

† In the above passage the words underlined are proper names.

On their arrival at Brindá-ban, the first shrine which the Gosáins erected was in honour of the local divinity, Brindá Devi. Of this no traces now remain, if (as some say) it stood in the Seva Kunj, which is now a large walled garden with a masonry tank near the Rás Mandal. Their fame spread so rapidly that in 1570 the Emperor Akbar was induced to pay them a visit, and was taken blindfold into the sacred enclosure of the Nidhban,* where such a marvellous vision was revealed to him, that he was fain to acknowledge the place as indeed holy ground. Hence the cordial support which he gave to the attendant Rájás, when they declared their intention of erecting a series of buildings more worthy of the local divinity.

The four temples commenced in honour of this event still remain, though in a ruinous and hitherto sadly neglected condition. They bear the titles of Gobind Deva, Gopí-náth, Jugal-Kishor, and Madan Mohan. The first named is not only the finest of this particular series, but is the most impressive religious edifice that Hindu art has ever produced, at least in Upper India. The body of the building is in the form of a Greek cross, the nave being a hundred feet in length and the breadth across the transepts the same. The central compartment is surmounted by a dome of singularly graceful proportions; and the four arms of the cross are roofed by a wagon vault of pointed form, not, as is usual in Hindu architecture, composed of overlapping brackets, but constructed of true radiating arches as in our Gothic cathedrals. The walls have an average thickness of ten feet, and are pierced in two stages, the upper stage being a regular triforium, to which access is obtained by an internal staircase. At the east entrance of the nave, a small narthex projects fifteen feet; and at the west end, between two niches and incased in a rich canopy of sculpture, a square-headed doorway leads into the choir, a chamber some twenty feet deep. Beyond this was the sacrarium,† flanked on either side by a lateral chapel; each of these three cells being of the same dimensions as the choir, and like it vaulted by a lofty dome. The general effect of the interior is not unlike that produced by St. Paul's Cathedral in London. The latter building has greatly the advantage in size, but in the other, the central dome is more elegant, while the richer decoration of the wall surface and the natural glow of the red sandstone supply that relief and warmth of colouring which are so lamentably deficient in its western rival.

* The derivation of this word is a little questionable. It is the local name of the actual Brindá grove to which the town owes its origin. The spot so designated is now of very limited area, hemmed in on all sides by streets, but protected from further encroachment by a high masonry wall.

† The Sanskrit terms for the component parts of a temple are—the nave, *mandapa*; the choir, *antarála*, and the sacrarium *garbha griha*. The more ordinary Hindi substitutes are—for the nave, *sabhá*, and for the choir, *jag-mohan*; while *mandir*, the temple, specially denotes the sacrarium, and any side chapel is styled a *mahall*.

The ground-plan is so similar to that of many European churches as to suggest the idea that the architect was assisted by the Jesuit missionaries, who were people of considerable influence at Akbar's court: were this really the case, the temple would be one of the most eclectic buildings in the world, having a Christian ground-plan, a Hindu elevation, and a roof of modified Saracenic character. But the surmise, though a curious one, must not be too closely pressed; for some of the temples at Khajuráo, by Mahoba, are of similar design and of much earlier date.

It would seem that there were originally ~~seven~~ towers; one over the central dome, ~~one at the end of each transept~~, and the other four covering respectively the choir, sacrarium, and two chapels.* The sacrarium has been uttterly razed to the ground,† and the other ~~six~~ towers levelled with the roof of the nave. Their loss has terribly marred the effect of the exterior, which must have been extremely majestic when the west front with its lofty triplet was supported on either side by the ~~pyramidal~~ mass ~~of the~~ transepts and backed by the still more towering height that crowned the central dome. The choir tower was of slighter elevation, occupying the same relative position as the spirelet over the sanctus bell in western ecclesiology The ponderous walls, albeit none too massive to resist the enormus thrust once brought to bear upon them, now, however much relieved by exuberant decoration, appear out of all proportion to the comparatively low superstructure. As a further disfigurement, a plain masonry wall had been run along the top of the centre dome. It is generally believed that this was built by Aurangzeb for the purpose of desecrating the temple; though it is also said to have been put up by the Hindús themselves to assist in some grand illumination. In either case it was an ugly modern excrescence, and its removal was the very first step taken at the commencement of the repairs now in progress.‡

Under one of the niches at the west end of the nave is a tablet with a long Sanskrit inscription. This has unfortunately been much mutilated, but enough remains as record of the fact that the temple was built in *Sambat* 1647, *i. e.*,

* The south-west chapel encloses a subterranean cell, called Pátál Deví, which is said by some to be the Gosáins' original shrine in honour of the goddess Brindá.

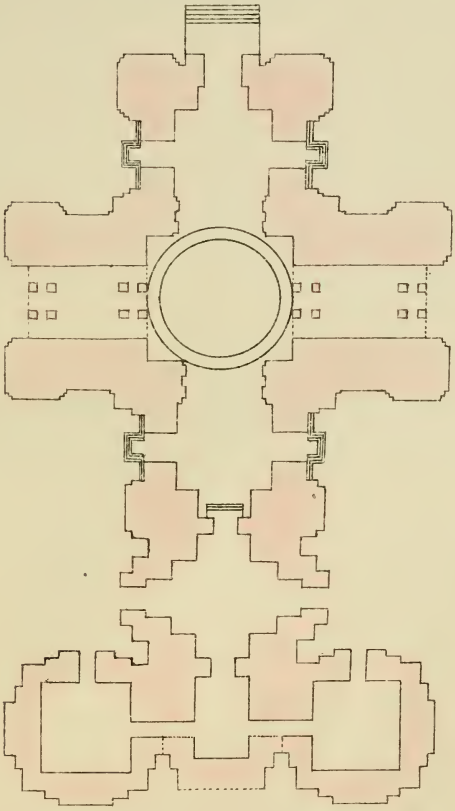
† The sacrarium has been roughly rebuilt in brick, and contains an image of Krishna in his character of Giridhári (the mountain-supporter), with two subordinate figures representing, the one Mahá Prabhu, *i. e.*, Chaitanya, the other Nityánand.

‡ One section of this work originally appeared in the "Calcutta Review," and a correspondent who saw it there has favoured me with the following note of a tradition as to the cause of the wall being built. He writes,—"Aurangzeb had often of an evening remarked a very bright light shining in the far distant south-east horizon, and in reply to his enquiries regarding it, was told that it was a light burning in a temple of great wealth and magnificence at Brindá-ban. He accordingly resolved that it should be effectually put out, and soon after sent some troops to the place, who plundered and threw down as much of the temple as they could, and then erected on the top of the ruins a mosque wall, where, in order to complete the desecration, the Emperor is said to have offered up his prayers."

TEMPLE OF GOBIND-DEVA

at

BRINDÁ-BAN.



Scale 40 feet = 1 inch.

40 20 0 40 ft.

A. D. 1590, under the direction of the two Gurus, Rúpa and Sanátana. The founder, Rájá Mán Sinh, was a Kachhwáhá Thákur, son of Rájá Bhagawán Dás of Amber, founder of the temple at Gobardhan, and an ancestor of the present Rájá of Jaypur. He was appointed by Akbar successively Governor of the districts along the Indus, of Kábul, and of Bihár. By his exertions, the whole of Orísá and Eastern Bengal were re-annexed ; and so highly were his merits appreciated at court, that though a Hindú, he was raised to a higher rank than any other officer in the realm. He married a sister of Lakshmi Náráyan, Rájá of Koch Bihár, and at the time of his decease, which was in the ninth year of the reign of Jahángír, he had living one son, Bháo Sinh, who succeeded him upon the throne of Amber, and died in 1621, A. D.* There is a tradition to the effect that Akbar at the last, jealous of his powerful vassal, and desirous to rid himself of him, had a confection prepared, part of which contained poison, but, caught in his own snare, he presented the innoxious portion to the Rájá and ate that drugged with death himself. The unworthy deed is explained by Mán Sinh's design, which apparently had reached the Emperor's ears, to alter the succession in favour of Khusrau, his nephew, instead of Salím.†

In anticipation of a visit from Aurangzeb, the image of the god was transferred to Jaypur, and the Gosáin of the temple there has ever since been regarded as the head of the endowment. The name of the present incumbent is Syám Sundar, who has two agents, resident at Brindá-ban.‡ There is said to be still in existence at Jaypur the original plan of the temple, showing its seven towers, but there is a difficulty in obtaining any definite information on the subject. However, local tradition is fully agreed as to their number and position ; while their architectural character can be determined beyond a doubt by comparison with the smaller temples of the same age and style, the ruins of which still remain. It is therefore not a little strange that of all the architects who have described this famous building, not one has noticed this, its most characteristic feature: the harmonious combination of dome and spire is still quoted as the great crux of modern art, though nearly 300 years ago the difficulty was solved by the Hindus with characteristic grace and ingenuity.

From the reign of Aurangzeb to the present time not a single step had ever been taken to ensure the preservation from further decay of this most interesting architectural monument. Large trees had been allowed to grow up in the fissures of the walls, and in the course of a few more summers their spreading roots would have caused irreparable damage. Accordingly, after an ineffectual attempt to enlist the sympathies of the Archæological Department, the writer took

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* *Vide* Professor Blochmann's Aini Akbarí, p. 341.

† The above tradition is quoted from Tod's Rájasthán. De Laet, as translated by Mr. Lethbridge, for Mán Sinh substitutes the name of Mirza Ghází Beg.

‡ They are by name Bábús Kailás Chandra and Bholá-Náth.

the opportunity of Sir William Muir's presence in the district, on tour, to solicit the adoption on the part of the Government of some means for averting a catastrophe that every student of architecture throughout the world would have regarded as a national disgrace. With the ready appreciation that was to be expected in such a quarter, the proposals submitted were at once endorsed and forwarded for the consideration of the Government of India, who communicated them to the Mahárája of Jaypur, the temple's hereditary guardian. His Highness, without the slightest hesitation, expressed his entire approval, and undertook to supply a sum of Rs. 5,000, which had been estimated as sufficient to defray the cost of all absolutely essential repairs.* The work was taken in hand at the beginning of this month (August, 1873), and some progress has been already made. The obtrusive wall erected by the Muhammadans on the top of the dome has been demolished ; the interior has been cleared of several unsightly party-walls and other modern excrescences, and the debris, which had accumulated round the base of the building to the astonishing height of eight feet, and in some places even more, entirely concealing the handsomely moulded plinth, has been removed ; by which means a considerable addition is made to the height of the building—the one point in which, since the loss of the original towers, the design had appeared defective. Many of the houses which had been allowed to crowd the court-yard close up to the very walls of the temple have been taken down, and two broad approaches are being opened out from the great eastern portal and the south transept. Hitherto, the only access was by a narrow winding lane ; and there was not a single point from which it was possible to obtain a complete view of the fabric.

The next thing to be undertaken is the removal of a huge masonry pillar that has been inserted under the north bay of the nave to support a broken lintel. It is proposed to effect this by pinning up the fractured stone with three strong iron bolts ; a simple and economical contrivance, suggested by Mr. Inglis, Executive Engineer on the Agra Canal, in lieu of the costly and tedious process of inserting a new lintel, and meanwhile supporting the wall by a masonry arch, which, though temporary, would have to be most carefully and substantially constructed.

On the south side of the choir stood a large domed and pillared *chhattri* of later date than the temple, as is evident from the fact that it must have been erected after the accumulation of soil had taken place, but still of handsome and harmonious design.† As this was before very insecure, and had been

* A revised estimate has now been prepared by the District Engineer, who puts it at Rs. 75,000 for the exterior, and Rs. 57,857 for the interior, making a total of Rs. 1,32,857 !

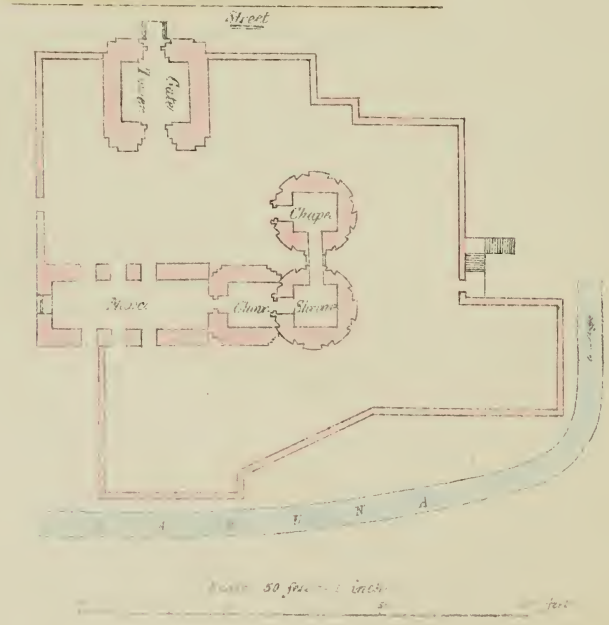
† When the above was written, I had not noticed an inscription rudely cut on one of the pillars, recording the erection of the *chhattri* in the reign of the Emperor Sháhjahán, *Sambat* 1693, *i. e.*, 1636 A. D., or 46 years after the temple was built. A copy of the inscription will be found at the end of this chapter.

TEMPLE OF MADAN MOHAN

AT

BRINDÁ-BAN

NEW TEMPLE.



rendered still more so by reducing the level of the ground round its foundations, it has been taken down and re-erected on the platform that marks the site of the old sacrarium, where it will serve to conceal the bare rubble wall that rises behind it. The roof of the entire building will also be submitted to a careful examination, with a view to preventing the settlement of rain and consequent leakage; and in all places, so far as funds allow, wherever the stone facing of the walls has been destroyed, it will be renewed. The re-building of any such part as has utterly perished—for example, any one of the towers—is out of the question, and not perhaps desirable in the absence of the original design. The fabric must at one time have been subjected to some stupendous shock, more like an earthquake than any act of mere human violence; and possibly the works were thus interrupted before the towers had been actually completed. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain how every trace of them has so totally disappeared; for, in clearing the basements, comparatively few fragments of carved stone have been discovered imbedded in the soil. There are more built up into the adjoining houses, but these are mostly corbels and shafts taken from the lower stories of the temple which are still standing.

A modern temple, under the old dedication, has been erected within the precincts and absorbs the whole of the endowment. The ordinary annual income amounts to Rs. 17,500; but by far the greater part of this, *viz.*, Rs. 13,000, is made up by votive offerings. The fixed estate includes one village in Alwar and another in Jaypur, but consists principally of house property in the town of Brindá-ban, where is also a large orchard, called Rádhá Bágh. This has been greatly diminished in area by a long series of encroachments. About a hundred years ago it must have been very extensive and densely wooded, as Father Tieffenthaller, in his notice of Brindá-ban, describes it in the following terms:—"L'endroit est couvert de beaucoup d'arbres et ressemble à un bois sacré des anciens; il est triste par le morne silence qui y regne, quoiqu' agréable par l'ombre épaisse des arbres, desquels on n'ose arracher un rameau, ni même une feuille; ce serait un grand délit." The site of the Seth's temple was also purchased from the Gobind Deva estate, and a further subsidy of Rs. 102 a year is still paid on its account.

The next temple to be described, *viz.*, that of Madan Mohan, one of Krishna's innumerable titles, stands at the upper end of the town on the river bank near the Káli-mardan Ghát, where the god trampled on the head of the great serpent Káli. It consists of a nave 57 feet long, with a choir of 20 feet square at the west end, and a sanctuary of the same dimensions beyond. The total height of the nave would seem to have been only about 22 feet, but its vaulted roof has entirely disappeared: the upper part of the choir tower has also been destroyed. That surmounting the sacrarium is a lofty octagon of curvilinear outline tapering towards the summit; and attached to its south side is a tower-crowned

chapel of precisely similar elevation, and differing only in the one respect that its exterior surface is enriched with sculptured panels, while the other is quite plain. Over its single door, which is at the east end, is a Sanskrit inscription, given first in Bengali and then in Nágari characters, which runs as follows :—

हर इव गुरुवंशे यत्पिता रामचन्द्रो
गुणिमणिरिव पुत्रो यस्य राधावसन्तः ।
सकृतसुकृतराशिः श्रीगुणानन्दनामा
व्यधित विधिवदेतन्मन्दिरं नन्दसूनोः ॥

" Of Gurn descent, a compeer of Mahádeva, whose father was Rámchandra, whose son was Rádhá Vasant, a jewel of good men; that mass of virtue, by name Srí Gunánand, dedicated in approved fashion this temple to the son of Nanda (Nandkishor, *i. e.*, Krishna.)"

The above, it is believed, has never been copied before. As the letters were raised, instead of incised, and also much worn, a transcript was a matter of some little difficulty; and the Bráhman in charge of the shrine declared the inscription to be absolutely illegible, or at least if the letters could be decyphered, quite unintelligible. The information it gives is certainly not very perspicuous, and there is no indication of a date. The main building, which may possibly be a little older, is popularly ascribed to one Rám Dás, a Kshatriya of Multán. The court-yard is entered, after the ascent of a flight of steps, through a massive square gateway with a pyramidal tower, which groups very effectively with the two towers of the temple. As the buildings are not only in ruins, but also from pecularities of style ill-adapted to modern requirements, they are seldom, if ever, used for religious service, which is ordinarily performed in an elegant and substantial edifice erected on the other side of the street under the shadow of the older fane. The annual income is estimated at Rs. 10,100, of which sum, Rs. 8,000 are the voluntary offerings of the faithful, while only Rs. 2,100 are derived from permanent endowment.* A branch establishment at Rádhá Kund with the same dedication is also supported from the funds of the parent house.

With reference to this temple, or it may be some other shrine bearing the same title, for the narrative is not very explicit, a curious anecdote is told in the Bhakta Málá of a devout Vaishnava, by name Súr Dás. He was Governor (Amín) of Sandíla in Akbar's reign, and on one occasion consumed all the revenues of his district in entertaining the priests and pilgrims at the temple. The treasure chests were duly despatched to Delhi, but when opened were found to contain nothing but stones. Such exaggerated devotion failed to com-

* On the road from Brindá-ban to Jait, within the boundaries of the village of Surakh, is a walled garden with a tank, called Rám Tál, part of the property of the temple of Madan Mohan.

mend itself even to the Hindu minister, Todar Mal, who threw the enthusiast into prison; but the grateful god could not forget his faithful servant and speedily moved the indulgent emperor to order his release. As the Bhakta Málá, or Lives of the Vaishnava Saints, is a scarce and curious work, the original text of the above narrative is subjoined. The reputed author is Nábhá Ji, a famous commentator of the school of Rámanand; but only the opening stanzas are his composition; the subsequent paraphrases having been added by one Priya Dás.

मूल

श्री मदनमोहन सूरदास की नामशृंखला जोरी अटल ॥
गांन काव्य गुन राशि सुहृद सहचरि अवतारी ।
राधाकृष्ण उपास्य रहस्य सुख के अधिकारी ॥
नवरस मुख्य सिंगार विविधि भांतिनि करि गायौ ।
वदन उच्चरत वेर सहस पाइनि ह्वै धायौ ॥
अंगीकार की अवधि यह ज्यौं आख्या भ्राता जमल ।
श्री मदनमोहन सूरदास की नामशृंखला जोरी अटल ॥

टीका

सूरदास नाम नेंन कंज अभिराम
फूले झूले रंगपीकें नीकें जीकें और ज्याये हैं ॥
भये सो अमीन यों सडीले कैं नवीन प्रीति
रीति गुर देखि दाम बीस गुने लाये हैं ॥
कही पूआ पावै आप मदनगुपाल लाल
परे प्रेम ख्याल लादि छकरा पठाये हैं ॥
आयो निशि भयें स्यांम कियो आज्ञा जोग लैकें
अवही लगाओ भोग जागे फिर पाये हैं ॥
पदलै बनायो भक्तिरूप दरसायो दूरि
संतन की पानही को रचक कहांऊं मैं ॥
काहू सीखि लियो साधु लियो चाहैं परचे कों
आये द्वार मंदिर के खोलि कही आऊं मैं ॥
रह्यो बैठि जाइ जूती हाथ में उठाय लीनी
कीनी पूरी आस मेरी निसिदिन गाऊं मैं ॥
भीतर बुलावें श्रीगुसाँईं वार दोय चार
सेवा सोंपी सार कह्यौ जन पग ध्याऊं मैं ॥

पृथ्व्यापति संपति लै साधन खवायई भई
नहीं संक येां निसंक रंग पागे हैं ॥
आयेा सेा खजानेां लेंन मानेा यह वात अहेा
पाथर लै भरे आप आधी निसि भागे हैं ॥
रुक्का लिखि डारे दाम गट के ये संतन नें
यातें हम सटक हैं चले जब जागे हैं ॥
पहुंचे हजूर भूप खेालि कें सिंदूख देखें
पेखे आंक कागद में रीझे अनुरागे हैं ॥
लेंन कों पठाये कही निपट रिझाये हमें
मन में न ल्याये लिखा वन तन डार्‌यो है ॥
टोडर दिमान कह्यो धन कौ विराम कियेा
ल्यावेा रे पकरि मूढ़ फेरि कें सभार्‌यो है ॥
लै गये हजूर नृप बोल्यौ मोसेां दूरि राखेा
ऐसेा महाकूर सेांपि दुष्ट कष्ट धार्‌यो है ॥
दोहा लिखिदीनेा अकबर देखि रीझि लीनें
जावेा वाही ठौर तोपै दर्व्य सब वार्‌यो है ॥
आये विन्दावन मन माधुरी में भीजि रह्यौ
कह्यो जोई पद सुन्यौ रूप रस राशि है ॥
जा दिन प्रगट भयेा गयेा शत योजन पै
जन पै सुनत भेद बाढ़ी जग प्यास है ॥
सूर दूज दुज निज महल यह टहल पाई
चहल पहल हिये जुगल प्रकाश है ॥
मदनमेाहन जू हैं इष्ट इष्ट महा प्रभु
अचिरज कहा कृपा दिष्टि अनयास है ॥

As will be seen from the above specimen, the poem is singularly abrupt and incoherent in style, and abounds in brief enigmatical allusions to obscure incidents and traditions, which almost defy literal translation. The following is a tolerably faithful version of the opening stanza; the remainder is rendered sufficiently intelligible by the abstract of the narrative already given.

"Joined together like two links in a chain are the god Madan Mohan and Súr Dás, that paragon of excellence in verse and song, incarnation of the good and beneficent, votary of Rádhá Krishan, master of mystic delights. Manifold his songs of love; the muse of love, queen of the nine, came dancing

on foot* to the melodies that he uttered ; his persuasiveness as unbounded as that of the fabled twin brothers†. Joined together like two links in a chain are the god Madan Mohan and Súr Dás."

The temple of Gopináth, which may be slightly the earliest of the series, is said to have been built by Ráesil Jí, a progenitor of the Shaikháwát branch of the Kachhwáhá Thákurs. This great Rájpút family claim ultimate descent from Balojí, the third son of Rájá Uday Karan, who succeeded to the throne of Amber in 1389 A. D. To Balojí fell by inheritance the district of Amritsar, and after him to his son Mokal. This latter was long childless, till, through the blessing of the Muhammadan saint Shaikh Burhán, he became the father of a son, called after his spiritual progenitor Shaikh Jí. He is accounted the patriarch of all the Shaikháwát race, who for more than four centuries have continued to observe the obligations originally contracted with him. At the birth of every male infant, a goat is sacrificed, and while the Kalima is recited, the child is sprinkled with the blood. He is invested with the *baddhiya*, or cross-strings, usually worn by little Muhammadans; and when he laid them aside, he was bound to suspend them at the saint's dargáh, still existing six miles from Achrol. For two years he wears a blue tunic and cap, and for life abstains from hog's flesh and all meat in which the blood remains. Shaikh Jí, by conquest from his neighbours, consolidated under his own sway 360 villages, in complete independence of the parent State of Amber : and they so continued till the time of Sawái Jay Sinh, the founder of Jaypur. Shaikh Jí's heir, Ráemal, had three sons, Non-karan, Ráesil, and Gopál. By the advice of Devi Dás, a shrewd minister, who had been dismissed by Non-Karan, Ráesil proceeded to Dihlí with a following of 20 horsemen, and so distinguished himself in the repulse of an Afghan invasion, that Akbar bestowed upon him the title of Darbárí, with a grant of land and the important command of 1,250 horse. Khandela and Udaypur, then called Kasumbi, which he conquered from the Narbháns, a branch of the Chauháns, after contracting a marriage with the daughter of the prince of that race, became the principal cities of the Shaikháwát confederation. He accompanied his liege lord, Rájá Mán Sinh of Amber, against the Mewár Rána Pratáp, and further distinguished himself in the expedition to Kábul. The date of his death is not known.‡ The temple, of which he is the reputed founder, corresponds very closely both in style and dimensions with that of Madan Mohan already described ; and has a similar chapel attached

* Each Ras (the Hindu equivalent for the European Muse) has a special vehicle of its own, and the meaning appears to be that the Ras Sringár, or Erotic Muse, alighted on foot the better to catch the sound of his voice.

† The fabled twin brothers are probably the two Gandharvas (heavenly musicians), who were metamorphosed into *arjun* trees till restored by Krishna to their proper form.

‡ The above particulars are extracted from Tod's Rájasthán and Professor Blochmann's Aín-i-Akbarí.

to the south side of the sacrarium. It is, however, in a far more ruinous condition: the nave has entirely disappeared; the three towers have been levelled with the roof; and the entrance gateway of the court-yard is tottering to its fall. The special feature of the building is a curious arcade of three bracket arches, serving apparently no constructural purpose, but merely added as an ornamental screen to the bare south wall. The choir arch is also of handsome design, elaborately decorated with arabesque sculptures; but it is partly concealed from view by mean sheds which have been built up against it, while the interior is used as a stable and the north side is blocked by the modern temple. The votive offerings here made are estimated at Rs. 3,000 a year, in addition to which there is an endowment yielding an annual income of Rs. 1,200.*

The temple of Jugal Kishor, the last of the old series, stands at the lower end of the town near the Kesi Ghát. Its construction is referred to the year *Sambat* 1684, *i. e.*, 1627 A. D., in the reign of Jahángír, and the founder's name is preserved as Non-Karan. He is said to have been a Chauhán Thákur; but it is not improbable that he was the elder brother of Ráesil, who built the temple of Gopináth. The choir, which is slightly larger than in the other examples, being 25 feet square, has the principal entrance as usual at the east end, but is peculiar in having also, both north and south, a small doorway under a hood supported on eight closely-set brackets carved into the form of elephants. The nave has been completely destroyed.

Some of the smaller temples have already been casually mentioned in connection with their founders. Though of ancient date, they have been often renewed, and possess no special architectural merit. The same may be said of the Bengali temple of Sringár Bat, near the Madan Mohan, which, however, enjoys an annual income of Rs. 13,500, divided among three shareholders, who each take the religious services for four months at a time. The village of Jahángírpur, on the opposite bank of the river, including the sacred grove of Belban, forms part of the endowment.

Of the modern temples, five claim special notice. The first in time of erection is the temple of Krishna Chandrama, built about the year 1810, at a cost of 25 lakhs, by the wealthy Bengali Káyath, Krishan Chandra Sinh, better known as the Lálá Bábu. It stands in a large court-yard, which is laid out not very tastefully as a garden, and enclosed by a lofty wall of solid masonry, with an arched gateway at either end. The building is of quadrangular form, 160 feet in length, with a front central compartment of three arches and a lateral colonnade of five bays reaching back on either side towards the cella. The workmanship throughout is of excellent character, and the stone has been carefully selected. The two towers, or *sikharas*, are

* The Seth's Garden, where stands the Brahmotsava Pavilion, was purchased from the temple of Gopináth, and is still liable to an annual charge of Rs. 18.

singularly plain, but have been wisely so designed, that their smooth polished surface may remain unsullied by rain and dust.

The founder's ancestor, Bábu Murli Mohan Sinh, son of one Har Krishna Sinh, was a wealthy merchant and landed proprietor at Kándi in Murshidábád. His heir, Bihári Lál Sinh, had three sons, Rádhá Gobind, Gangá Gobind, and Rádhá Charan : of these, the last-named, on inheriting his share of the paternal estate, broke off connection with the rest of the family and has dropped out of sight. Rádhá Gobind took service under Alláh Vírdí Khán and Siráj-ud-daula, Nawábs of Murshidábád, and was by them promoted to posts of high honour. A rest-house for travellers and a temple of Rádhá-ballabh which he founded, are still in existence. He died without issue, leaving his property to his brother, Gangá Gobind, who took a prominent part in the revision of the Bengal settlement under Lord William Bentinck, in 1828. He built a number of *dharmsálás* for the reception of pilgrims and four temples at Rámchandrapur in Nadiyá. These latter have all been washed away by the river, but the images of the gods were transferred to Kándi. He also maintained several Sanskrit schools in Nadiyá ; and distinguished himself by the extraordinary pomp with which he celebrated his father's obsequies, spending, moreover, every year on the anniversary of his death a lákh of rupees in religious observances. Gangá Gobind's son, Prán Krishan Sinh, still further augmented his magnificent patrimony before it passed in succession to his son, Krishan Chandra Sinh, better known under the soubriquet of 'the Lálá Bábu.' He held office first in Bardwán and then in Orísá, and when about thirty years of age, came to settle in the holy land of Braj. In connexion with his temple at Brindá-ban he founded also a rest-house, where a large number of pilgrims are still daily fed ; the annual cost of the whole establishment being, as is stated, Rs. 22,000. He also enclosed the sacred tanks at Rádhá-kund with handsome ghát̀s and terraces of stone at the cost of a lakh. When some forty years of age, he renounced the world, and in the character of a Bairágí continued for two years to wander about the woods and plains of Braj, begging his bread from day to day till the time of his death, which was accidentally caused by the kick of a horse at Gobardhan. He was frequently accompanied in his rambles by Mani Rám, father of the famous Seth Lakhmi Chand, who also had adopted the life of an ascetic. In the course of the ten years which the Lálá Bábu spent as a worldling in the Mathurá District, he contrived to buy up all the villages most noted as places of pilgrimage in a manner which strikingly illustrates his hereditary capacity for business. The zamíndárs were assured that he had no pecuniary object in view, but only the strict preservation of the hallowed spots. Again, as in the days of Krishna, they would become the secluded haunts of the monkey and the peacock, while the former proprietors would remain undis-

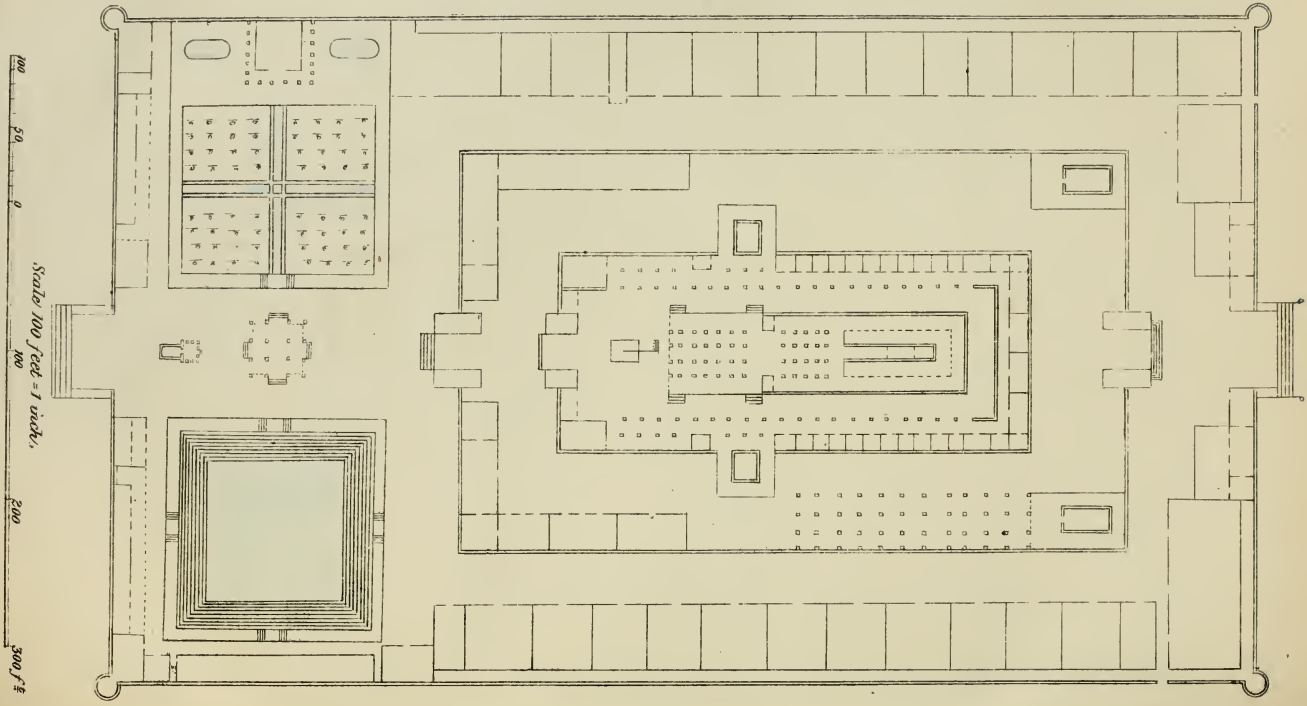
turbed, the happy guardians of so many new Arcadias. Thus the wise man from the East picked up one estate after another at a price in every case far below the real value, and in some instances for a purely nominal sum. However binding his fair promises may have been on the conscience of the pious Bábu, they were never recorded on paper, and therefore are naturally ignored by his absentee descendants and their agents, from whom any appeal *ad misericordiam* on the part of the impoverished representatives of the old owners of the soil meets with very scant consideration. The villages which he acquired in the Mathurá District are fifteen in number, viz., in the Kosi Pargana, Jáu; in Chhátá, Nandgánw, Barsána, Sanket, Karhela, Garhi, and Háthiya; and in the home pargana, Mathurá, Jait, Maholi, and Nabí-pur; all these, except the last, being more or less places of pilgrimage. To these must be added the four Gújar villages of Pírpur, Gulálpur, Chamar-garhi, and Dhímri. For Nand-gánw he gave Rs. 900; for Barsána, Rs. 600; for Sanket, Rs. 800; and for Karhela, Rs. 500; the *annual* revenue derived from these places being now as follows; from Nandgánw, Rs. 6,712; from Barsána, Rs. 3,109; from Sanket, Rs. 1,642; and from Karhela, Rs. 1,900. It may also be noted that payment was invariably made in Brindá-ban rupees, which are worth only thirteen or fourteen annas each. The Bábu further purchased seventy-two villages in 'Aligarh and Bulandshahr from Rájá Bír Sinh, Chauhán; but twelve of these were sold at auction in the time of his heir, Bábu Sri Náráyan Sinh. This latter, being a minor at his father's death, remained for a time under the tutelage of his mother, the Ráni Kaitáni, who again, on his decease when only thirty years old, managed the estate till the coming of age of the two sons whom his widows had been specially authorized to adopt. The elder of the two, Prataáp Chandra, founded an English school at Kándi and dispensary at Calcutta. He was for some time a Member of the Legislative Council of Bengal, received from Government the title of Bahádur, and was enrolled as a Companion of the Star of India. He died in 1867; his brother Isvarchandra in 1863. The latter left one son, Indrachand, who, with his three cousins, Puran-chandra, Kári-chandra, and Sarad-chandra, the sons of Prataáp-chandra, are the present owners of the estate, which during their minority is under the control of the Court of Wards; the General Manager being Mr. Robert Harvey of Calcutta in subordination to the Collector of the 24 Parganas.

The great temple, founded by Seths Gobind Dás and Rádhá Krishan, brothers of the famous millionaire Lakhmi Chand, is dedicated to Rang Jí, or Srí Ranga Náth, that being the special name of Vishnu most affected by Rámánuja, the founder of the Srí Sampradáya. It is built in the Madras style, in accordance with plans supplied by their guru, the great Sanskrit scholar, Swami Rangáchárya, a native of that part of India, who still presides over the

SEENS TEMPLE OF RANG-JI

at

BRINDÁ-BAN.



magnificent establishment.* The works were commenced in 1845 and completed in 1851, at a cost of 45 lakhs of rupees. The outer walls measure 773 feet in length, by 440 in breadth, and enclose a fine tank and garden in addition to the actual temple-court. This latter has lofty gate-towers, or *gopuras*, covered with a profusion of coarse sculpture. In front of the god is erected a pillar, or *dhwajastha stambha*, of copper gilt, sixty feet in height and also sunk some twenty-four feet more below the surface of the ground. This alone cost Rs. 10,000. The principal or western entrance of the outer court is surmounted by a pavilion, ninety-three feet high, constructed in the Mathurá style after the design of a native artist. In its graceful outlines and the elegance of its reticulated tracery, it presents a striking contrast to the heavy and misshapen masses of the Madras Gopura, which rises immediately in front of it. A little to one side of the entrance is a detached shed, in which the god's *rath*, or carriage, is kept. It is an enormous wooden tower in several stages, with monstrous effigies at the corners, and is brought out only once a year in the month of Chait during the festival of the Brahmotsav. The mela lasts for ten days, on each of which the god is taken in state from the temple along the road, a distance of 690 yards, to a garden where a pavilion has been erected for his reception. The procession is always attended with torches, music, and incense, and some military display contributed by the Rájá of Bharat-pur ; and on the closing day, when only the *rath* is used, there is a grand show of fireworks, which people of all classes congregate from long distances to see. The image, composed of the eight metals, is seated in the centre of the car, with attendant Bráhmans standing beside to fan it with *chauries*. Each of the Seths, with the rest of the throng, gives an occasional hand to the ropes by which the ponderous machine is drawn ; and by dint of much exertion, the distance is ordinarily accomplished in the space of about two and a half hours. On the other days of the mela the god has a wide choice of vehicles, being borne now on a palki, a richly gilt tabernacle *(punya-kothi)*, a throne *(sinhásan)*, or a tree, either the kadamb, or the tree of Paradise *(kalpavriksha)* ; now on some demi-god, as the sun or the moon, Garúra, Hanumán, or Sesha ; now again on some animal, as a horse, an elephant, a lion, a swan, or the fabulous eight-footed *Sarabha*. The ordinary cost of one of these celebrations is about Rs. 5,000, while the annual expenses of the whole establishment amount to no less than

* He has translated some of Rámánuja's works from the language of Southern India into Sanskrit, and is the author of two polemical treatises in defence of the orthodoxy of Vaishnavism. The first is a pamphlet entitled Durjana-kari-panchánána, which was written as an answer to eight questions propounded for solution by the Saivite Pándits of Jaypur. The Mahárájá not being convinced had a rejoinder published under the name of Sajjana-mano-nuranjana, which elicited a more elaborate work from the Swámi, called Vyámoha-vidrávanam, in which he has brought together a great number of texts from the canonical Scriptures of the Hindus in support of his own views and in refutation of those of his opponents.

Rs. 57,000, the largest item in that total being Rs. 30,000 for the *bhog* or food, which after being presented to the god is then consumed by the priests or given away in charity. Every day 500 of the Sri Vaishnava sect are fed at the temple, and every morning up to ten o'clock a dole of átá is given to anyone of any denomination who chooses to apply for it.

The endowment consists of thirty-three villages, yielding a gross income of Rs. 1,17,000, on which the Government demand amounts to Rs. 64,000. Of the thirty-three villages, seventeen, including one quarter of Brindá-ban, are in the Mathurá, and sixteen in the Agra District. The votive offerings amount on an averag to Rs. 2,000 a year, and there is further a sum invested in the funds which yields in annual interest as much as Rs. 11,800. In 1868, the whole estate was transferred by the Swámi—the deed of transfer bearing a stamp of Rs. 2,000—to a committee of management, who on his death are bound to appoint a successor. This arrangement was necessitated by the bad conduct of his son Nivásáchárya—named according to family custom after the grandfather—who resides at present at Gobardhan in the precincts of the temple of Lakshmi Náráyan, rebuilt by Seth Rádhá Krishan. Though the terms of the deed are clear, there is cause for apprehension that the property will at some no very distant date become the subject of ruinous litigation, unless a successor is definitely appointed during the life of the present incumbent or other similar precaution taken. The young Swámi shows no intention of reforming his evil practices: so far from being a scholar like his father, he is barely educated up to the ordinary level of his countrymen; while his profligacy is open and notorious. Immorality and priestly dignity, it is true, are not universally accounted as incompatible qualities; but the scandal in his case is augmented by the ceremonial pollution he incurs from his habit of familiar intercourse with the lowest classes of the people and his fondness for bears and dogs and other unclean animals which he allowed to roam at large though the precincts of the Gobardhan temple. Not long ago a fixed allowance of Rs. 250 a month was assigned for his maintenance and a further donation made of Rs. 7,000 for the settlement of all his debts; but he is now again deeply involved, and has borrowed large sums on the security of post-obits. On the event of the contemplated contingency, the holders of these documents are evidently prepared to make a desperate struggle in proportion to the magnitude of the interest at stake. But it is scarcely possible that they should ultimately succeed: for their client has no more legal claim to the succession than the son of an Anglican Bishop is entitled, on his father's death, to usurp the vacant episcopal throne; the existence of a son at all being an anomaly in both cases not contemplated in the days of more rigid orthodoxy. To simplify the matter, there is no personal property of any kind whatever. When Swámi Rangáchárya first came into this part of the country, his

only possession was his learning. All the wealth that he now has proceeds from the munificence of the Seths, who bestowed it upon him after they had installed him as head of their new temple, and distinctly in virtue of such installation. Finding that his son is incorrigible, his wisest course would be formally to disown him, or at once resign the temporalities of his office into the hands of the trustees. Naturally enough, he is reluctant to take this extreme stop; like Heli of old, who on seeing the enormities committed by his two sons Ophni and Phinees was provoked to sore grief and indignation, but would not give up the wealth and plenty which through them flowed into his house, till death and irreparable disaster overtook both them and him and all that was most dear to him.

Of the villages that form the endowment, five of those in the Mathurá District, *viz.*, three in Mahában and two in Jalesar, were conferred on the temple by Rájá Mán Sinh of Jaypur. Though the lawful heir to the throne, he never took his seat upon it. He was the posthumous son of Rájá Prithi Sinh, on whose death, in 1779 A.D., the surviving brother Pratáp Sinh, claimed the succession. The nephew's right was subsequently upheld by Daulat Ráo Sindhia, but the young prince was devoted to letters and religion, and on being assured of an annual income of Rs. 30,000 he gladly relinquished the royal title and retired to Brindá-ban. Here he spent the remainder of his days in the practice of the most rigid austerities, till death overtook him at the age of 70, in 1848. For 27 years he had remained sitting cross-legged in one position, never moving from his seat but once a week when nature compelled him to withdraw. Five days before his death he predicted his coming end and solemnly bequeathed to the Seth the care of his old servants, from one of whom, Lakshmi Náráyan Byás, the writer gathered these particulars. He was for some years manager of the temple estate, and to the great regret of all who knew him died as these sheets were passing through the press.

If the effect of the Seths' lavish endowment is impaired by the ill-judged adoption of a foreign style of architecture, still more is this error apparent in the temple of Rádhá Raman, completed within the last few years. The founder is Sáh Kundan Lál, of Lakhnau, who has built on a design suggested by the modern secular buildings of that city. The principal entrance to the court-yard is, in a grandiose way, decidedly effective; and the temple itself is constructed of the most costly materials and fronted with a colonnade of spiral marble pillars, each shaft being of a single piece, which though rather too attenuated are unquestionably elegant. The mechanical execution is also good; but all is rendered of no avail by the abominable taste of the design. The facade with its uncouth pediment, flanked by sprawling monsters, and its row of life-size female figures in meretricious but at the same time most ungraceful attitudes, resembles nothing so much as a disreputable London casino; a severe though

doubtless unintended satire, on the part of the architect, on the character of the divinity to whom it is consecrated. Ten lakhs of rupees are said to have been wasted on its construction.*

In striking contrast to this tasteless edifice is the temple of Rádhá Indra Kishor, built by Ráni Indrajít Kunwar, widow of Het Rám, Bráhman zamíndár, of Tikári by Gayá. It has been six years in building, and was completed at the end of 1871. It is a square of seventy feet divided into three aisles of five bays each, with a fourth space of equal dimensions for the reception of the god. The *sikhara* is surmounted with a copper *kalas*, or finial, heavily gilt, which alone cost Rs. 5,000. The piers are composed of four conjoined pillars, each shaft being a single piece of stone, brought from the Pahrápur quarry in Bharat-pur territory. The building is raised on a high and enriched plinth, and the entire design is singularly light and graceful. Its cost has been three lakhs.

The temple of Rádhá Gopál, built by the Maháráját of Gwáliár, under the direction of his guru Brahmachári Giri-dhári Dás, is also entitled to some special notice. The interior is an exact counterpart of an Italian church and would be an excellent model for our architects to follow, since it secures to perfection both free ventilation and a softened light. It consists of a nave 58 feet long, with four aisles, two on either side, a sacrarium 21 feet in depth and a narthex of the same dimensions at the entrance. The outer aisles of the nave, instead of being closed in with solid walls, have open arches stopped only with wooden bars; and the tier of windows above gives on to a balcony and verandah. Thus any glare of light is impossible. The building was opened for religious service in 1860, and as it stands has cost four lakhs of rupees. The exterior has a mean and unsightly appearance, which might be obviated by the substitution of reticulated stone tracery for the wooden bars of the outer arches below and a more substantial balcony and verandah in lieu of the present rickety erection above.

There are in Brindá-ban no secular buildings of any great antiquity. The oldest is the court, or Ghera, as it is called, of Sawái Jay Sinh, the founder of Jaypur, who made Brindá-ban an occasional residence during the time that he was Governor of the Province of Agra (1721-1728). It is a large walled enclosure with a pavilion at one end consisting of two aisles divided into five bays by piers of coupled columns of red sandstone. The river front of the town has a succession of ghâts reaching for a distance of about a mile and a half; the one highest up the stream being the Káli-mardan Ghát with the

* In imitation of the bad example thus set, a new temple dedicated to Rádhá Gopál has been built this year (1873) by Lálá Braj Kishor, a wealthy resident of Sháhjahánpore, where he is district treasurer. It has a long frontage facing one of the principal streets, with a continuous balcony to the upper story, in which each pillar is a clumsily carved stone figure of a *Sakhi*, or 'dancing girl.'

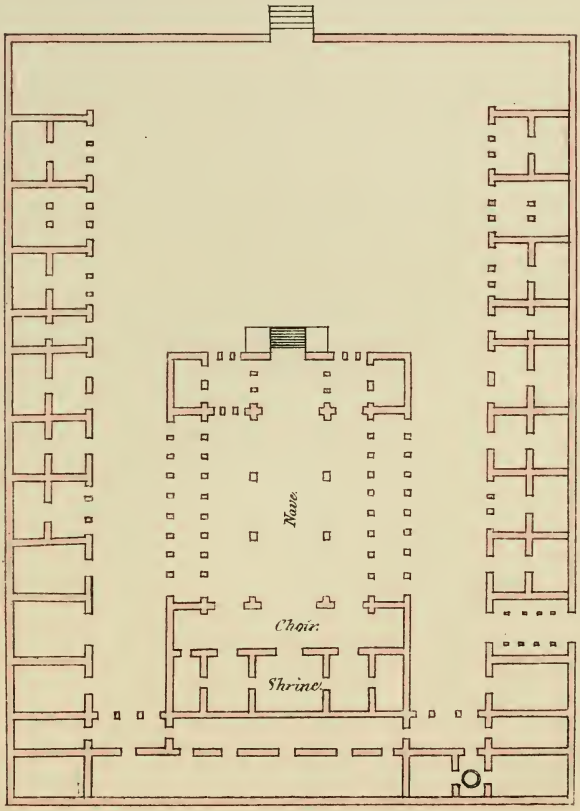
TEMPLE OF RÁDHÁ GOPÁL

AT

BRINDÁ-BAN.

Scale 50 feet = 1 inch.

50 0 50 100 feet.



kadamb tree from which Krishna plunged into the water to encounter the great serpent Káliya; and at the other end Kesi Ghát, where he slew the equine demon of that name. Near the latter are two handsome mansions built by the Ránis Kishori and Lachhmi, consorts of Ranjít Sinh and Randhír Sinh, two successive Rájás of Bharat-pur. In both the arrangement is identical with that of a mediæval college, carried out on a minature scale but with extreme elaboration of detail. The buildings are disposed in the form of a quadrangle, with an enriched gateway in the centre of one front and oposite it the chapel, of more imposing elevation than the ordinary domestic apartments which constitute the two flanks of the square. In Ráni Lachmí's *kunj* (such being the distinctive name for a building of this character), the temple front is a very rich and graceful composition, with a colonnade of five arches standing on a high plinth, which like every part of the wall surface is covered with the most delicate carving, and shaded above by overhanging eaves supported on bold brackets. The work of the elder Ráni is of much plainer character; and a third *kunj*, which stands a little lower down the river, close to the temple of Dhír Samír, built by Thákur Badan Sinh, the father of Súraj Mal, the first of the Bharat-pur Rájás, though large, has no architectural pretensions whatever. The most striking of the whole series is, however, the Gangá Mohan Kunj, built in the next generation by Gangá, Súraj Mal's Ráni. The river front, which is all that was ever completed, has a high and massive basement story, which on the land side as seen from the interior of the court, becomes a mere plinth for the support of a majestic double cloister with broad and lofty arch and massive clustered pier. The style is precisely the same as that which prevails in the Garden Palace at Díg, a work of the same chief; who, however rude and uncultured himself, appears to have been able to appreciate and command the services of the highest available talent whether in the arts of war or peace.

A few years ago the town was exceedingly dirty and ill kept; but this state of things ceased from the introduction of a municipality. The conservancy arrangements are now of a most satisfactory character and all the streets of any importance have been either paved or metalled. This unambitious but most essential work has up to the present time absorbed almost all the surplus income. Education, however, has not been neglected; for, in addition to the two primary schools—one for boys, the other for girls—which are supported by Government, there is a free school recently opened and an Anglo-vernacular department in connection with the tahsili school, which are both dependent upon the municipality. The building in which the latter is held was completed in 1868 at a cost of Rs. 3,710, which included a donation of Rs. 500 from Swámi Rangachárya, the head of the Seth's temple. The number of pupils, though variable, is never very large, as the children find it more lucrative and amusing to hang about the temples and act as guides to the pilgrims and sight-

seers. The dispensary, also opened in 1868, cost the small sum of only Rs. 1,943 ; but as yet it has had no accommodation for in-door patients, which is to be provided in the course of the ensuing year. As such a large number of people come to Brindá-ban simply for the sake of dying there, while of the resident population nearly one-half are professed celibates, the proportion of births to deaths is almost in inverse ratio to that which prevails elsewhere; a circumstance which might well startle anyone who was unacquainted with the exceptional character of the locality. The municipal income for the year 1871-72 was Rs. 17,549, which may be regarded as a fair average. Of this sum, Rs. 16,666 were derived from octroi collections; the tax on articles of food alone amounting to Rs. 13,248. These figures indicate very clearly, what might also be inferred from the preceding sketch, that there is no local trade or manufacture, and that the town is maintained entirely by its temples and religious reputation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII.

I.—Calendar of Local Festivals at Brindá-ban

Chait Sudi (April 1—15).

1. *Chait Sudi* 3.—Gangaur : adoration of Ganpati and Gauri. In the older Sanskrit calendars this day is generally named Saubhágya Sayana, and is appropriated to a special devotion in honour of the goddess Arundhati, which is recommended to be practised by all women who desire to lead a happy married life and escape the curse of early widowhood. At the present day the oblations to Gauri are accompanied by the repetition of the following uncouth formula, in commemoration of a Ráni of Uday-pur, who, after enjoying a life of the utmost domestic felicity had the further happiness of dying at the same moment as her husband :—

गोर गोर गनपति ईश्वर पूजे पारवती महेश पूजा श्रा आला गीला गोर के सोना काटि काटिका दे टिमका दे रानी वरत करै वालादे रीन वरत करै वार गया पारगया खेरा ले राजाने दिया ।

2. *Chait Sudi* 9.—Rám Navami. Rámá's birthday.

3. *Chait Sudi* 11.—Phúl dol.

Baisákh (April—May).

4. *Baisákh Sudi* 3.—Akhay Tij. Among agriculturists, the day for settling the accounts of the past harvest. Visits are paid to the image of Bihári, which on this festival only has the whole body exposed. The ceremony is hence called 'Chandan bágá ká darsan,' as the idol, though besmeared with sandal-wood *(chandan)*, has no clothing *(bágá)*. The temple *bhog* on this day consists exclu-

sively of *kakris* (a kind of cucumber), *dál*, and a mash made of wheat, barley, and *chaná* ground up and mixed with sugar and *ghí*.

5. *Baisákh Sudi* 9.—Jánáki Navami. Held at Akrúr. Sítá's birthday.

6. *Baisákh Sudi* 10.—Hit jí ká utsav: at the Rás Mandal. Anniversary of the birth of one of the Gosains.

7. *Baisákh Sudi* 14.—Narsinh avatár (see page 85).

Jeth (May—June).

8. *Jeth Badi* 2.—Perambulation, called Ban bihár ká parikrama. The distance traversed is between five and six miles, each pilgim starting from the point which happens to be most convenient.

9. *Jeth Badi* 5.—The same, but at night.

10. *Jeth Badi* 11.—Rás Mandal.

11. *Jeth Sudi* 5.—Jal Játra.

On the full moon of Jeth, Gaj-graha ká Mela: representation of a fight between an elephant and a crocodile in the tank at the back of the Seth's temple.

Asárh (June—July).

12. *Asárh Sudi* 2.—Rath Játra. The god's collation, or *bhog*, consists on this day only of mangoes, *jáman* fruit, and *chaná*.

13. *Asárh full moon.*—Dhio dhio ká mela at Madan Mohan, followed by the Pavan pariksha.

Srávan (July—August).

14. *Srávan Badi* 5.—Rádhá Raman Ji ká dhío dhío. Mourning for the death of Gosáin Gopál Bhatt, the founder of the temple.

15. *Srávan Badi* 8.—Gokulánand ká dhío dhío. Mourning for the death of Gosáin Gokulánand.

16. *Srávan Sudi* 3.—Hindol, or Jhúl-játra. Swinging festival.

17. *Srávan Sudi* 9.—Fair at the Brahm Kund.

18. *Srávan Sudi* 11.—Pavitra-dháran, or presentation of Brahmanical threads.

19. *Srávan full moon.*—Fair at the Gyán gudari.

Bhádon (August—September.)

20. *Bhádon Badi* 8.—Janm Ashtami. Krishna's birthday.

21. *Bhádon Badi* 9.—Climbing a greasy pole, which is set up outside the temple of Rang Jí, with a dhoti, a lota, five sírs of sweetmeats, and Rs. 5 on the top, for the man who can succeed in getting them. This takes place in the afternoon. In the evening, the Nandotsav, or festival in honour of Nanda, is held at the Sringár-bat, and continued through the night with music and dancing.

22. *Bhádon Sudi* 8.—Rádhá Ashtami. Rádhá's birthday. A large assemblage also at the Manni Dás kí tatti by the Nidh-ban, in honour of a saint who kept a vow of perpetual silence.

23. *Bhádon Sudi* 11.—Jal jholni melá, or Karwatni, 'the turning of the god' in his four months' sleep.

Kuvár (September—October).

24. *Kuvár Badi* 11.—Festival of the Sanjhi, lasting for five days; and mela at the Brahm kund.

25. *Kuvár Sudi* 1.—Dán Lílá at the Gyán-gudari and mela of the Kalpa vriksha.

26. *Kuvár Sudi* 10.—The Dasahara. Commemoration of Rámá's conquest of Ceylon.

27. *Kuvár Sudi* 11.—Perambulation.

Kártik (October—November).

28. *Kártik new moon.*—Dípotsav, or festival of lamps.

29. *Kártik Sudi* 1.—Anna-kút, as at Gobardhan.

30. *Kártik Sudi* 8.—Perambulation and Go-chárán.

31. *Kártik Sudi* 12.—Festival of the Davánal, or forest-conflagation (see page 37).

32. *Kártik Sudi* 13.—Festival of Kesi Dánav (see page 40).

33. *Kártik Sudi* 14.—Nág-lila: at the Káli-mardan Ghát with procession of boats.

34. *Kártik full moon.* Fair at Bhat-rond (see page 57).

Agáhn (November—December).

35. *Agáhn Badi* 1.—Byáhle-ká-mela, or marriage feast, at the Rás Mandal and Chain Ghát.

36. *Agáhn Badi* 3.—Rám lílá.

37. *Agáhn full moon.* Dáu ji-ká-mela, in honour of Balarám.

38. *Agáhn Sudi* 5.—Bihári janmotsav, or birth of Bihári; also the Bharat-miláp.

Pús (December—January).

39. *Pús Sudi* 5 to 11.—Dhanur-más-otsav, observed at the Seth's temple with processions issuing from the Vaikunth gate: 'Dhanur' being the sign Sagittarius. Throughout the month distribution of *khichri* (pulse and rice) is made at the temple of Rádhá Ballabh.

Mágh (January—February).

40. *Mágh Sudi* 5.—Basantotsav. The spring festival.

Phálgun (February—March).

41. *Phálgun Badi* 11.—Festival at the Mán-sarovar.

42. *Phálgun Sudi* 11.—Phúl dol.

43. *Phálgun full moon.* The Holi or Carnival.

Chait Badi (March 15th to 31st).

44. *Chait Badi* 1.—Dhurendi or sprinkling of the Holi-powder, and Dol játra.

45. *Chait Badi* 5.—Káli dahan and phúl dol.

46. Brahmotsav. Festival at the Seth's temple, beginning Chait Badi 2, and lasting ten days.

II.—List of River-side Ghats at Brindá-ban.

1 Madan Ter Ghát, built by Pandit Motí Lál.
2 Rám-gol Ghát, built by the Gosáin of the temple of Bihári Jí.
3 Káli-daha Ghát, built by Holkar Ráo.
4 Gopál Ghát, built by Madan Pál, Rájá of Kurauli.
5 Nábhawála Ghát, built by Rájá Híra Sinh of Nábha.
6 Praskandan Ghát, re-built by Gosáins of temple of Madan Mohan.
7 Súraj Ghát.
8 Koriya Ghát, said to be named after certain Gosáins from Kol.
9 Jugal Ghát, built by Hari Dás and Gobind Dás, Thákurs.
10 Dhúsar Ghát.
11 Naya Ghát, built by Gosáin Bhajan Lál.
12 Srí-jí Ghát, built by Rájá of Jaypur.
13 Bihár Ghát, built by Appa Rám, from the Dakhin.
14 Dhúrawára Ghát, built by Rájá Randhír Sinh of Dhúra.
15 Nágari Dás.
16 Bhím Ghát, built by the Rájá of Kota.
17 Andha (*i. e.*, the dark or covered) Ghát, built by Rájá Mán, of Jaypur.
18 Tehríwára Ghát, built by the Rájá of Tehri.
19 Imla Ghát.
20 Bardwán Ghát, built by a Rájá of Bardwán.
21 Barwára Ghát.
22 Ránawat Ghát, built by the Ránа of Udaypur.
23 Singár Ghát, built by the Gosáin of the temple of Singárbat.
24 Ganga Mohan Ghát, built by Ganga, Ráni of Súraj Mal, of Bharat-pur.
25 Gobind Ghát, built by Rájá Mán, of Jaypur.
26 Himmat Bahádur's Ghát, built by Gosáin Himmat Bahádur (see page 175).
27 Chír Ghát or Chaín Ghát, built by Malhár Ráo, Holkar.
28 Hanumán Ghát, built by Sawái Jay Sinh, of Jaypur.
29 Bhaunra Ghát, built by Sawái Jay Sinh, of Jaypur.
30 Kishor Ráni's Ghát, built by Kishori, Ráni of Súraj Mal of Bharat-pur.
31 Pandawára Ghát, built by Chaudhari Jagannáth, of Lakhnau.
32 Kesi Ghát, built by the Bharat-pur Ráni, Lachhmi.

III.—Names of Mahallas, or City Quarters, at Brindá-ban.

1 Gyán Gudari.
2 Gopesvar Mahádeva.
3 Bansi-bat.
4 Gopináth Bágh.
5 Bazár Gopináth.
6 Brahm-kund.
7 Rádhá Nivás.
8 Kesi Ghát.
9 Rádhá Raman.
10 Nidh-ban.
11 Pathar-pura.
12 Nagara Gopináth.
13 Gherá Gopináth.
14 Nagara Gopál.

15 Chír Ghát.
16 Mandi Darwáza.
17 Ghera Gobind Jí.
18 Nagara Gobind Jí.
19 Gali Taksár.
20 Rám Jí Dwára.
21 Bazár Kanthiwára (*i.e.*, sellers of rosaries and necklaces).
22 Sewa Kunj.
23 Kunj Gali.
24 Byás ká Gherá.
25 Singár-bat.
26 Rás Mandal.
27 Kishor pura.
28 Dhobiwári Gali.
29 Rangi Lál ki Gali.
30 Sukhan Mátá Gali (*i. e.*, street of dried up small-pox).
31 Purána Shahr (*i. e.*, old town).
32 Láriawári Gali.
33 Gabdua kí Gali.
34 Gobardhan Darwáza.
35 Ahír-párá.
36 Dusáit (the name, it is said, of a sub-division of the Sanádh tribe).
37 Mahalla Barwára (from the number of *bar* trees).
38 Ghera Madan Mohan.
39 Bihári-pura.
40 Purohit-wára.
41 Mani-pára.
42 Gautam-pára.
43 Ath-khamba.
44 Gobind bágh.
45 Loi Bazár (the blanket mart).*
46 Retiya Bazár.
47 Ban-khandi Mahádeva.
48 Chhipi kí Gali.
49 Ráewári Gali (occupied by Bháts, or bards, who are always distinguished by the title Ráe).
50 Bundele ká Bágh. Bundela is the god propitiated in time of cholera. He is always represented as riding on a horse. When small-pox, the twin scourge of India, is raging, an ass is the animal to which offerings are made.
51 Mathurá Darwáza.
52 Ghera Sawai Jay Sinh.
53 Dhír Samír.
54 Mauni Dás ki tatti.
55 Gahvar ban.
56 Gobind kund.
57 Rádhá Bágh.

VI.—Official Report on the Lálá Bábu's Mathurá Estate for the year 1872-73.

"The estate of which the management is herein described was attached under Act XL. of 1858, and is administered by this office under the said Act. The orders of the Judge of the 24 Parganas under which this office assumed charge of the estate are numbered 119, and dated September, 1866. The names and ages of the proprietors are as follows :—

Kunvar Kanti Chandra Sinh, 17 last birthday.
Sarad Chandra Sinh, 12 „ „
Indra Chandra Sinh, 15 „ „

"Of the above minors, the first two are sons of Rájá Pratáp Chandra Sinh, and share along with their elder brothers Kunvar Giris Chandra Sinh and Puran Chandra Sinh, aged 25 and 20, respectively, the half of the property. The elder sons have, of their own will, made over their shares under Section 3

* There is a large sale of Loi, or country blanketing, at Brindá-ban. The material is imported chiefly from Márwár and Bikaner in an old and worn condition; but is worked up again so thoroughly that natives account it as good as new.

of Act IV. of 1870, B. C., to the Court of Wards to act on their behalf the same as for the minors. Kunvar Indra Chandra is the son of Rájá Isvar Chandra Sinh, and heir to the other half of the property.

"The minors are, for the present, being educated by Captain R. D. Osborn, B. S. C., their private tutor, and a native private tutor ; and the youngest of them attends also the Hindu School attached to the Presidency College, Calcutta.

"The estate, which is scattered over 19 zilas in Bengal, Bihár, Orissa, and the North-Western Provinces, is managed as wards' estate. The manager (who is also the guardian) is Mr. Robert Harvey, who resides at head-quarters near Paikpára, Calcutta. This property has always been managed as a joint and undivided one, and stands in the joint names of the elder brothers and the minors.

"13*th June*, 1873. "ROBT. HARVEY."

From the figured statements that accompanied the above report, it appears that the gross rental of the Mathurá estate was Rs. 69,738, upon which the Government demand, including the 10 per cent. cess, was Rs. 39,356-11-11. The value of the property when taken in charge was estimated at Rs. 2,40,193; it has now increased to Rs. 3,51,912.

V.—Inscriptions at the Temple of Gobind Deva.

The inscription inside the building at the west end of the nave is too much defaced to be transcribed; but, as it was in verse, it probably would have added nothing to our information, and its loss is not greatly to be regretted. The following is taken from the exterior of the north-west chapel, where it is cut into the wall some ten feet from the ground, and is of considerable interest:—

संवत् ३४ श्री शकवंध अकवर शाह राज श्री कर्मकुल श्री
पृथाराजाधिराज वश महाराज श्रीभगवंतदाससुत श्री
महाराजाधिराज श्रीमानसिंहदेव श्री बृंदावन जोग पीठस्थान
मंदिर कराजो श्री गोविन्ददेव को कामउपरि श्रीकल्याणदास
आज्ञाकारी माणिकचंद चोपाङ शिल्पकारि गोविन्ददास दील-
वलि कारिगरः दः । गोरपदसुवींभवलू ॥

"In the 34th year of the era inaugurated by the reign of the Emperor Akbar, Srí Maháráj Mán Sinh Deva, son of Maháráj Bhagaván Dás, of the family of Maháráj Prithiráj, founded, at the holy station of Brindá-ban, this temple of Gobind Deva. The head of the works, Kalyán Dás, the Assistant Superintendent, Mánik Chand Chopár (?), the architect, Gobind Dás of Delhi, the sculptor, Gorakh Dás." There is some mistake in the engraving of the last words, which seem to be intended for *Subhaṁ bhavatu* like the Latin 'Felix, faustumque sit.

Ráo Prithi Sinh mentioned in the above was the founder's great-grandfather. He had seventeen sons, of whom twelve came to man's estate, and to each of them he assigned a separate appanage, which, collectively, are known as the twelve *kothris* of Amber.

The following inscription is rudely cut on one of the pillars of the *chhattri*, which originally stood in front of the south transept, and now has been taken down and re-erected at the west end:—

संवत् १६६३ वरषे कातिक वदि ५ शुभदिने हजरत श्रा
श्रीश्री शाहजहां राज्ये राणा श्रीअमरसिंहजी को बेटो राजा
श्री भीमजी री राणी श्री रंभावती चौपंडी सोराई छैजी ॥

"In the year *Sambat* 1693 (*i. e.*, 1636 A.D.), on an auspicious day, Kártik Badi 5, in the reign of the Emperor Sháhjahán, this *chhattri* was erected by Ráni Rambhavati, widow of Rájá Bhím, the son of Ráná Amar Sinh."

Ráná Amar Sinh, though one of the most gallant princes of his line, was the first sovereign of Mewár who had to stoop to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Delhi Emperor: not without a manful struggle, in which it is said that he fought against Jahángír's forces in as many as seventeen pitched battles. He was succeeded on the throne, in 1621 A.D., by his eldest son, Karan Sinh; while the younger, the Bhím of the inscription, being high in the favour of Prince Khuram, received also the title of Rájá with a grant of territory on the Banás, where he built himself a capital, called Rájmahal. He did not, however, long enjoy his honours; in his friendship for the young prince he induced him to conspire against his elder brother, Parviz, the rightful heir to the throne, and, in the disturbances that ensued, he was slain; while Prince Khuram took refuge at the court of Uday-pur till his father's death, in 1628 A.D., summoned him to ascend the throne of Delhi with the title of Sháhjahán.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAHÁ-BAN, GOKUL, AND BALADEVA.

The town of Mahá-ban is some five or six miles from Mathurá, lower down the stream and on the opposite bank of the Jamuná. Though the country in its neighbourhood is now singularly bare, the name indicates that it must at one time have been densely wooded; and so late as the year 1634 A.D., we find the Emperor Sháhjahán ordering a hunt there and killing four tigers. It stands a little inland, about a mile distant from Gokul; which latter place has appropriated the more famous name, though it is in reality only the water-side suburb of the ancient town. This is clearly indicated by the fact that all the traditional sites of Krishna's adventures, described in the Puránas as having taken place at Gokul, are shown at Mahá-ban; while the Gokul temples are essentially modern in all their associations, and whatever celebrity they possess is derived from their having been founded by the descendants of Vallabhácháryа, the great heresiarch of the sixteenth century. The existence of Gokul as a distinct town was no doubt long antecedent to its religious aggrandizement, and probably dates from the time when the old Hindu fort was occupied by a Muhammadan garrison, and the Hindus expelled beyond its immediate precincts.

Taking then Mahá-ban as equivalent to the Gokul of Sanskrit literature, the connection between it and Mathurá has always been of a most intimate character. For, according to the legend, Krishna was born at the one and cradled at the other. Both, too, make their first appearance in history together, and under most unfortunate circumstances, having been sacked by Mahmúd of Ghazní in the year 1017 A. D. From the effects of this catastrophe, it would seem that Mahá-ban was never able to recover itself. It is casually mentioned in connection with the year 1234 A. D., by Minháj-i-Siráj, a contemporary writer, as one of the gathering places for the imperial army sent by Shams-ud-dín against Kálinjar; and the Emperor Bábar, in his memoirs, incidentally refers to it, as if it were a place of some importance still, in the year 1526 A. D.; but the name occurs in the pages of no other chronicle; and at the present day, though it is the seat of a tahsíli, it can scarcely be called more than a considerable village. Within the last few years, one or two large and handsome private residences have been built, with fronts of carved stone in the Mathurá style; but the temples are all exceedingly mean and of no antiquity. The largest and also the most sacred is that dedicated to Mathurá-náth, which boasts of a pyramidal tower, or *sikhara*, of some height and bulk, but constructed only of brick and

plaster. The Bráhman in charge used to enjoy an endowment of Rs. 2 a day, the gift of Sindhia, but this has long lapsed. There are two other small shrines of some interest: in the one, the demon Trinávart is represented as a pair of enormous wings overhanging the infant god; the other bears the dedication of Mahá Mall Ráe, the great champion prince, a title given to Krishna after his discomfiture of the various evil spirits sent against him by Kansa.

Great part of the town is occupied by a high hill, partly natural and partly artificial, extending over more than 100 bighas of land, where stood the old fort.* This is said to have been built by the same Ráná Katíra of Mewár to whom is also ascribed the fort at Jalesar. According to a tradition current in the Main-puri District, he had been driven from his own country by an invasion of the Muhammadans, and took refuge with the Rájá of Mahá-ban, by name Digpál, whose daughter he subsequently married, and by her became the ancestor of the tribe of Phátak Ahírs. It would seem that, on the death of his father-in-law, he succeeded to his dominions; for he made a grant of the whole of the township of Mahá-ban to his Purohits, or family priests, who were Sanádh Bráhmans, of the Parásar family. Their descendants bear the distinctive title of Chaudhari, and still own two shares in Mahá-ban, called Thok Chaudhariyán. The fort was recovered by the Muhammadans in the reign of Alá-ud-dín, by Sufi Yahya of Mashhad, who introduced himself and a party of soldiers inside the walls in litters, disguised as Hindu ladies who wished to visit the shrines of Syám Lalá and Rohini. The Ráná was killed, and one-third of the town was granted by the sovereign to the Saiyid Yahya. This share† is still called Thok Saiyidát, and is owned by his descendants; the present head of the family being Sardár Ali, who holds the post of Náib Tahsildar at Chhátá. The place where his great ancestor was buried is shown, but is unmarked by any monument.

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* With the exception of the *kila*, or keep, the rest of the hill is known as the *kot*.

† The division of proprietary rights in Mahá-ban is of a very perplexing character, the several shares being very different in extent from what their names seem to indicate. The total area is 6,529 bighas and 10 biswas, distributed as follows :—

	Bighas.	Bis.
The 11 biswa Thok Chaudhariyán	1,397	10
The 9 ditto ditto	703	4
The Thok Saiyidát	570	19
Free lands, resumed by Government	1,750	4
Common land	2,107	13
Total, ...	6,529	10

One-third of the profits of the common land goes to the Saiyids; the remaining two-thirds are then again sub-divided into three, of which one part goes to the 9 biswa thok, and two to the 11 biswas.

The story as told in different localities is so identical in all its main features that it may reasonably be accepted as based on fact; but it is difficult to determine an exact date for the event, or decide which of the Sissodia Princes of Chitor is intended by the personage styled 'the Ráná Katíra.' Still, though certainty is unattainable, a conjectural date may be assigned with some amount of probability; for as the Ráná Katíra is represented as still living at the time when the fort of Mahá-ban was recovered by Alá-ud-dín, his flight from his own country cannot have occurred very long previously, and may plausibly be connected with Alá-ud-dín's memorable sack of Chitor, which took place in the year 1303. If so, he can scarcely have been more than a cadet of the royal line; for, according to accepted tradition, the actual Ráná of Mewár and all his family had perished in the siege with the exception only of the second son and his infant nephew Hamír, the heir to the throne, who eventually not only recovered the ancient capital of his forefathers, but made it the centre of a far wider dominion than had ever previously acknowledged their sway. The stratagem of introducing armed men disguised as women in closed litters into the heart of the enemy's camp had been successfully practised against Alá-ud-dín himself after a former siege of Chitor, and had resulted in the escape of the captured Ráná. This may have suggested the adoption of the same expedient at Mahá-ban, either in fact to the Sufi, who is said to have carried it into execution, or to the local legend-monger, who has used it as an embellishment to his narrative.

The shrine of Syám Lalá, to which allusion has been made above, still exists as a mean little cell, perched on the highest point of the fortifications on the side where they overlook the Jamuná. It is believed to mark the spot where Jasodá gave birth to Maya, or Joga-nidra, substituted by Vasudeva for the infant Krishna. But by far the most interesting building is a covered court called Nanda's Palace, or more commonly the Assi-Khamba, *i. e.*, the eighty pillars. It is divided by five rows of sixteen pillars each into four aisles, or rather into a centre and two narrower side aisles, with one broad outer cloister. The external pillars of this outer cloister are each of one massive shaft, cut into many narrow facets, with two horizontal bands of carving: the capitals are decorated either with grotesque heads or the usual four squat figures. The pillars of the inner aisles vary much in design, some being exceedingly plain and others as richly ornamented with profuse and often graceful arabesques. Three of the more elaborate are called respectively the Satya, Dwápar, and Treta Yug; while the name of the Kali Yug is given to another somewhat plainer. All these interior pillars, however, agree in consisting as it were of two short columns set one upon the other. The style is precisely similar to that of the Hindu colonnades by the Kutb Minár at Delhi; and both works may reasonably be referred to about the same age. As it is probable that the latter were not built in the years immediately

preceding the fall of Delhi in 1194, so also it would seem that the court at Mahá-ban must have been completed before the assault of Mahmúd in 1017; for after that date the place was too insignificant to be selected as the site of so elaborate an edifice. Thus, Fergusson's conjecture is confirmed, that the Delhi pillars are to be ascribed to the ninth or tenth century. Another long-mooted point may also be considered as almost definitely set at rest, for it can scarcely be doubted that the pillars as they now stand at Mahá-ban ~~occupy~~ their original ~~position~~. Fergusson, who was unaware of their existence, in his notice of the Delhi Cloister, doubts whether it now stands as originally arranged by the Hindus, or whether it had been taken down and re-arranged by the conquerors; but concludes as most probable that the former was the case, and that it was an open colonnade surrounding the Palace of Prithi Ráj. "If so," he adds, "it is the only instance known of Hindú pillars being left undisturbed." General Cunningham comments upon these remarks, finding it utterly incredible that any architect, designing an original building and wishing to obtain height, should have recourse to such a rude expedient as constructing two distinct pillars, and then, without any disguise, piling up one on the top of the other. But, however extraordinary the procedure, it is clear that this is what was done at Mahá-ban, ~~as is proved by the outer row of~~ columns ~~which~~ are each of one unbroken shaft, yet precisely the same in height as the ~~double pillars of the inner aisles~~. The roof is flat and perfectly plain except in two compartments, where it is cut into a pretty quasi-dome of concentric multifoil circles. Mothers come here for their purification on the sixth day after childbirth—*chhathi púja*—and it is visited by enormous crowds of people for several days about the anniversary of Krishna's birth in the month of Bhádon. A representation of the infant god's cradle is displayed to view, with his foster-mother's churn and other domestic articles. The place being regarded not exactly as a temple, but as Nanda and Jasoda's actual dwelling-house, all persons, without regard to the religion they profess, are allowed to walk about in it with perfect freedom. Considering the size, the antiquity, the artistic excellence, the exceptional archæological interest, the celebrity amongst natives, and the close proximity to Mathurá of this building, it is strange that it has not attracted more attention from European writers, especially those whose professed object it has been to illustrate the architectural antiquities of the neighbourhood.

A good illustration from another point of view of the Hindu fancy for broken pillars may be seen at Noh-jhíl, a town across the Ganges in the extreme north of the district. Here is a Muhammadan dargáh, constructed out of the wreck of a Hindu temple. The pillars, twenty in number, are very simple in character, but exceptional in two respects; first, as being all of uniform design, which is quite anomalous in Hindu architecture; secondly, as being, though of

fair height, each cut out of a single piece of stone. The only decoration on the otherwise plain shaft consists of four deep scroll-shaped notches half way between the base and capital; the result of which is to make each column appear as if it were in two pieces. The explanation is obvious. In earlier days, when large blocks of stone were difficult to procure, there was also lack of sufficient art to conceal the unavoidable join in the structure. In course of time, the eye became accustomed to the defect, and eventually required its apparent introduction even where it did not really exist. A similar conservatism may be traced in the art history of every nation, and more especially in religious art. In breaking up his columns into two pieces and thus perpetuating, as a decoration, what in its origin had been a signal defect, the Hindu architect was unconsciously influenced by the same motive as the Greek, who to the very last continued to introduce, as prominent features in his temple facades, the metopes and triglyphs which had been necessities in the days of wooden construction, but had become unmeaning when repeated in stone.

Like this building at Noh-jhíl, the Assi-Khamba at Mahá-ban was also, it is said, for some time used as a mosque, and the statement is confirmed by Father Tieffenthaller, who writes :—" On voit à Mahá-ban dans une grande maison portee par 80 colonnes, une peinture qui represente Krishna volant du lait, en jettant le clair, et jouant avec d'autres. Cet edifice a été converti en partie en une mosquee, en partie en une pagode." Let into its outer wall is a small figure of Buddha; and it is said that whenever foundations are sunk within the precincts of the fort, many fragments of sculpture—of Buddhist character, it may be presumed—have been brought to light; but hitherto they have always been buried again, or broken up as building materials. Doubtless, Mahá-ban was the site of some of those Buddhist monasteries, which the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian distinctly states existed in his time on both sides of the river. And further, whatever may be the exact Indian word concealed under the form Klisoboras, or Clisobora, given by Arrian and Pliny as the name of the town between which and Mathurá the Jamuná flowed—*Amnis Jomanes in Gangem per Palibothros decurrit inter oppida Methora et Clisobora*, Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi., 22—it may be concluded with certainty that Mahá-ban is the site intended.*

* The parallel passage in Arrian's India is as follows :—*Τόυτον τον Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα πρὸς Ἑουρασηνῶν γεραίρεσθαι Ἰνδικῶν ἐθνεος, ἵνα δύο πόλιες μεγάλαι, Μεθορά τε καὶ κλεισόβορα, κάι ποτμὸς Ἰωβάρης πλουτὸς διαῤῥεῖ την χώην αυτῶν.* As both authors seem to be quoting from the same original, the insertion of the words *per Palibothros* in Pliny must be due to an error on the part of some copyist, misled by the frequent mention of Palibothra in the preceding paragraphs. The mistake cannot be credited to Pliny himself, who fixes the site of Palibothra as 415 miles to the east of the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuná. The gods whom Arrian proceeds to describe under the names of Dionysus and Hercules correspond closely with Krishna and Balaráma, who are still the local divinities of Mathurá.

Its other literary names are Brihad-vana, Brihad-aranya, Gokula, and Nanda-gráma; and no one of these, it is true, in the slightest resembles the word Clisobora, which would seem rather to be a corruption of 'Krishna-pura,' or some similar compound in which 'Krishna' was at all events the first element, whatever the second might be; and which was used by the speaker as a descriptive title, but taken by the foreign traveller for the ordinary proper name. General Cunningham in his 'Ancient Geography' identifies Clisobora (read in one MS., as Cyrisoborka) with Brindá-ban, assuming that Kálikavartta, or 'Kaliká's Whirlpool,' was an earlier name of the town, in allusion to Krishna's combat with the serpent Kálika. But in the first place, the Jamuná does not flow *between* Mathurá and Brindá-ban, seeing that both are on the same bank; secondly, the ordinary name of the great serpent is not Kálika, but Káliya; and thirdly, it does not appear upon what authority it is so boldly stated that "the earlier name of the place was Kálikavartta." Upon this latter point, a reference has been made to the great Brindá-ban Pandit, Swámi Rangáchárya, who, if any one, might be expected to speak with positive knowledge, and his reply was that in the course of all his reading, he had never met with Brindá-ban under any other name than that which it now bears. In order to establish the identification of Clisobora with Mahá-ban, it was necessary to notice General Cunningham's counter theory and to condemn it as at variance with facts; ordinarily the accuracy of his research and the soundness of his judgment are entitled to the highest respect.

The glories of Mahá-ban are told in a special (interpolated) section of the Brahmánda Puráná, called the Brihad-vana Mahátmya. In this, its *tírthas*, or holy places, are reckoned to be twenty-one in number as follows :—

Eka-vinsati-tírthena yuktam bhúríguńánvitam,
Yamal-árjuna punyatamam, Nanda-kúpam tathaiva cha,
Chintá-harana Bráhmándam, kundam Sarasvatam tuthá,
Sarasvati silá tatra, Vishnu-kunda-samánvitam,
Karna-kúpam, Krishna-kundam, Gopa-kúpam tathaiva cha,
Ramanam-ramana-sthánam, Nárada-sthánam eva cha,
Pútaná-patana sthánam, Trinavarttákhya pátanam,
Nanda-harmyam, Nanda-geham, Ghátam Ramana-samjnakam,
Mathuránáthodbhavam-kshetram punyam pápa-pranásanam,
Janma-sthánam tu Sheshasya, jananam Yogamáyaya.

The Pútaná-patana-sthánam of the above lines is a ravine, commonly called Putaná khár, which is crossed by the Mathurá road a short distance outside the town. It is a mile or more in length, reaching down to the bank of the Jamuná, and, as the name denotes, is supposed to have been caused by the passage of Pútaná's giant body, in the same way as the Kans Khár at Mathurá.

The remainder of the twenty-one tírthas have been already noticed in the course of this narrative, and commemorate such well-known incidents in Krishna's childhood that any further explanation is unnecessary.

The principal Hindu festivals observed in Mahá-ban are the Rám Lílá in the month of Kuvár, first set on foot by a late Tahsildár, Munshi Bhajan Lál; the Pútana melá, Kártik Sudi 6th; the Jakhaiya mela, held on the Sundays of the month of Mágh (there is a similar festival held at Paindhat in the Mustafabad Pargana of the Mainpuri District, which is believed to have great influence on the fall of rain in the winter season); the Raman Reti, held on the sands of the Jamuná, Phálgun Sudi 11th; and the Parikama, or Perambulation, Kártik Sudi 5th; this includes the town of Gokul and village of Rával, at which latter place Rádhá's mother is said to have lived. The Muhammadans have several small mosques and two festivals. One of these, the Chatiyal Madár, is held on the 3rd of Jamadi-ul-awul, in honour of Saiyid Badia-ud-dín, better known as Sháh Madár, whose principal shrine is at Makhanpur on the Isan. His festivals, wherever held, are distinguished by the name of Chatiyal, meaning 'an open place,' and the hereditary hierophants bear the title of Khalífa. The second Muhammadan mela is the Urs Dargáh of Sháh Gílan, or Saiyid Makhdúm. The dargáh was built about a century ago by Nawab Sulaiman Beg.

Gokul.

The town of Gokul being the head-quarters of the Vallabhácháryas, or Gokulastha Gosáins, is throughout the year crowded with pilgrims, of whom the majority come from Gujarát and Bombay, where the doctrines of the sect have been very widely propagated, more especially among the Bhattias and other mercantile classes. In many of its physical characteristics the place presents a striking parallel to the presumed morality of its *habitués*. Its streets are tortuous and unsavoury, its buildings unartistic, its environs waste and uninviting; and though it is only five or six miles distant from Mathurá, it is cut off from easy access by the river, and is thus at once both near and remote, in the same way as its literature is modern and yet obscure. From the opposite bank it has a picturesque appearance, which is destroyed on nearer approach. For the temples, though they amount to a prodigious number, and are many of them richly endowed, are all modern in date and tasteless in design; while the thoroughfares are in the rains mere channels for the floods which pour down through them to the Jamuná, and at all other times of the year so rough and broken that the rudest wheeled vehicle can with difficulty make its way along them. Efforts have been made within the last few years to improve its sanitation, but the Gosáin Muafidárs are indifferent to any reform of the kind, and are well content to let things remain as they are. The filthy condition of the town is

largely owing to the number of cattle driven within its walls every night, which render it really what the name denotes, 'a cattle yard,' rather than an abode of men. Its only noteworthy ornament is a spacious masonry tank constructed some thirty years ago by a Seth named Chunna. The trees on its margin are always white with flocks of large water-fowl of a quite distinct species from any to be found elsewhere in the neighbourhood. They are a new colony, being all descended from a few pairs which casually settled there no more than ten or twelve years ago. Their plumage is peculiar and ornamental, but not at all times easy to obtain, as the birds are considered to enjoy the benefit of sanctuary, and on one occasion, when a party of soldiers from the Mathurá cantonments attempted to shoot a number of them, the townspeople rose *en masse* for their protection.

The great heresiarch, Vallabháchárya, from whom Gokul derives all its modern celebrity, was born in the year 1479 A. D., being the second son of Lakshman Bhatt, a Telinga Bráhman of the Vishnu Swámi Sampradáya. By the accident of birth, though not by descent, he can be claimed as a native of Upper India, having been born at Champaranya, a wild solitude in the neighbourhood of Banáras, whither his parents had travelled up from the south on a pilgrimage. Their stay in the holy city was cut short by a popular *emeute*, the result of religious intolerance; and the mother, who was little in a condition to encounter the distress and fatigue of so hasty a flight, prematurely gave birth on the way to an eight months' child. Either from an exaggerated alarm as to their own peril, or, as was afterwards said, from a sublime confidence in the promised protection of Heaven, they laid the babe under a tree and abandoned it to its fate. When some days had elapsed, and their fears had subsided, they cautiously retraced their steps, and finding the child still alive and uninjured on the very spot where he had been left, they took him with them to Banáras. After a very short stay there, they fixed their home at Gokul, where the child was placed under the tuition of the Pandit Náráyan Bhatt, and in four months mastered the whole vast range of Sanskrit literature and philosophy. His followers, it may be remarked, are conscientious imitators of their founder in respect of the short time which they devote to their studies; but the result in their case is more in accordance with ordinary experience, and their scholarship of the very slightest. When eleven years of age, he lost his father, and almost immediately afterwards commenced his career as a religious teacher. His earliest triumphs were achieved in Southern India, where he secured his first convert, Dámodar Dás, and in a public disputation at Vijaynagar, the place where his mother's family resided, he refuted the arguments of the Court Pandits with such authority that even the king, Krishna Deva, was convinced by his eloquence and adopted the youthful stranger as his spiritual guide. Thenceforth his success was ensured; and at every place that he visited, Ujaiyin, Banáras, Haridwár, and Allahabad, the new doctrines

enlisted a multitude of adherents A life of celibacy being utterly at variance with his ideas of a reasonable religion, he took to himself a wife at Banáras, and became the father of two sons, by name Gopináth, born in 1511, and Bitthalnáth in 1516. His visits to Braj were long and frequent. There, in 1520, he founded at Gobardhan the great temple of Srí-náth ; and at Brindában saw in a vision the god Krishna, who directed him to introduce a new devotion in his honour, wherein he should be adored in the form of a child under the title of Bálkrishan or Bál Gopál; which is still the cultus most affected by his descendants at the present day. His permanent home, however, was at Banáras, where he composed his theological works, of which the most extensive is a commentary on the Bhagavad Gíta, called the Subodhini, and where he died in the year 1531.

He was succeeded in the pontificate by his second son, Bitthalnáth, who propagated his father's doctrines with great zeal and success throughout all the south and west of India, and himself received 252 distinguished proselytes, whose acts are recorded in a Hindi work called the 'Do Sau Bávan Vártá.' Finally, in 1565, he settled down at Gokul, and, at the age of seventy, breathed his last on the sacred hill of Gobardhan. By his two wives he had a family of seven sons, Giridhar, Gobind, Bál-krishan, Gokulnáth, Raghunáth, Jadunáth and Ghansyám. Of these, the fourth, Gokulnáth, is by far the most famous, and his descendants in consequence claim some slight pre-eminence above their kinsmen. His principal representative is the Gosáin at Bombay.

Unlike other Hindu sects, in which the religious teachers are ordinarily unmarried, all the Gosáins among the Vallabhácháryas are invariably family men and engage freely in secular pursuits. They are the epicureans of the east and are not ashamed to avow their belief that the ideal life consists rather in social enjoyment than in solitude and mortification. Such a creed is naturally destructive of all self-restraint even in matters where indulgence is by common consent held criminal ; and the profligacy to which it has given rise is so notorious that the Mahárájá of Jaypur was moved to expel from his capital the ancient image of Gokul Chandrama, for which the sect entertained a special veneration, and has further conceived such a prejudice against Vaishnavas in general, that all his subjects are compelled, before they appear in his presence, to mark their forehead with the three horizontal lines that indicate a votary of Siva. The scandalous practices of the Gosáins and the unnatural subserviency of the people in ministering to their gratification received a crushing *exposé* in a *cause celebre* for libel tried before the Supreme Court of Bombay in 1862, from the detailed narative of which I have borrowed a considerable amount of information.

The dogma of Brahma-Sambandh, or 'union with the divine,' upon which Vallabhácháryа constructed his whole system was, as he declares, revealed to him by the Deity in person and recorded word for word as it was uttered. This

inspired text is called the Siddhánta Rahasya, and being very brief and of quite exceptional interest, it is here given in full :—

श्रावणस्यामले पक्षे एकादश्यां महानिशि ।
साक्षाद्भगवता प्रोक्तं तदक्षरश उच्यते ॥
ब्रह्मसंबन्धकरणात्सर्वेषां देहजीवयोः ।
सर्वदोषनिवृत्तिर्हि दोषाः पंचविधाः स्मृताः ॥
सहजा देशकालोत्था लोकवेदनिरूपिताः ।
संयोगजाः स्पर्शजाश्च न मंतव्याः कथंचन ॥
अन्यथा सर्वदोषाणां न निवृत्तिः कथंचन ।
असमर्पितवस्तूनां तस्माद्वर्ज्जनमाचरेत् ॥
निवेदिभिः समर्प्यैव सर्वं कुर्यादिति स्थितिः ।
न मतं देवदेवस्य स्वामिभुक्तसमर्पणं ॥
तस्मादादौ सर्वकार्ये सर्ववस्तुसमर्पणं ।
दत्तापहारवचनं तथा च सकलं हरेः ॥
न ग्राह्यमिति वाक्यं हि भिन्नमार्गपरं मतं ।
सेवकानां यथा लोके व्यवहारः प्रसिद्ध्यति ॥
तथा कार्यं समर्प्यैव सर्वेषां ब्रह्मता ततः ।
गंगात्वं सर्वदोषाणां गुणदोषादिवर्णना ॥
गंगात्वेन निरूप्यं स्यात्तद्वदत्रापि चैवहि ।
इति श्रीवल्लभाचार्यविरचितं सिद्धांतरहस्यं संपूर्णं ॥

" At dead of night, on the 11th of the bright fortnight of Srávan, what is here written was declared to me, word for word, by God himself. Every sin, whether of body or soul is put away by union with the Creator ; of whatever kind the sin may be, whether, 1st, original ; 2nd, accidental (*i. e.*, born of time and place) ; 3rd, social or ceremonial (*i. e.*, special offences defined by custom or the Vedas) ; 4th, sins of abetment ; or 5th, sins sensual.* No one of these is to be accounted any longer existent ; but when there is no union with the Creator there is no putting away of sin. Therefore, one should abstain from anything that has not been consecrated ; but when once a thing has been dedicated the

* There is a paraphrase on the Siddhánta Rahasya by Gosáin Gokulnáth, called Bhakti Siddhánta Vivriti ; in which, with the characteristic fondness of Sanskrit commentators for scholastic refinements, he explains these terms in a much more narrow and technical sense than that which I have applied to them. As the text contains an uneven number of lines, it would appear at first sight to be imperfect; but this suspicion can scarcely be well founded, since in Gokulnáth's time it stood precisely as now.

offerer may do with it what he likes : this is the rule. The God of gods will not accept any offering which has already been used by the owner. Therefore, at the outset of ever action there should be unreserved offering. It is said by those of a different persuasion, 'what is once given cannot be taken away ; it is all God's '; but as is the practice of servants on earth, so would we act in the dedication through which everything becomes God's. Ganges water is full of impurities; and 'the holy Ganges' may be predicated of bad as well as good. Precisely the same in our case."

The last four lines are rather obscurely expressed. The idea intended is that as servants* use what remains of that which they have prepared for their masters, so what we offer to God we may afterwards use for ourselves; and as dirty water flowing into the Ganges becomes assimilated with the sacred stream, so vile humanity becomes purified by union with God.

The practice of the sect has been modelled strictly in accordance with these instructions. A child is Krishna-ed (christened) while still an infant by the Gosáin's putting on its neck a string of beads and repeating over it the formula called the Ashtakshar Mantra, *Sri Krishna saranam mama* (Deus adjutorium meum), but before the neophyte can claim the privileges of full communion he has to undergo a rite similar to that of confirmation, and at the age of twelve or thereabouts, when ready to take upon himself the responsibilities of life he initiates his career by a solemn dedication *(samarpana)* of all that he has and is to the god of his devotion. This oblation of *tan*, *man*, *dhan*, as it is popularly expressed—that is, of body, soul, and substance—is couched in the following terms :—

ॐ श्रीकृष्णः शरणं मम सहस्रपरिवत्सरामितकालसंजात
कृष्णविरोगजनिततापक्लेशानंततिरोभावोहं भगवते कृष्णाय
देहेंद्रियप्राणांऽतःकरणतद्धर्म्मांश्च दारागारपुत्राप्तवित्तेह-
परागयात्मना सह समर्पयामि दासोहं कृष्ण तवास्मि ॥

"Om. The god Krishna is my refuge. Distracted by the infinite pain and torment caused by the separation from Krishna, which has extended over a space of time measured by thousands of years, I now, to the holy Krishna, do dedicate my bodily faculties, my life, my soul and its belongings, with my wife, my house, my children, my whole substance and my own self. O, Krishna! I am thy servant."†

* Hence *Sevakán*, 'servants,' is the distinctive name for lay members of the Vallabhácharya community. The whole system of doctrine is known as 'Pushti Marg,' or way of happiness, and its practice as 'Daivi jívan,' the Divine life. Their sectarial mark consists of two red perpendicular lines down the forehead meeting in a curve at the root of the nose with a red spot between them.

† This formula is, I find, based on a passage in the Nárada Pancharátra.

Now, all this may be so interpreted as to convey a most unexceptionable meaning: that man should consecrate to God, wholly and without reserve, his body, soul, and substance, his every thought, word, and action, and all that he has, or does, or suffers; that such consecration is sufficient to hallow and ennoble the meanest actions of our ordinary life and is an effectual preservative from all evil, while even good works done without such consecration are unprofitable and "have even the nature of sin."* This is the doctrine of Christianity, and it may be deduced from Vallabháchárya's revelation without forcing the sense of a single word. But though there may be some slight doubt as to his own views, there can be none as to those entertained by his most immediate successors and transmitted by them to his disciples at the present day. For Gokulnáth, who is regarded as the most authoritative exponent of his grandfather's tenets, repeatedly insists in all his works, with the most marked emphasis, in the absolute identity of the Gosáin with the Divinity.† In fact, he goes even a step beyond this, and represents the Gosáin as so powerful a mediator that practically his favour is of more importance to us than God's: for, if God is displeased, the Gosáin can deprecate his wrath; but if the Gosáin is displeased, God will be affected towards us in the same way, and conciliation will then be impossible. When to this it is added that the Gosáin obtains his position solely by birth, and that no defect, moral or intellectual, can impair his hereditary claim to the adoration of his followers, who are exhorted to close their eyes and ears to anything that tends to his discredit,‡ it is obvious that a door is opened to scandals of a most intolerable description. By the act of dedication, a man submits to the pleasure of the Gosáin, as God's representative, not only the first fruits of his wealth but also the virginity of his daughter or his newly-wedded wife; while the doctrine of the Brahma Sambandh is explained to mean that such adulterous connection is the same as ecstatic union with the god, and the most meritorious act of devotion that can be performed. This glorification of immorality forms the only point in a large proportion of the stories in the Chaurási Vártá, or 'Accounts of Vallabháchárya's 84 great proselytes.' One of the most extravagant will be found given in full at the end of this chapter. The work commences with reference to the Revelation of the Siddhánta Rahasya, preceded by a brief colloquy

* The final climax states the doctrine of the Anglican, but not of the Catholic Church.

† This extravagant doctrine pervades all the later Vaishnava Schools, and is accepted by the disciples of Chaitanya no less than by those of Vallabháchárya. The foundation upon which it rests is a line in the Bhágavat, where the Guru is styled Sarva-deva-maya, 'made up of all divinity.'

‡ This is considered essential a duty, that in the Dasa Marma, or Vallabháchárya Decalogue, 'See no faults,' stands as the tenth commandment.

between the Deity and the Gosáin, of which the following words are the most important :—

तब श्री आचार्य जी महाप्रभू आप कहैं जो जीव को स्वरूप तो तुम जानत ही हो। दोषवंत है सो तुम सों संबंध कैसे होय तब श्रीठाकुरजी आप कहैं जो तुम जीवन कों ब्रह्म संबंध करावोगे तिनकों हौं अंगीकार करूंगो। तुम जीवन कों नाम देउगे तिनके सकल दोष निवर्त होयंगे ॥

"*Vallabha.*—You know the nature of life, that it is full of defects; how can there be union between it and you?

"*Krishna.*—*You* will effect the union of the divinity with living creatures, and I will accept them. You will give your name to them and all their sins shall be put away."

Professor Wilson interprets this as merely the declaration of a philosophical dogma, that life and spirit are identical; but (it can scarcely be doubted) the passage means rather that human life can only be purified by bringing it into intimate connection with God, or in default of God, with God's representative, the Gosáin.

Such being the revolting character of their theological literature, it is easy to understand why the Vallabhácháryas have always shown a great reluctance to submit it to the criticism of the outer world of unbelievers, who might not be prepared to accept such advanced doctrines. Though there are several copyists at Gokul, whose sole occupation it is to make transcripts for the use of pilgrims, they would ordinarily refuse to sell a manuscript to any one who was not of their own denomination; and none of their books had ever been published till quite recently, when two or three of the less esoteric were issued from Pandit Giri Prásád's Press at Beswa in the Aligarh District. However, as in many other forms of religion, and happily so in this case, practice is not always in accordance with doctrine. Though there may be much that is reprehensible in the inner life of the Gosáins, it is not at Gokul obtruded on the public, and has never occasioned any open scandal; while the present head of the community, Gosáin Purushottam Lál, a descendant of Bitthalnáth's sixth son, Jadunáth, deserves honourable mention for exceptional liberality and enlightment. He is the head of the temple of Navanít-Priya, popularly called, by way of pre-eminence, Rájá Thákur,* and is the proprietor of the whole of the township of Gokul. His uncle and predecessor, Gobind Lál, died, leaving a widow, Jánaki Bán Jí, and an only daughter. The latter, according to invariable custom, was married to a Bhatt, and by him had two sons by name

* He also presides over two temples dedicated to Baladeva and Madan Mohan near the Kankhal Ghát in Mathurá, where he ordinarily resides.

Ran-chhor Lál and Gop Jí. But, as by Salic law neither of them could succeed to the spiritual dignity, the widow adopted her nephew Purushottam, the son of her husband's brother Braj Pál. The adoption was disputed by the two sons, who carried their suit in appeal even up to the Privy Council, and there were finally defeated. Under their mother's will, they enjoy a maintenance allowance of Rs. 900 a year, paid to the elder brother by the Gosáin, and they have further retained—though under protest—all the property conferred by the Mahárája of Jodhpur on their common ancestor Murlidhar, the father of Gobind Lál and Braj Lál, who was the founder of the family's temporal prosperity and was the first muafidar of Gokul by grant from Sindhia.

Gosáin Purushottam Lál has one son, Raman Lál, through whom he is the grandfather of Braj Lál and Kánhaiya Lál. The latter of these has been adopted by Lachhman Jí, a descendant of Bitthalnáth's fourth son, Gokulnáth, and is now the Gosáin of the temple bearing that title. Thus the two principal endowments have both come into one branch of the family, and the Gosáin is one of the very largest landowners and wealthiest residents in the district; while he wields, at the same time, in virtue of his religious character, an influence which is absolutely unbounded among his own people, and very considerable in all classes of Hindu society. In the official world, however, he is barely known even by name, as his estates are too well managed to bring him before the courts, and he is still so far fettered by the traditions of his order that he declines all social intercourse with Europeans, even of the highest rank: so much so, that when the Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces visited the station in 1873, and, being unaware of this peculiarity, expressed in writing a desire to see him, the invitation was not accepted. The compliment was prompted by the Gosáin's annual gift of a prize of Rs. 300 for the student who passes first in the general Entrance Examination for the Calcutta University; a donation which, under the circumstances, cannot have been suggested by any ulterior motive beyond a genuine desire for the furtherance of education. In the same spirit, though he makes no claim to any high degree of scholarship himself, he has maintained for some years past in the city of Mathurá a Sanskrit school, which is attended by a large number of adults as well as boys, for whom he has secured very competent teachers. He has also contributed freely to a new school to be built in the course of the ensuing year for the use of the two towns of Gokul and Mahá-ban.

At all the Vallabháchárya temples, the daily services are eight in number—*viz.*, 1st, Mangala, the morning levee, a little after sun-rise, when the god is taken from his couch and bathed; 2nd, Sringára, an hour and a half later, when the god is attired in all his jewels and seated on his throne; 3rd, Gwála, after an interval of about three-quarters of an hour, when the god is supposed to be

starting to graze his cattle in the woods of Braj; 4th, Ráj Bhog, the mid-day meal, which, after presentation, is consumed by the priests and distributed among the votaries who have assisted at the ceremonies; 5th, Uttápan, about 3 P. M., when the god awakes from his siesta; 6th, Bhog, the evening collation; 7th, Sandhyá, the disrobing at sunset; and 8th, Sayan, the retiring to rest. Upon all these occasions, the ritual concerns only the priests, and the lay worshipper is simply a spectator, who evinces his reverence by any of the ordinary forms with which he would approach a human superior. As has already been mentioned, none of the buildings present a very imposing appearance. The three oldest, dedicated respectively to Gokul Náth, Madan Mohan and Bitthal Náth, are ascribed to the year 1511 A. D. The most notable of the remainder are Dwáraká Náth, dating from 1546 A. D., Bálkrishan, from 1636, with an annual income of Rs. 4,420; Navanít Priya, or Dau Jí, the latter name being that of the Gosáin, whose grandson, Giridhári Jí, is now in possession, with an income of Rs. 9,382; Braj Ratn, under Gosáin Gokul Náth Jí, a descendant of Bitthal Náth's younger son, Ghan Syám, with an income of Rs. 10,650; Srí Chandrama, with Rs. 4,050, and Navanít Lál, Natwar, Mathures, Gopal Lál, and Brajeswar; all of these being quite modern. There are also two shrines in honour of Mahádeva, built by Bijay Sinh, Rájá of Jodhpur in 1602. The principal melas are the Janm Ashtami, Krishna's birthday, in Bhádon, and Annkut on the day after the new moon of Kártik. The Trinávart mela is also held Kártik badi 4th, when paper figures of the demon are first paraded and then torn to pieces.

Baladeva, or Bal-deo.*

Some six miles beyond Mahá-ban, a little to the right of the high road leading to Sa'dabád and Jalesar, is the famous temple of Baladeva in the centre of the modern town to which it gives a name. The original village was called Rírhá and still exists, but only as a mean suburb occupied by the labouring classes. Adjoining the temple, is a brick-built tank, about 80 yards square, called variously Kshír Ságar, the 'sea of milk,' or Kshír Kund, or Balbhadra Kund. It is in a dilapidated condition, and the surface of the water is always covered with a repulsive thick green scum, which, however, does not deter the pilgrims either from drinking or bathing in it. Here it is said that Gosáin Gokul Náth was warned in a vision that a god lay concealed. Immediate search was made, and the statue of Baladeva, that has ever since been regarded as the tutelary divinity of the place, was revealed to the adoring gaze of the assembled multitude.

* The latter name represents the common pronunciation, which (as in all similar words) has become corrupted by the practice of writing in Persian characters, which are inadequate to express the *va* termination.

Attempts were made to remove it to Gokul; but as every cart broke down, either from the weight of the stone, or the reluctance of the god to change his abode, a shrine was erected for his reception on the spot, and an Ahívási of Bhartiya, by name Kalyán, constituted guardian. From his two sons, Jamuná Dás and Musiya, or Sukadeva, are descended the whole horde of Pándas, who now find the god a very valuable property. They have acquired, by purchase from the Játs, the old village of Ríhá,* and are also considerable landowners in six other villages—*viz.*, Artoni, Nera, Chhibarau, Kharaíra, Núr-pur and Shaháb-pur, whence they derive an annual income of Rs. 3,853. This estate, which was for the most part a grant from Sindhia, forms however but a small part of their wealth, as the offerings made at the shrine in the course of the year are estimated to yield a net profit of Rs. 30,000 more.

The temple, despite its popularity, is neither handsome nor well appointed. Its precincts include as many as eleven cloistered quadrangles, where accommodation is provided for the pilgrims and resident priests. No definite charge is levied on the former, but they are expected to make a voluntary donation according to their means. Each court, or *kunj*, as it is called, bears the name of its founder as follows:—1st Kunj, of Ráshk Lál of Agra and Lakhnau, 1817 A.D.; 2nd, of Bachharáj, Baniya, of Háthras, 1825; 3rd, of Naval Karan, Baniya, of Agra, 1768; 4th, of Bhím Sen and Hulás Raí, Baniyas, of Mathurá, 1828; 5th, of Dás Mal, Khattri, of Agra, 1801; 6th, of Bhattácharya of Jaypur, 1794; 7th, of Gopál, Bráhman, of Jaypur; 8th, of Chiman Lál of Mathurá, 1778; 9th, of Sadá Ram, Khattri, of Agra, 1768; 10th, of Chunna, Halwái, of Bharat-pur, 1808; and 11th, of Púran Chand, Pachauri, of Mahában, 1801. The actual temple, built by Seth Syám Dás of Delhi, towards the end of last century, stands at the back of one of the inner courts, and on each of its three disengaged sides has an arcade of three bays with broad flanking piers. On each of these three sides a door gives access to the cella, which is surmounted by a squat pyramidal tower. In addition to the principal figure, Baladeva, who is generally very richly dressed and bedizened with jewels, it contains another life-sized statue, supposed to represent his spouse Revati. Apparently, she was an after thought, as she is put away in a corner, off the dais. In an adjoining court is shown the small vaulted chamber which served the god as a residence for the first century after his epiphany. Near the tank is a shrine dedicated by Bihári Lál, Bohra, of Mursán, in 1803, to the honour of the god Harideva, and two stone *chhatris* in memory of the Pándas, Harideva and Jagannáth.

* Besides the entire zamindari, the Pándas hold also 255½ bíghas in Ríhá as Muafidárs. Of this area, 79 bíghas are occupied by buildings, while the remainder is either waste or orchard. As the township has no arable land attached to it, the name Baladeva does not appear at all in the district rent-roll.

Two annual melas are held at Baladeva, the one Bhádon Sudi 6th (commonly called Deo Chhatt), the other on the full moon of Agahn; but there is probably not a single day in the course of the whole year in which the temple courts are not occupied by at least as many as a hundred pilgrims, who come from all parts of Northern India. The cost of the religious ceremonial cannot be much; but a charitable dole of an ana a piece is given to every applicant; and as the Pándas with their families now number between 300 and 400 persons, the annual cost of their maintenance must be very considerable. After reasonable deductions on these three heads—*viz.*, temple expenses, charity, and maintenance of the priests, the balance of profits is calculated at over Rs. 30,000. There is ordinarily a division among the shareholders at the end of every three months, when they make an allotment into twelve equal portions, that being the number of the principal sub-divisions of the clan, and then each sub-division makes a separate distribution among its own members. The votive offerings in the vast majority of cases are individually of very trifling amount; but even so, their collective value is not altogether to be despised. Thus, poorer pilgrims, in addition to a few copper coins, often present a piece of sugar; and the heap of sugar accumulated in three or four days has been sold by auction for as much as Rs. 80. The shrine is a very popular one among all classes; scarcely ever is an important venture made without a vow that the god shall receive a fixed share of the profits, if he bring it to a successful issue; and even casual votaries, who have no special boon to beg, are often most lavish in their donations, either of money, horned cattle, carriages, horses, or other property. For example, a few years ago, Súraj-bhán, a wealthy merchant of Agra, gave Rs. 4,000 worth of jewellery for the personal adornment of the god.

It is unfortunate that the hereditary guardians of so wealthy a shrine should be such a low and thriftless set as the Ahívásis are. The temple-garden occupies 52 bighas of land, and was once a well-planted grove. It is now a dirty, unsightly waste, as the Pándas have gradually cut down all the trees for firewood, without a thought of replacing them, and have thus not only deteriorated the value of their property, but also forfeited a grant that used to be made by the Mahárája of Bharat-pur for its maintenance. It is also asserted to be a common practice for the younger members of the clan, when they see any devotee prostrate in devotion before the god, to be very forward in assisting them to rise and leading them away, and to take the opportunity of despoiling them of any loose cash or valuable ornaments that they can lay their hands upon. It is believed that thefts of the kind are frequent; though the victim generally prefers to accept the loss in silence, rather than incur the odium of bringing a charge, that there might not be legal evidence to substantiate, against a professedly religious community. It appears in every way desirable that some extra police should be maintained at the expense of the Pándas,

and a constable or two kept permanently on duty in the inner court of the temple.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII.

I.—Catalogue of Vallabhácháryа Literature.

I.—Sanskrit works ascribed to the founder himself, divided into two classes: First, commentaries of considerable length on older writings of authority, being four in number, *viz.*, Bhágavata Tika Subodhini, Vyása Sútra Bháshya, Jaimini Sutra Bháshya, and Tattva Dípa Nibandha. None of these have I seen. Secondly, seventeen very short original poems entitled—Siddhánta Rahasya, Siddhánta Muktávali, Pushti Pravaha Maryáda, Antah-karanah Prabodha, Nava Ratna, Viveka Dháiryasraya, Krishnásraya, Bhakti Vardhani, Jala-bheda, Sannyása Nirnaya, Nirodha Lakshana, Seva-phala, Bal-bodh, Chatur-sloki, Panch-sloki, Yamunáshtakam, and Purushottam Sahasr-náma. Of all of these, except the last, I have obtained copies from Gokul.

II.—Sanskrit works ascribed to Vallabhácháryа's immediate successors. These also are, for the most part, very short. The principal are as follows: Sarvottama-stotram of Agni-Kumár, Ratna Vivarna of Bitthalnáth, Bhaktí Siddhánta Vivriti of Gokulnáth, Vallabháshtakam of Bitthalnáth, Krishna Premámritam of Bitthalnáth, Síksha Patram, Gokulashtakam, Prem-Amritam of Gokulnáth, Sri Vallabha-bhavashtakam of Hari Dás, Madhur Ashtakam, Saran Ashtakam, Námavali Acharya, Namavali Goswami, Sidhánta Bhávana, Virodha Lakshana, Srínagara Rasamandala, Saranopadesa, Rasa-Sindhu, Kalpadruma, Málá Prasanga, and Chita Prabodha.

III.—Works in the modern vernacular, *i. e.*, the Braj-Bháshá. Such are the Nij Várta, Chaurási Várta, Do Sau Bávan Várta, Dwádasa Kunja, Pavitra Mandala, Purnamási, Nitya Sevaprakára, Rasa Bhávana of Gokulnáth, Vachanámrita of Gokulnáth, Braj Bilás of Braj-básí Dás, Ban-Jatra, Vallabhakhyána, Dhola, Nitya-pada, Srí Gobardhan-nath Jí ka Prágatya, Gosáin Jí Prágatya, Líla Bhávana, Swarupa Bhávana, Guru Seva, Seva Prakára, Múla Purusha, Dasa Marama, Vaishnava Battisi Lakshana, Chaurási Siksha, Otsava Pada, Yamuná Ji Pada, and others.

II.—Specimen of the Tone and Style of popular Vallabhácháryа Literature.

The following story of 'how Krishan Dás showed his devotion to the Gosáins' is extracted from the Chaurási Vártá, and is interesting as a specimen, both of the dialect and religious superstition of the locality. Though written some two hundred years ago, it might, for all internal evidence to the contrary, have

been taken down only yesterday, word for word, from the mouth of a village gossip. It does not contain a single archaic term, and in its unartificial style and rustic phraseology is an exact representation of the colloquial idiom of middle-class Hindus of the present century; yet it has absolutely nothing in common with the language officially designated the vernacular of the country, either as regards the arrangement of the sentence or the choice of words; the latter being all taken from the Hindi vocabulary, with the exception of three only—*viz.*, *kaul*, a 'promise,' *sauda*, 'merchandise,' and *khabr*, 'news.' These are inserted as if on purpose to show that the non-admission of a larger number was a spontaneous and not a pedantic exclusion. As to its purport; the eulogy which it bestows on the extraordinary sacrifice of personal decency and honour, merely for the sake of procuring the Gosáins a good dinner, is so revolting to the principles of natural morality that it condemns the whole tenour of Vallabháchárya doctrine more strongly than any argument that could be adduced by an opponent. The style of the narrative is so easy and perspicuous that it can present no difficulty to the student, who alone will take an interest in the matter, and therefore I have not considered it necessary to add a translation:—

श्री आचार्यजी महाप्रभून के सेवक कृष्णदासजी ब्राह्मण तिनकी वार्त्ता

वे कृष्णदास एक गांम में रहते हते सो भगवदीय भये अकिंचन हते श्री आचार्यजी महाप्रभून के सेवक गांम में रहते हते सो परस्पर मिलिकें इकठोरे होयकें श्री आचार्यजी महा प्रभून के दर्शन कों जातहते एक समें वैष्णव दश पंद्रे मिलिकें इकठोरे होयकें श्री आचार्यजी महाप्रभून के दर्शन को अडेल गाम कूं चले सो जा गांम में कृष्णदास रहते हते ता गांम में आये सो कृष्णदास के घर आये तब कृष्णदास तो घर हते नाहीं कछू कार्य के लीयें कोस दोय तीन एक गांम हतो तहां गांम में गये हते और कृष्णदासजी की स्त्री घर में हुती तब वा स्त्री ने उन वैष्णवन कों साष्टांग दण्डवत कीनी श्री कृष्ण-स्मरण कहिकें वोहोत आदर सनमान करिकें घर में बैठारे पाछें घर में जायकें अपने मन में विचार करन लागी जो अब कहा करिये तब सुधि आई सो वुह हमारी बनियां मोसों नित्य टोक करत है और कैहत है जो तुम मोसों मिलि जो मैं तो कों कहै सो देंहु सो आज वाकी दुकान सूं सीधो सामिग्री लाऊं हूं वासों कहोंगी जो आज तोसों मिलूंगी मोकों सीधो सामिग्री चहीयत है सो देउ ऐसें विचार करिकें आपने मन में वोह स्त्री चली सो वा बनियां की हाट ऊपर गई तब वा बनियां नें हाट ऊपर टोकी तब वा स्त्री नें वा बनियां सों कही जो मैं तोसों एक दिन मिलोंगी तू मोकों

आज सोदा चहीयै है सो देउ तब वा वनियां नें कह्यौ जो कोल करै तौ मैं मानूगो तब वा स्त्री नें एक कोल कर्‌यै। तब वा स्त्री कों सीधो सामिग्री चहीयै सो लीनी बनियां पैते पाछैं घर आइकें रसोई करिकें श्री ठाकुरजी कों भोग समर्पिकें समयानुसार भोग उसरायकें अनोसर करिकें पछैं उन वैष्णवन कों प्रसाद लिवायो तब वैष्णवन्नें भली भांति सों प्रसाद लीयो पाछैं सांझ कों कृष्णदास घर आये सो सब वैष्णव मिलिकें दण्डवत कीयो जैश्रीकृष्ण कहिकें भीतर गयो तब स्त्री सों कही जो कहा खबरि है वैष्णवन कों महाप्रसाद लिवायो तब स्त्री ने कही जो महाप्रसाद तौ लिवायो तब कृष्णदास नें कही जो सीधो सामिग्री कहां ते लाई है कहा प्रकार कीयो तब जो प्रकार कीयो हतो सो सब कह दीयो तब कृष्णदास स्त्री के ऊपर बोहत प्रसन्न भये पाछैं स्त्री पुरुषनै दोऊ जने नें सीठो महप्रसाद लियो जो अपने घर श्रीठाकुरजी नित्य आरोगते सो प्रसाद लीयो पाछ कृष्णदास सब वैष्णवन के पास आयकें सबरा रात्रि भगवत वार्त्ता करत बीती जब सवारो भयो तब सब वैष्णव कृष्णदास होयकें चले तब कृष्णदास थोरीसी दूरि उनकों पोंहचाय गये पाछैं आप घर आय स्नान करि श्रीठाकुरजी की सेवा करिकें आप व्यावत कों गये पाछैं स्त्री नें रसोई करिकें श्रीठाकुरजी कों भोग समर्प्यो भोग उसराय आनोसर करिकें महाप्रसाद ढांकि रख्यो तब कृष्णदास सांझ कों घर आये तब बोह सीरो महाप्रसाद दोऊ जन नें स्त्री पुरुष नें लनों पाछैं कृष्णदास नें स्त्री सों कह्यौ जो तुमनें वा बनीयां कों कालिको कोल कीयो हतो सो बोह पेंड़ो देखत होयगो ताते वाको कोल पूरो करियै तौ भलो है तब स्त्री आप उबटनों करिके स्नान करिकें फेरि जो स्नान को सिंगार होय है सो सब करिकें पांमन में महावर लगायकें चली सो वर्षा के दिन हते सो मेंह बरष रह्यौ हतौ सो मार्ग में कीच भईहती ताके लीयें कृष्णदास नें स्त्री सों कही जो तुम मेरे कन्धा ऊपर बैठि लेहु तोकूं पोंहचाय आऊं नातर तेरे पांम कीचसों भरि जायंगे मार्ग में कीच भई है तब स्त्री कों कृष्णदास नें कन्धा ऊपर चढ़ायकें वा बनोयां की हाट ऊपर उतारदीनी तब वा स्त्री नें वा बनीयां कों हेला पारिकें कह्यौ जो किवार खोलि तब वा बनीयां नें किवार खोलिकें भीतर लानी तब वुह पांम धोयवेकों पांनी ले आयो और कह्या जो पांम धोय तब वानें वा बनीयां सों कही जो मेरे पांम तौ कीच सों भरे नाहीं तब वा बनीयां नें वासों कह्यौ जो मारग

में कीच भई है तेरे पांम कोरे क्यों रहे तब उन स्त्री नें कह्यौ जो तू पूछिकें कहा करैगो तू तेरो काम करि तब वा बनीयां नें कह्यौ जो यह बात तोकों बतानी चहिये तब वा स्त्री नें कह्यौ जो मेरो भरतार कांधेपै चढाय कें लायो है सो यह बात सुनिकें वा बनीयां कों आश्चर्य भयो और सब वृतांत हो सो सब पूछो जो यह कहा कारण है सो सब मेरे आगें कहो तब वा स्त्री नें सब प्रकार हो सो सब कह्यौ सो सुनिकें बनीयां अपने जन्मकों धिक्कार करन लाग्यो और कह्यौ जो धन्य जन्म तुम्हारो है जे जिनको ऐसो मन सांचो है और दोऊ हाथ जोरिकें दण्डवत करी और कह्यौ जो मेरो अपराध क्षमा करिये मेरे ऊपर कृपा करिये मेरी तुम बेंहन हो पाछें वा स्त्री कों कपरा पहरायकें वाकों घर पोंहचामन आयो और कृष्णदास सों वा बनीयां नें बीनती कीनी जो तुम मेरो अपराध क्षमा करिये यह मेरी बेंहनि है जो तुम मेरे पूज्य हो पाछें वुह बनीयां श्रीआचार्य जी महाप्रभून को ऐसें सेवक भयो तब वा बनीयां को नाम श्री आचार्य्य जी महाप्रभून ने ज्ञानचन्द धर्‌यो पाछें वह बनीयां बड़ो भगवदीय भयो सो कृष्णदास के सतसंगते भयो तातें संग करनों तो भगवदीय को करनों पाछें वह बनीयां कृष्णदास सों सदां सर्वदा नमत रहतो और कृष्णदास की स्त्री सों बेंहनि को संबन्ध राखे वे कृष्णदास श्री आचार्य्य जी महाप्रभून के ऐसे कृपापात्र भगवदीय हे तातें इनकी अनिर्वचनीय वार्त्ता है तातें इनकी वार्त्ता कहां तांई लिखिये वार्त्ता प्रथम ॥ १ ॥ संबन्ध १५० वैष्णव ॥९४॥

CHAPTER IX.

THE THREE HILL-PLACES OF MATHURÁ: GOBARDHAN, BARSÁNA, AND NAND-GÁNW.

At a distance of three miles from the city of Mathurá, the road to Gobardhan runs through the village of Satoha, by the side of a large tank of very sacred repute, called Sántanu Kund. The name commemorates a Rájá Sántanu, who (as is said on the spot) here practised, through a long course of years, the severest religious austerities in the hope of obtaining a son. His wishes were at last gratified by a union with the goddess Gangá, who bore him Bhíshma, one of the famous heroes of the Mahábhárat. Every Sunday, the place is frequented by women who are desirous of issue, and a large *mela* is held there on the 6th of the light fortnight of Bhádon. The tank, which is of very considerable dimensions, was faced all round with stone, early last century, by Sawái Jay Sinh of Amber, but a great part of the masonry is now much dilapidated. In its centre is a high hill connected with the main land by a bridge. The sides of the island are covered with fine *rítha* trees, and on the summit, which is approached by a flight of fifty stone steps, is a small temple. Here it is incumbent upon the female devotees, who would have their prayers effectual, to make some offering to the shrine, and inscribe on the ground or wall the mystic device called in Sanskrit Svastiká and in Hindi Sathiya, the fylfot of Western ecclesiology. The local superstition is probably not a little confirmed by the accidental resemblance that the king's name bears to the Sanskrit word for 'children,' *santána*. For, though Rájá Sántanu is a mythological personage of much ancient celebrity, being mentioned not only in several of the Puránas, but also in one of the hymns of the Rig Veda, he is not much known at the present day, and what is told of him at Satoha is a very confused jumble of the original legend. The signal and, according to Hindu ideas, absolutely fearful abnegation of self, there ascribed to the father, was undergone for his gratification by the dutiful son, who thence derived his name of Bhíshma, 'the fearful.' For, in extreme old age, the Rájá was anxious to wed again, but the parents of the fair girl on whom he had fixed his affections would not consent to the union, as the fruit of the marriage would be debarred by Bhíshma's seniority from the succession to the throne. The difficulty was removed by Bhíshma's filial devotion, who took an oath to renounce his birthright and never to beget a son to revive the claim. Hence every religious Hindu accounts it a duty to make him amends for this want of direct descendants by once a year offering libations to Bhíshma's

spirit in the same way as to one of his own ancestors. The formula to be used is as follows :—"I present this water to the childless hero, Bhíshma, of the race of Vyaghrapada, the chief of the house of Sankriti. May Bhíshma, the son of Sántanu, the speaker of truth, and subjugator of his passions, obtain by this water the oblations due from sons and grandsons."

The story in the Nirukta Vedánga relates to an earlier period in the king's life, if, indeed, it refers to the same personage at all, which has been doubted. It is there recorded that, on his father's death, Sántanu took possession of the throne, though he had an elder brother, by name Devápi, living. This violation of the right of primogeniture caused the land to be afflicted with a drought of twelve years' continuance, which was only terminated by the recitation of a hymn of prayer (Rig Veda, x., 98) composed by Devápi himself, who had voluntarily adopted the life of a religious. The name Satoha is absurdly derived by the Bráhmans of the place from *sattu*, 'bran,' which is said to have been the royal ascetic's only diet. In all probability it is formed from the word *Santanu* itself, combined with some locative affix, such as *sthána*.

Ten miles further to the west is the famous place of Hindu pilgrimage, Gobardhan, *i. e.*, according to the literal meaning of the Sanskrit compound, 'the nurse of cattle.' The town, which is of considerable size, occupies a break in a narrow limestone range of hill, which rises abruptly from the alluvial plain, and stretches in a south-easterly direction for a distance of some four or five miles, with an average elevation of about 100 feet.

This is the hill which Krishna is fabled to have held aloft on the tip of his finger for seven days and nights to cover the people of Braj from the storms poured down upon them by Indra when deprived of his wonted sacrifices. In pictorial representations it always appears as an isolated conical peak, which is as unlike the reality as possible. It is ordinarily styled by Hindus of the present day, the Giri-ráj, or royal hill, but in earlier literature is more frequently designated the Anna-kút. There is a firm belief in the neighbourhood that, as the waters of the Jamuná are yearly decreasing in body, so too the sacred hill is steadily diminishing in height; for in past times it was visible from Aríng, a town four or five miles distant, whereas now a few hundred yards are sufficient to remove it from sight. It may be hoped that the marvellous fact reconciles the credulous pilgrim to the insignificant appearance presented by the object of his adoration. It is accounted so holy that not a particle of the stone is allowed to be taken for any building purpose; and even the road which crosses it at its lowest point, where only a few fragments of the rock crop up above the ground, had to be carried over them by a paved causeway.

The ridge attains its greatest elevation towards the south between the villages of Jatipura and Anyor. Here, on the summit, was an ancient temple

founded in the year 1520 A.D. by the famous Vallabháchárya of Gokul, and dedicated to Srí-náth. In anticipation of one of Aurangzeb's raids, the image of the god was removed to Náthdwára in Udaypur territory, and has remained there ever since. The temple on the Giri-ráj was thus allowed to fall into ruin, and the wide walled enclosure now exhibits only long lines of foundations and steep flights of steps, with a small, untenanted, and quite modern shrine. The plateau, however, commands a very extensive view of the neighbouring country, both on the Mathurá and the Bharat-pur side, with the fort of Díg and the heights of Nand-gánw and Barsána in the distance. At the foot of the hill on one side is the little village of Jatipura with several temples, of which one, dedicated to Gokul-náth, though a very mean building in appearance, has considerable local celebrity. Its head is the Gosáin of the temple with the same title at Gokul, and it is the annual scene of two religious solemnities both celebrated on the day after the Díp-dán at Gobardhan. The first is the adoration of the sacred hill, called the Giri-ráj Pujá, and the second the Anna-kút, or commemoration of Krishna's sacrifice. The right to take the lead in the procession has been vehemently disputed by the priests of the two rival temples, Srí-náth and Gokul-náth; and it is generally found desirable, a little before the anniversary, to bind both parties over in heavy sums to keep the peace. Immediately opposite Jatipura, and only parted from it by the intervening range, is the village of Anyor—literally 'the other side'—with the temple of Srí-náth on the summit between them. A little distance beyond both is the village of Puchhri, which, as the name denotes, is considered 'the extreme limit' of the Giri-ráj.

Kártik, the month in which most of Krishna's exploits are believed to have been performed, is the favourite time for the *pari-krama*, or perambulation of the sacred hill. The dusty circular road which winds round its base has a length of seven *kos*, that is, about twelve miles, and is frequently measured by devotees who at every step prostrate themselves at full length. When flat on the ground, they mark a line in the sand as far as their hands can reach, then rising they prostrate themselves again from the line so marked, and continue in the same style till the whole weary circuit has been accomplished. This ceremony, called *Dandavati pari-krama*, occupies from a week to a fortnight, and is generally performed for wealthy sinners vicariously by the Bráhmans of the place, who receive from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 for their trouble, and transfer all the merit of the act to their employers. The ceremony has been performed with a hundred and eight prostrations at each step (that being the number of beads in the Vaishnava rosary); it then occupied some two years, and was remunerated by a donation of Rs. 1,000.

About the centre of the range stands the town of Gobardhan, on the margin of a very large irregularly shaped masonry tank, called the Mánasi

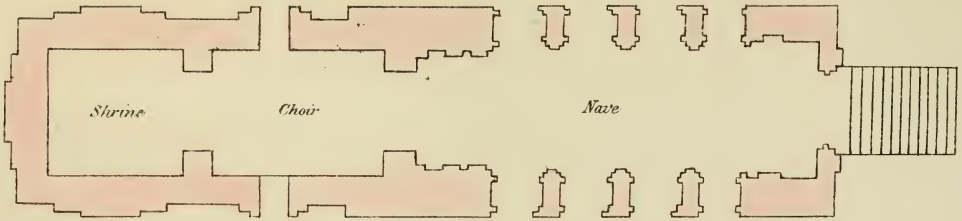
Gangá, supposed to have been called into existence by the mere action of the divine will *(mánasa)*. At one end the boundary is formed by the jutting crags of the holy hill, on all other sides the water is approached by long flights of stone steps. It has frequently been repaired at great cost by the Rájás of Bharat-pur; but is said to have been originally constructed in its present form by Rájá Mán Sinh of Jaypur, whose father built the adjoining temple of Harideva. There is also at Banáras a tank constructed by Mán Sinh, called Mán Sarovar, and by it a temple dedicated to Mánesvar: facts which suggest a suspicion that the name 'Mánasi' is of much less antiquity than is popularly believed. Unfortunately, there is neither a natural spring, nor any constant artificial supply of water, and for half the year the tank is always dry. But ordinarily at the annual illumination, or Díp-dán, which occurs soon after the close of the rains, during the festival of the Diwáli, a fine broad sheet of water reflects the light of the innumerable lamps, which are ranged tier above tier, along the ghâts and adjacent buildings, by the one hundred thousand pilgrims with whom the town is then crowded.

In the year 1871, as there was no heavy rain towards the end of the season, and the festival of the Diwáli also fell later than usual, it so happened that on the bathing-day, the 12th of November, the tank was entirely dry, with the exception of two or three green and muddy little puddles. To obviate this mischance, several holes were made and wells sunk in the area of the tank, with one large pit, some 30 feet square and as many deep, in whose turbid waters many thousand pilgrims had the happiness of immersing themselves. For several hours no less than twenty-five persons a minute continued to descend, and as many to ascend, the steep and slippery steps; while the yet more fetid patches of mud and water in other parts of the basin were quite as densely crowded. At night, the vast amphitheatre, dotted with groups of people and glimmering circles of light, presented a no less picturesque appearance than in previous years when it was a brimming lake. To the spectator from the garden-side of the broad and deep expanse, as the line of demarkation between the steep flights of steps and the irregular masses of building which immediately surmount them ceased to be perceptible, the town presented the perfect semblance of a long and lofty mountain range dotted with fire-lit villages; while the clash of cymbals, the beat of drums, the occasional toll of bells from the adjoining temples, with the sudden and long-sustained cry of some enthusiastic band, vociferating the praises of mother Gangá, the clapping of hands that began scarce heard but was quickly caught up and passed on from tier to tier, and prolonged into a wild tumult of applause,—all blended with the ceaseless murmur of the stirring crowd in a not discordant medley of exciting sound. According to popular belief, the ill-omened drying up of the water, which had not

occurred before in the memory of man, was the result of the curse of one Habíb-ullah Sháh, a Muhammadan fakír. He had built himself a hut on the top of the Giri-ráj, to the annoyance of the priests of the neighbouring temple of Dán-Ráe, who complained that the holy ground was defiled by the bones and other fragments of his unclean diet, and procured an order from the Civil Court for his ejectment. Thereupon the fakír disappeared, leaving a curse upon his persecutors; and this has borne fruit in the drying up of the healing waters of the Mánasi Gangá.

Close by, is the famous temple of Hari-deva, erected during the tolerant reign of Akbar by Rájá Bhagawán Dás of Amber on a site long previously occupied by a succession of humbler fanes. It consists of a nave 68 feet in length and 20 feet broad, leading to a choir 20 feet square, with a sacrarium of about the same dimensions beyond. The nave has five arches on either side with clerestory windows above, and is about 30 feet high to the cornice, which is decorated at intervals with large projecting heads of elephants and sea-monsters. There was a double roof, each entirely of stone: the outer one a high pitched gable, the inner an arched ceiling, or rather the nearest approach to an arch ever seen in Hindu design. The centre was really flat, but it was so deeply coved at the sides that, the width of the building being inconsiderable, it had all the effect of a vault, and no doubt suggested the possibility of the true radiating vault, which we find in the temple of Govind Deva built by Bhagawán's son and successor, Mán Sinh, at Brindá-ban. The construction is extremely massive, and even the exterior is still solemn and imposing, though the two towers which originally crowned the choir and sacrarium were long ago levelled with the roof of the nave. The material employed throughout the superstructure is red sandstone from the Bharatpur quarries, while the foundations are composed of rough blocks of the limestone found in the neighbourhood. These have been laid bare to the depth of several feet; and a large deposit of earth all round the basement would much enhance the appearance as well as the stability of the building. Bihári Mall, the father of the reputed founder, was the first Rájput who attached himself to the court of a Muhammadan emperor. He was chief of the Rajáwat branch of the Kachhwáhá Thákurs seated at Amber, and claimed to be eighteenth in descent from the founder of the family. The capital was subsequently transferred to Jaypur in 1728 A.D.; the present Maharájá being the thirty-fourth descendant of the original stock. In the battle of Sarnál, Bhagawán Dás had the good fortune to save Akbar's life, and was subsequently appointed governor of the Panjáb. He died about the year 1590 at Láhor. His daughter was married to Prince Salím, who eventually became emperor under the title of Jahángir; the fruit of their marriage being the unfortunate prince Khusru. The temple has a yearly income of some Rs. 2,300, derived from the two vil-

TEMPLE OF HARI-DEVA
at
GOBARDHAN.



Scale 24 feet = 1 inch.

24 12 0 24 48 ft.

lages, Bhagosa and Lodhipuri, the latter estate being a recent grant, in lieu of an annual money donation of Rs. 500, on the part of the Rájá of Bharat-pur, who further makes a fixed monthly offering to the shrine at the rate of one rupee per diem. The hereditary Gosáins have long devoted the entire income to their own private uses, completely neglecting the fabric of the temple and its religious services.* In consequence of such short-sighted greed, the votive offerings at this, one of the most famous shrines in Upper India, have dwindled down to about Rs. 50 a year. Not only so, but, early in 1872, the roof of the nave, which had hitherto been quite perfect, began to give way. An attempt was made by the writer of this memoir to procure an order from the Civil Court authorizing the expenditure, on the repair of the fabric, of the proceeds of the temple estate, which, in consequence of the dispute among the shareholders had for some months past been paid as a deposit into the district treasury and had accumulated to more than Rs. 3,000. There was no unwillingness on the part of the Local Government to further the proposal, and an engineer was deputed to examine and report on the probable cost. Meanwhile, the whole of the roof had fallen in with the exception of one compartment; which, however, would have been sufficient to serve as a model in the work of restoration. The estimate was made out for Rs. 8,767; and as there was a good balance in hand to begin upon, operations might have been commenced at once and completed without any difficulty in the course of two or three years. But no further orders were communicated to the district authorities from April, when the estimate was submitted, till the following October, and in the interim a baniya from the neighbouring town of Aríng, by name Chhítar Mal, hoping to immortalize himself at a moderate outlay, came to the relief of the temple proprietors and undertook to do all that was necessary at his own private cost. He has, accordingly, ruthlessly demolished all that yet remained of the original roof, breaking down at the same time not a little of the curious cornice, and in its place is simply throwing across, from wall to wall, rough and unshapen wooden beams, of which the best that can be said is, that they may, for some few years, serve as a protection from the weather. But all that was unique and characteristic in the design has ceased to exist; and thus another of the few pages in the fragmentary annals of Indian architecture has been blotted out for ever. Like the temple of Gobind Deva at Brindá-ban, it has none of the coarse figure sculpture which detract so largely from the artistic appearance of most Hindu religious buildings; and though originally consecrated to idolatrous worship, it was in all points of construc-

* The estate is divided into twenty-four *bats*, or shares, allotted among seventeen different families. It appears that all are agreed as to the distribution, with the exception of one man by name Náráyan, who, in addition to his own original share claims also as sole representative of a shareholder deceased. This claim is not admitted by the others, and the zamindars continue to pay the revenue as a deposit into the district treasury, till such time as the muafidárs can concur in making a joint application for its transfer to themselves.

tion equally well adapted for the public ceremonial of the purest faith. Had it been preserved as a national monument, it might at some day, in the future golden age, have been to Gobardhan what the Pagan Pantheon is now to Christian Rome.

On the opposite side of the Mánasi Gangá are two stately cenotaphs, or *chhattris*, to the memory of Randhír Sinh and Baladeva Sinh, Rájás of Bharat-pur. Both are of similar design, consisting of a lofty and substantial square masonry terrace with corner kiosks and lateral alcoves, and in the centre the monument itself, still further raised on a richly decorated plinth. The cella, enclosed in a colonnade of five open arches on each side, is a square apartment surmounted by a dome, and having each wall divided into three bays, of which one is left for the doorway, and the remainder are filled in with reticulated tracery. The cloister has a small dome at each corner, and the curious curvilinear roof, distinctive of the style, over the central compartments. In the larger monument, the visitor's attention is specially directed to the pannels of the doors, painted in miniature with scenes from the life of Krishna, and to the cornice, a flowered design of some vitreous material executed at Delhi. This commemorates Baladeva Sinh, who died in 1825, and was erected by his son and successor the late Rájá Balavant Sinh, who was placed on the throne after the reduction of the fort of Bharat-pur by Lord Combermere in 1826. The British army figures conspicuously in the paintings on the ceilings of the pavilions. Rájá Randhir Sinh, who is commemorated by the companion monument, was the elder brother and predecessor of Baladeva, and died in the year 1823.

A mile or so from the town, on the borders of the parish of Rádhá-kund, is a yet more magnificent architectural group erected by Javáhir Sinh, in honour of his father Súraj Mal, the founder of the family, who met his death at Delhi in 1764 (see page 24). The principal *chhattri*, which is 57 feet square, of precisely the same style as the two already described, is flanked on either side by one of somewhat less dimensions, commemorating the Rájá's two queens, Hansiyá* and Kishorí. The lofty terrace upon which they stand is 460 feet in length, with a long shallow pavilion serving as a screen at each end, and nine two-storied kiosks of varied outline to relieve the front. Attached to Ráni Hansiyá's monument is a smaller one in commemoration of a faithful attendant. Behind is an extensive garden, and in front, at the foot of the terrace, is an artificial lake, called the Kusum-Sarovar, 460 feet square; the flights of stone steps on each side being broken into one central and four smaller side

* Hans-ganj, on the bank of the Jamuná, immediately opposite Mathurá, was founded by this Ráni. In consequence of a diversion of the road which once passed through it, the village is now that most melancholy of all spectacles, a modern ruin; though it comprises some spacious walled gardens, crowded with magnificent trees.

compartments by pannelled and arcaded walls running out 60 feet into the water. On the north side, some progress had been made in the erection of a *chhattri* for Javáhir Sinh, when the work was interrupted by Muhammadan inroad and never renewed. On the same side, the ghâts of the lake are partly in ruins, and it is said were reduced to this condition, a very few years after their completion, by the Gosáin Himmat Bahádur, who carried away the materials to Brindá-ban, to be used in the construction of a ghát which still commemorates his name there. Such a wanton exercise of power seems a little startling, and therefore it will not be out of place to explain a little in detail who this warlike Gosáin was. A native of Bundel-khand, he became a pupil of Mahant Rájendra Giri, who had seceded from the Dasnámis* or followers of Sankaráchárya, the most fanatical of all Hindu sectaries, and had joined the Saiva Nága, which is characterized by equal turbulence unfettered by even an assumption of any religious motive. Through his instigations, Ali Bahádur, an illegitimate grandson of Baji Ráo, the first Peshwá, was induced to take up arms against Sindhia and establish himself in Bundel-khand as virtually an independent sovereign. In 1802, Ali Bahádur fell at the siege of Kalinjar, leaving a son, Shamsher Bahádur. At first the heir was supported by Himmat, who, however, continued quietly to extend his own influence as far as possible; and, on the combination of the Mahratta chiefs against the British Government, in which they were joined by Shamsher, foreseeing in their success an immediate diminution of his own authority, he determined to co-operate with the British. On the 4th of September, 1803, a treaty was concluded between Lord Wellesley and 'Anúp-giri Himmat Bahádur,' by which nearly all the territory on the west bank of the Jamuná from Kalpi to Allahabad was assigned to him. His death, however, occurred in the following year, when the lands were resumed and pensions in lieu thereof granted to his family.

Other sacred spots in the town of Gobardhan are the temple of Chakresvar Mahádeva, and four ponds called respectively Go-rochan, Dharm-rochan, Pap-mochan and Rin-mochan. But these latter, even in the rains, are mere puddles, and all the rest of the year are quite dry; while the former, in spite of its sanctity, is as mean a little building as it is possible to conceive.

The break in the hill, traversed by the road from Mathurá to Díg, is called the Dán Ghát, and is supposed to be the spot where Krishna lay in wait to intercept the Gopis and levy a toll *(dán)* on the milk they were bringing into the town. A Bráhman still sits at the receipt of custom, and extracts a copper

* The ten names—whence the title Dasn ámi—are *tirtha, ásrama, vana, aranya, sarasvati, puri, Bhárati, giri, parvata,* and *ságara,* one of which is attached to his person-a/name by every member of the order.

coin or two from the passers-by. On the ridge overlooking the ghát stands the temple of Dán Ráe.

Of late years, the paramount power has been repeatedly solicited by the Bharat-pur Rájá to cede him Gobardhan in exchange for other territory of equal value. It contains so many memorials of his ancestors that the request is a very natural one for him to make, and it must be admitted that the Bharat-pur frontier stands greatly in need of rectification. It would, however, be most impolitic for the Government to make the desired concession, and thereby lose all control over a place so important, both from its position and its associations, as Gobardhan.

The following legend in the Harivansa (cap. 94) must be taken to refer to the foundation of the town, though apparently it has never hitherto been noticed in that connection. Among the descendants of Ikshváku, who reigned at Ayodhya, was Haryasva, who took to wife Madhumati, the daughter of the giant Madhu. Being expelled from the throne by his elder brother, the king fled for refuge to the court of his father-in-law, who received him most affectionately, and ceded him the whole of his dominions, excepting only the capital Madhuvana, which he reserved for his son Lavana. Thereupon, Haryasva built, on the sacred Girivara, a new royal residence, and consolidated the kingdom of Anarta, to which he subsequently annexed the country of Arúpa, or (as it is otherwise and preferably read) Anúpa. The third in descent from Yadu, the son and successor of Haryasva, was Bhíma, in whose reign Ráma, the then sovereign of Ayodhya, commissioned Satrughna to destroy Lavana's fort of Madhuvana, and erect in its stead the town of Mathurá. After the departure of its founder, Mathurá was annexed by Bhíma, and continued in the possession of his descendants down to Vasudeva. The most important lines in the text run thus :—

Haryásvascha mahátejá divye Girivarottame
Nivesayamása puram vásartham amaropamah
Anartam náma tadrashtram suráshtram Godhanáyutam.
Achirenaíva kálena samriddham pratyapádyata
Anúpa-vishayam chaiva vela-vana-vibhushitam.

From the occurrence of the words Giri-vara and Godhana, and the declared proximity to Mathurá, it is clear that the capital of Haryasva must have been situate on the Giri-ráj of Gobardhan ; and it is probable that the country of Anúpa was to some extent identical with the more modern Braj. Anúpa is once mentioned, in an earlier canto of the poem, as having been bestowed by king Prithu on the bard Súta. The name Anarta occurs also in canto X., where it is stated to have been settled by king Reva, the son of Saryáti, who made Kusasthali its capital. In the Rámáyana IV., 43, it is described as a western region on the sea-coast, or at all events in that direction, and

has therefore been identified with Gujarát. Thus there would seem to have been an intimate connection between Gujarát and Mathurá, long anterior to Krishna's foundation of Dwáraká.

BARSÁNA.

Barsána, according to modern Hindu belief the home of Krishna's favourite mistress Rádhá, is a town which enjoyed a brief period of great prosperity about the middle of last century. It is built at the foot and on the slope of a ridge, originally dedicated to the god Brahma, which rises abruptly from the plain, near the Bharat-pur border of the Chháta Pargana, to a height of some 200 feet at its extreme point, and runs in a south-westerly direction for about a quarter of a mile. Its summit is crowned by a series of temples in honour of Lárli-Jí, a local title of Rádhá, meaning 'the beloved.' These were all erected at intervals within the last two hundred years, and now form a connected mass of building with a lofty wall enclosing the court in which they stand. Each of the successive shrines was on a somewhat grander scale than its predecessor, and was for a time honoured with the presence of the divinity, but even the last and largest, in which she is now enthroned, is an edifice of no special pretension; though seated, as it is, on the very brow of the rock, and seen in conjunction with the earlier buildings, it forms an imposing feature in the landscape to the spectator from the plain below. A long flight of stone steps, broken about half way by a temple in honour of Rádhá's grandfather, Mahibhán, leads down from the summit to the foot of the hill, where are two other small temples. One of them is dedicated to Rádhá's female companions, called the Sakhis, who are eight in number, as follows: Lalitá, Visákhá, Champaká-latá, Ranga-devi, Chitra-lekha, Dulekhá, Sudevi, and Chandrávali. The other contains a life-size image of the mythical Brikh-bhán robed in appropriate costume and supported on the one side by his daughter Rádhá, and on the other by Sridáma, a Pauráník character, here for the nonce represented as her brother.

The town consists almost entirely of magnificent mansions all in ruins, and lofty but crumbling walls now enclosing vast, desolate, dusty areas, which once were busy courts and markets or secluded pleasure grounds. All date from the time of Rúp Rám, a Katára Bráhman, who, having acquired great reputation as a Pandit in the earlier part of last century, became Purohit to Bharat-pur, Sindhia,* and Holkar, and was enriched by those princes with the most lavish donations, the whole of which he appears to have expended on the embellish-

* It appears that Barsána was an occasional residence of Mádho Ráo Sindhia; for a treaty of his with the Company, regarding trade at Baroch, dated the 30th of September, 1785, was signed by him there, as also the supplementary article dated the following January.

ment of Barsána and the other sacred places within the limits of Braj, his native country. Before his time, Barsána, if inhabited at all, was a mere hamlet of the adjoining village Unchá-gánw, which now, under its Gújar landlords, is a mean and miserable place, though it boasts the remains of a fort and an ancient and well-endowed temple, dedicated to Baladeva. Rúp Rám was the founder of one of the now superseded temples of Lárli-Jí, with the stone staircase up the side of the hill. He also constructed the largest market-place in the town, with as many, it is said, as sixty-four walled gardens; a princely mansion for his own residence; several small temples and chapels, and other courts and pavilions. One of the latter, a handsome arcaded building of carved stone, has for some years past been occupied by the Government as a police-station without any award of compensation, though the present representative of the family is living on the spot and is an absolute pauper. Three *chhattris*, commemorating Rúp Rám himself and two of his immediate relatives, stand by the side of a large stone tank with broad flights of steps and flanking towers, which he restored and brought into its present shape. This is esteemed sacred and commonly called Bhánokhar, that is, the tank of Brkhaṭ-bhán, Rádhá's reputed father. In connection with it is a smaller reservoir, named after her mother Kírat. On the margin of the Bhánokhar is a pleasure-house in three stories, known as the Jal-mahall. It is supported on a series of vaulted colonnades which open direct on to the water, for the convenience of the ladies of the family, who were thus enabled to bathe in perfect seclusion, as the two tanks and the palace are all enclosed in one court-yard by a lofty bastioned and embattled wall with tower-like gateways.* Besides these works, Rúp Rám also constructed another large masonry tank for the convenience of a hamlet in the neighbourhood, which he settled and called after his own name Rúp-nagar; and on the opposite side of the town, in the village of Gházipur, faced with octagonal stone ghâts, the sacred lake called Prem Sarovar. Opposite the latter is a walled garden with an elegant domed monument, in the form of a Greek cross, to his brother Hem-ráj.

Contemporary with Rúp Rám, two other wealthy families resided at Barsána and were his rivals in magnificence. The head of the one family was Mohan Rám, a Lavaniya Bráhman; and of the other Lálji, a Tantia Thákur. It is said that the latter was by birth merely a common labourer, who went off to Lakhnau to make his fortune. There he became first a Harkára, then a jamadár, and eventually the leading favourite at court. Towards the close of his life he begged permission to return to his native place and there leave some permanent memorial of the royal favour. The Nawáb not only granted the request, but further presented him with *carte blanche* on the state treasury

* Both the house and Bhánokhar have been considerably damaged by the new proprietor, who has removed many of the larger slabs of stone.

for the prosecution of his designs. Besides the stately mansion, now much dilapidated, he constructed a large *báoli*, still in excellent preservation, and two wells, sunk at great expense in sandy tracts where previously all irrigation had been impracticable.

The sacred tank on the outskirts of the town called Priya-kund, or Pírí-pokhar, was faced with stone by the Lavaniyas, who are further commemorated by a large *katra*, or market-place, the ruins of the vast and elaborate mansion where they resided, and by elegant stone *chhattris* at the foot of the hill. They held office under the Rájá of Bharat-pur, and their present representative, Rám Náráyan, is now Tahsíldár of Káma in that territory.

Barsána had scarcely been built, when, by the fortune of war, it was destroyed beyond all hope of restoration, as has already been related in Chapter II. of this memoir, page 26. As if this blow were not enough, in the year 1812 it sustained a further misfortune, when the Gaurua Thákurs, its zamindárs, being in circumstances of difficulty, and probably distrustful of the stability of British rule, then only recently established, were mad enough to transfer their whole estate to the oft-quoted Lálá Bábú for the paltry sum of Rs. 602 and the condition of holding land on rather more favourable terms than other tenants. The parish now yields Government an annual rental of Rs. 3,109, and the absentee landlords about as much, while it receives nothing from them in return, though their donations for charitable purposes in the neighbourhood of their own home in Bengal are often on a magnificent scale. Thus the appearance now presented by Barsána is a most forlorn and melancholy one.

The hill is still, to a limited extent, known as *Brahma-ká-pahár* or Brahma's hill: and hence it may be inferred with certainty that Barsána is a corruption of the Sanskrit compound *Brahma-sánu*, which bears the same meaning. Its four prominent peaks are regarded as emblematic of the four-faced divinity, and are each crowned with some building; the first with the group of temples dedicated to Lárli Jí, the other three with smaller edifices, known respectively as the Mán-Mandir, the Dán-garh and the Mor-Kutti. A second hill, of less extent and elevation, completes the amphitheatre in which the town is set, and the space between the two ranges gradually contracts to a narrow path which barely allows a single traveller on foot to pass between the shelving crags that tower above him on either side. This pass is famous as the Sánkari-khor,* literally 'the narrow opening,' and is the scene of a *mela* (called the Búrhi Líla) on the 13th of the month of Bhádon, often attended by as many as 10,000 people. The crowds divide according to their sex, and cluster about the rocks round two little shrines erected on either side of the ravine for the temporary

* A similar use of the local form *Khor*, for *Khol*, may be observed in the village of Khaira, where is a pond called Chintá-Khori Kund, corresponding to the more common Sanskrit compound Chinta-harana.

reception of figures of Rádhá and Krishna, and indulge to their heart's content in all the licentious banter appropriate to the occasion. At the other mouth of the pass is a deep dell between the two high peaks of the Mán-Mandir and the Mor-Kutti with a masonry tank in the centre of a dense thicket called the Gahrwar-ban: and a principal feature in the diversions of the day is the scrambling of sweetmeats by the better class of visitors, seated on the terraces of the 'Peacock Pavilion' above, among the multitudes that throng the margin of the tank some 150 feet below.

The essentially Hindi form of the title Lárlí, equivalent to the Sanskrit Lalitá, may be taken as an indication of the modern growth of the local cultus. Even in the Brahma Vaivarta, the last of the Puránas, and the one specially devoted to Rádhá's praises, there is no authority for any such appellation. In the Vraja-bhakti-vilása the *mantra* or formula of incantation which the prilgrims are instructed to repeat runs as follows :—

Lalitá-sanyutam krishnam sarvaishu sakhibhir yutam.
Dhyáye tri-veni-kúpa-stham mahá-rása-kritotsavam.

NAND-GÁNW.

Nand-gánw, as the reputed home of Krishna's foster-father, with its spacious temple of Nand Ráe Jí on the brow of the hill overlooking the village, is in all respects an exact parallel to Barsána. The distance between the two places is only five miles, and when the *nakára* is beaten at the one, it can be heard at the other. The temple of Nand Ráe, though large, is in a clumsy style of architecture, and apparently dates only from the middle of last century. Its founder is said to have been one Rúp Sinh, a Sinsinwár Ját. It consists of an open nave, with choir and sacrarium beyond, the latter being flanked on either side by a Rasoi and a Sej-mahall, and has two towers, or *sikharas*. It stands in the centre of a paved court-yard, surrounded by a lofty wall with corner kiosks, which command a very extensive view of the Bharat-pur hills and the level expanse of the Mathurá District as far as Gobardhan. The village, which clusters at the foot and on the slope of the rock is, for the most part, of a mean description, but contains a few handsome houses, more especially one erected by the famous Rúp Rám of Barsána. With the exception of one temple dedicated to Manasá Devi, all the remainder bear some title of the one popular divinity, such as Nar-sinha, Gopínáth, Nritya-Gopál, Giridhári, Nanda-nandan, Rádhá-Mohan, and Jasodá-nandan. This last is on a larger scale than the others, and stands in a court-yard of its own, half way up the hill. It is much in the same style and apparently of the same date as the temple of Naud-Ráe, or probably a little older. An opinion which is confirmed

by its being mentioned in the *mantra*, which runs as follows :— *Yasodá—nandanam bande nanda-gráma--vanádhipam.* A flight of 114 broad steps, constructed of well-wrought stone from the Bharat-pur quarries, leads from the level of the plain up to the steep and narrow street which terminates at the main entrance of the great temple. This staircase was made at the cost of Bábu Gaur Prasád of Calcutta, in the year 1818 A. D. At the foot of the hill is a large unfinished square with a range of stone buildings on one side for the accommodation of dealers and pilgrims, constructed by Suraj Mal's Ráni, the Ráni Kishorí. At the back is an extensive garden with some fine *khirní* trees, the property of the Rájá of Bharat-pur. They are, however, gradually disappearing, one by one every year, and no attempt made to replace them. A little beyond this is the sacred lake called Pán Sarovar, a magnificent sheet of water with noble masonry ghâts on all its sides, the work of one of the Rájás of Bardwán. It measures 810 feet by 378, and therefore covers all but six acres. It is said to be designed in the form of a ship ; but the resemblance is not very apparent to an uninformed observer. This is one of the four lakes of highest repute in Braj ; the others being the Chandra-sarovar at Parsoli by Gobardhan, the Prem-sarovar at Ghâzipur near Barsána, and the Mán-sarovar at Arua in the Mát Pargana. According to popular belief, there are within the limits of Nandgánw no less than fifty-six smaller lakes or *kunds ;* though it is admitted that in this degenerate age all of them are not readily visible. In every instance the name is commemorative of Krishna and his pastoral occupations. Like Barsána and so many other of the holy places, Nandgánw is part of the estate of the representatives of the Lálá Bábu, who, in 1811 A. D., acquired it in free gift from the then zamíndárs.

If the few squalid buildings which at present disfigure the square at the foot of the hill were removed, and replaced by a well, or temple, or other public edifice, and the line of shops completed on the other side, an exceedingly picturesque effect might be secured at a comparatively small cost. But it is needless to expect any local improvements from the absentee landlords, while the inhabitants are too impoverished to have a thought for anything beyond their daily bread.

The above sketch has entered rather largely into details regarding two comparatively unimportant places. But the intention has been first to rescue from oblivion the name of a local worthy, who has been somewhat hardly treated by posterity ; and secondly, to illustrate by a view of the fortunes of one small town, a curious transitional period in Indian history. After a checquered existence of five hundred years, there expired with Aurangzeb all the vital energy of the Muhammadan empire. The English power, its fated successor, was yet unconscious of its destiny and all reluctant to advance any claim to the vacant throne. Every petty chieftain, as for example Bharat-pur, scorning the

narrow limits of his ancestral domains, pressed forward to grasp the glittering prize; and spared no outlay in the attempt to enlist in his service the ablest men of any nationality, either like Sumroo to lead his armies in the field, or like Rúp Rám to direct his counsels in the cabinet. Thus men, whatever their rank in life, if only endowed by nature with genius or audacity, rose in an incredibly short space of time from obscurity to all but regal power. The wealth so rapidly secured was as profusely lavished; nor was there any object in hoarding, when the next chance of war would either increase the treasure ten-fold, or transfer it bodily to a victorious rival. Thus, a hamlet became in one day the centre of a princely court, crowded with magnificent buildings, and again, ere the architect had well completed his design, sunk with its founders into utter ruin and desolation.

END OF PART I.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

PAGE 1. *Add at end of paragraph:*—The simplest and most satisfactory plan of all would be to make—with the Agra District—an exchange of the Jalesar for the Farrah Pargana.

PAGE 7.—Among the other peculiarities of the Mathuríya Chaubes, it should have been noted that they are very celebrated as wrestlers.

PAGE 17, line 2.—I am now informed that there is an old saráe at Hodal—a place out of the district, and also out of the Province, whence my want of more definite knowledge concerning it. Thus, De Laet's inaccuracy on this point consists only in his omission of the saráe at Kosi, one of the most important of the series.

PAGE 20.—Some lines of the Suni Sár, it may be curious to notice, are almost literally translated from the Vedánta Sára of Sadánanda Parivrájaká-chárya.

PAGE 44, line 21.—Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, is authority for the fact that Pantœnus, the teacher of Clemens Alexandrinus, preached in India in the second century, and brought back with him to Alexandria a copy of the Hebrew Gospel of S. Matthew. S. Chrysostom also speaks of a translation into the Indian tongue of a Christian Gospel or Catechism.

PAGE 49. *Add to second note:*—In the Padma Purána, the name of Rádhá's mother is given as Srí Kírrtidá.

PAGE 74.—It should have been noted that the speculations regarding Ptolemy's Kasperia are borrowed from an article of Professor H. H. Wilson's.

PAGE 78, line 10.—The sculptures are clearly of different dates, being probably successive contributions to a temple which was in existence for some hundreds of years; but the eleventh century after Christ seems much too modern a date for any of them.

PAGE 78, line 17.—A female figure of very similar character is figured at page 36 of Mr. Oldham's Memoir of Gházipur, among the antiquities found at a place which he calls Aonreehar.

PAGE 80. *For line* 12, *read:*—If there ever was any building on the Kankáli tíla at all, it must have been, &c.

PAGE 80, line 16.—*Dele the words* "The town, no doubt, always stood on the water's edge, but"

PAGE 93, line 20.—*For* 'Gaur' *read* Sárasvat.

PAGE 94. *Add after line* 24:—A little below the Sámi Ghát is a small mosque and group of tombs commemorating a Muhammadan Saint, Makhdúm Sháh Wiláyat, of Hirát. The tombs date apparently from the sixteenth century, and the architecture is in all its details so essentially of Hindu design, that, were it not for the word 'Allah,' introduced here and there into the sculptured decorations, there would be nothing to distinguish them from Hindu Chhattris.

PAGE 96, line 22.—*After* 'barber' *insert the word* who.

PAGE 101, line 32.—*Add*, Some of the brass *thális*, or salvers, are embossed with tasteful designs, and are of more finished execution.

PAGE 103. *Add at line* 19.—The foundations of the new Catholic Church, to be dedicated to the Sacred Heart, were laid on the 18th of January, 1874, being the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus. The works are under the control of the writer, who hopes, so far as very limited funds allow, to innovate on established usage by the introduction of several novel architectural features, or rather by the novel application to Christian ecclesiology of local materials and local forms of design. Hitherto, our Indian church-builders have been content to disfigure the land with clumsy reproductions of gothic details worked up on eminently un-gothic principles: the effect has yet to be tried of what seems a more promising experiment, *viz.*, the combination of gothic principles with Indian details.

PAGE 115, line 16.—In the Padma Purána, Rádhá's incarnation is explained in somewhat different fashion: that Vishnu, being enamoured of Vrindá, the wife of Jalandhara, the gods, in their desire to cure him of his guilty passion, begged of Lakshmi the gift of certain seeds. These, when sown, came up as the *tulsi*, *málati*, and *dhátri* plants, which assumed female forms of such beauty that Vishnu on seeing them lost all regard for the former object of his affections.

PAGE 115, line 18.—' Exhaustive' is scarcely the correct word to use, since the full number of Rádhá's titles amounts to as many as 108.

PAGE 134, line 31: *read* his four cousins, Girischandra, Púranchandra, Kánti-chandra and Sarad-chandra.

PAGE 145, line 3 from bottom : *for* ' Chan ' *read* Chand.

PAGE 145, last line : *for* ' Subhaum bhavat' *read* Subham bhavatu.

PAGE 160. *Add to line* 28.—The Gosáin has now converted this annual grant into a permanent endowment.

PAGE 161. *Add at end of section.*—A large trade is done at Gokul in the manufacture of silver toys and ornaments—figures of peacocks, cows, and other animals and devices—which are principaly purchased as souvenirs by pilgrims. The designs are very conventional, and the work roughly finished; but considerable taste is often displayed, and when better models are supplied, they are copied with much readiness and ingenuity. The trade has been largely encouraged by Lord Ralph Kerr and other officers of the 10th Royal Hussars

who have been purchasers to the extent of more than Rs. 1,000. The articles being of pure silver, are sold for their weight in rupees with the addition of two anas in the rupee for the work, unless it is exceptionally well finished, when a somewhat higher rate is demanded.

Page 174. *Add to line* 24.—In the garden attached to the principal Chhattri is a house, the property of the Rájá, which is obligingly placed at the disposal of European visitors.

Page 175. *Add to line* 27.—For many years past one of the most striking sights of Gobardhan has been an aged Hindu ascetic, who had bound himself by a vow of absolute silence. Whatever the hour of the day, or time of the year, or however long the interval that might have elapsed since a previous visit, a stranger was sure to find him sitting exactly on the same spot and in the same position, as if he had never once stirred; a slight awning suspended over his head, and immediately in front of him a miniature shrine containing an emblem of the god. The half century, which was the limit of his vow, has at length expired; but his tongue, bound for so many years, has now lost the power of uttering any articulate sound. In a little dog-kennel at the side sits another devotee, with his legs crossed under him, ready to enter into conversation with all comers, and looking one of the happiest and most contented of mortals; though the cell in which he has immured himself is so confined that he can neither stand up nor lie down in it.

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J. F. Campbell
Pickering Lodge Kensington
May. 1877. From the Author

श्रीः

काशी काञ्ची च मायाख्या त्वयोध्या द्वारवत्यपि
मथुरावन्तिका चैताः सप्त पुर्योऽत्र मोक्षदाः ॥

सर्वेषां देवतीर्थानां माथुरं परमं महत्

MATHURÁ:

A

DISTRICT MEMOIR.

PART II.

BY

F. S. GROWSE, M.A.,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

1874.

PRINTED AT THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES' GOVERNMENT PRESS.

न केशवसमो देवो न माथुरसमो द्विजः ॥

मथुरायां कृतं पापं तत्रैवच विनश्यति

श्रीः

TO THE READER.

In consequence of the official practice of spelling all Indian names phonetically, the following village lists acquire an accidental value for the philologist, as being probably the only attempt yet made to exhibit with accuracy and completeness the local nomenclature of the whole of a definite tract of country.

In preparing such a catalogue there are three main impediments to be surmounted:—*first*, the dullness of the English ear in distinguishing between dental and cerebral letters, and in detecting the presence or otherwise of an aspirate. Hence the difficulty so frequently experienced in telling *sát*, 'seven,' from *sáṭh*, 'sixty'; *Jáṭ* from *jáṭ;* and *lât*, 'a kick,' from *laṭh*, 'a club': though in these two particulars a native of the country is never at fault. *Secondly*, the dullness of the Indian ear in distinguishing between the short vowels, which constantly leads to the substitution in vulgar writing of *i* for *a;* and *thirdly*, the fancy of office clerks for assimilating Hindí words which they do not understand to Persian words of somewhat kindred sound, from which they imagine them to have been corrupted. In my first draft the errors arising from these causes were numerous, and it is possible that some may yet remain for future elimination.

A study of the lists suggests two remarks of some little importance in the history of language. *First*, so many names that at a hasty glance appear utterly unmeaning can be positively traced back to original Sanskrit forms as to raise a presumption that the remainder—though more effectually disguised—will ultimately be found capable of similar treatment: a strong argument being thus afforded against those scholars who maintain that the modern Vernacular is impregnated with a very large non-Aryan element. *Secondly*, the course of phonetic decay in all its stages is so strictly in accord with the rules laid down by the Prákrit Grammarians,

as to demonstrate that the Prákrit of the dramas (to which the rules particularly apply), even though extinct at the time when the dramas were composed for the delectation of a specially learned audience, had once been the popular language of the country, and as Anglo-Saxon imperceptibly developed into modern English, so has Prúkrit been transmuted into modern Hindí—more by the gradual loss of its inflections than by the violent operation of any external influences.

MATHURÁ :
May 10*th*, 1874. } F. S. GROWSE.

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PART II.

I.—PARGANA KOSI.

The Pargana of Kosi is the most northern of the three on the western side of the Jamuná and borders on the district of Gurgáon. It is the smallest of the Mathurá seven, having an area of 152 square miles, or 97,301 acres, and yields an annual revenue of Rs. 1,52,013. Its villages, only sixty-one in number, with six exceptions are all *bhaiyáchári*, divided into infinitesimal shares among the whole of the community ; so that, barring a few shopkeepers and menial servants, every resident is to some extent a proprietor. In the ordinary course of events, all would be not only members of the same caste, but also descendants of one man, the founder of the settlement ; but in many instances, in spite of the right of pre-emption, several of the subordinate shares have been bought up by outsiders. A fresh assessment is made privately every year; and, according to the amount of land actually under cultivation, each tenant-proprietor pays his quota, at so much per bígha, into the treasury, and enjoys the remaining profits as his private income. The Government demand is realized through the head-men or *lumberdars*, of whom there are several in each village. As a natural result of this minute sub-division of estates, there is not a single landed proprietor in the whole pargana of any social distinction. The two wealthiest inhabitants are both traders in the town of Kosi,—Chunni Lál, son of Mohan Lál, and Kusháli Rám, son of Lál Jí Mall, with incomes of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 4,943, respectively. The former has no land at all, the other owns one small village.

Of the six zamindári villages, only two were so previous to the last settlement ; *viz.*, Pákhar-pur, the property of Kusháli Rám above mentioned, and Jáu, a purchase of the Lálá Bábú. The other four have acquired their exceptional character only within the last few years; Garhi having been bought from the Játs by Sah Kundan Lál, of Lakhnau ; Majhoi and Rám-pur having been conferred, after the mutiny, on Rájá Gobind Sinh, of Háthras, and Chanki on Shiv Sahay Mall, of Delhi, at the same time. One mahál of Chaundras has also quite recently been constituted into a zamindári ; and two or three other villages, now in the hands of money-lending mortgagees, will probably become so before long.

The Muhammadans number only 8,668 out of a total population of 74,219, and, with the exception of a few scattered families, are almost confined to seven places, *viz.*, Barha, Bisambhara, Dotána, Jalál-pur, Kosi, Mahroli, and Sháh-pur.

At three of these, *viz.*, Bisambhara, Dotána and Jalál-pur, they even slightly outnumber the Hindús.

The predominant Hindú castes are Játs, Gauruas, and Jádons, and there are also a considerable number of Gújars, though these latter have now in every place ceased to be proprietors. They muster stronger in the adjoining pargana of Chhátá, and were ringleaders of disaffection during the mutiny. In consequence, eight of their villages—Majhoi and Rám-pur in Kosi; Basái, Husaini, Jatwári, Karáhri, Khursi, and Ujhání in Chhátá—were confiscated and conferred on Rájá Gobind Sinh. They had previously disposed of their four other Chhátá villages, Chamar-garhi, Dhímri, Gulál-pur and Pír-pur, to the Lálá Bábú. The course of years has not reconciled the ejected community to their changed circumstances, and so recently as the 29th of September, 1872, the widowed Ráni's agent, Jay Rám Sinh, was, in result of a general conspiracy, barbarously murdered at night while sleeping in the Jatwári *chaupál*. Six of the murderers were apprehended, and, after conviction of the crime, were sentenced to death, but one escaped from the jail before the sentence was executed. In the year 1857, the period during which there was no recognition of any government whatever extended from the 12th of July to the 5th of December. With the exception of the Gújars, who assembled at Sher-garh and distinctly declared themselves independent, there was little or no ill-feeling towards the British Crown expressed by any class of the population; though many persons took advantage of the favourable opportunity for paying off old scores against ill neighbours, and especially for avenging themselves on their natural enemies—the *Patwáris* or village accountants and *Bohras* or money-lenders. Thus there was a pitched battle between Hatána and the adjoining village of Bánswa in Gurgáon; the patwáris at Barha and Bisambhara had all their papers destroyed; at Pákhar-pur, Gangá Dán, bohra, was plundered by the zamindárs of Kádona and Sirthala; at Kotban, Dhan-ráj, bohra, was only set at liberty on payment of a ransom; and at Little Bathan, Lekhráj, bohra, after seeing all his papers seized and burnt, was himself put to death. The Játs of Kámar, after plundering Moti Rám, bohra, proceeded to turn the police out of the place, and raised a flame which spread across the border into the adjoining district; but they afterwards atoned for this indiscretion by the assistance which they gave to the Deputy Collector, Imdád 'Ali, in suppressing the Gújars.*

The trees most commonly found growing wild in the pargana are the *ním* and the *pílú*, while every piece of waste ground (and there are several such tracts of large extent,) is dotted with clumps of *karíl*. The soil is not suited to the growth of the mango, and there are scarcely any considerable groves either of

* The Akhond of Swát, the virtual ruler of all the independent tribes from Kábul to Pesháwar and from Swát to Sindh, is a Gújar by descent, and maintains the traditions of his race in his inveterate antipathy to the British Government.

that or indeed of any other tree; the one at Sháh-pur being the only notable exception. Of the total area of 97,301 acres, there are 71,490 of arable land; the crops most extensively grown being *joár*, *chaná*, and barley. The wheat sold at the Kosi market comes chiefly from across the Jamuná. The number of wells has been much increased in late years and is now put at 1,379, of which 846 are of masonry construction. The Jamuná which forms the eastern boundary of the pargana, is crossed by ferries at Sháh-pur, Khairál and Majhoi. The new Agra Canal will pass through the villages of Hatána, Kharot, Hasanpur Nagara, Kosi, Azíz-pur, Tumaula, and Dham Sinha, a length of ten miles, and will be bridged at Kharot, Kosi, Azíz-pur, and Tumaula. The high road to Delhi traverses the centre of the pargana, passing through the town of Kosi and the villages of Kotban, Azíz-pur and Dotána; and from the town of Kosi there is a first-class unmetalled road to Sher-garh, a distance of eleven miles. The *Halkabandi* or Primary schools are twelve in number, being one for every five villages, an unusually favourable average: the attendance, however, is scarcely so good as in some other parts of the district; as it is difficult to convince a purely agricultural population that tending cattle is not always the most profitable occupation in which boys can be employed.

In addition to the capital, there are only four places which merit special notice, *viz.*, Bathan, Dotána, Kámar and Sháh-pur.

Kosi is a flourishing municipality and busy market town, twenty-six miles from the city of Mathurá, most advantageously situated in the very centre of the pargana to which it gives a name and on the high road to Delhi. As this road was only constructed as a relief work in the famine of 1860, it avoids all the most densely inhabited quarters, and the through traveller sees little from it but mud walls and the backs of houses. The Agra Canal, which will probably be opened in 1875, runs nearly parallel to it still further back, and a bridge has already been built at the point where it crosses the road leading to Majhoi and Sher-garh. A second bridge is in course of construction at Azíz-pur, a mile out of the town on the road to Mathurá.

The zamindárs are Játs, Shaikhs, and Bráhmans; but the population, which amounts to 12,770, consists chiefly of baniyas and Muhammadan *kasáís* (or butchers) who are attracted to the place by its large trade in cotton and cattle. It is estimated that about 75,000 *mans* of cotton are collected in the course of the year and sent on down to Calcutta.*

The *nakhkhás*, or cattle market, is of large extent and supplied with every convenience—a fine masonry well, long ranges of feeding troughs, &c. On every beast sold, the zamindárs levy a toll of two anas, and the Chaudharis as much; in consideration for which payment they are bound to maintain two chaukídárs,

* The outturn of cotton for the whole district was estimated in the year 1872-73 at 225,858 *mans*, the exportation therefore must be very considerable.

for watch and ward, and also to keep the place clean and in repair. Prices, of course, vary considerably, but the following may be taken as the average rates:—Well-bullocks from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60 each; cart-bullocks from Rs. 50 to 75; a cow from Rs. 15 to 50; a calf from Rs. 10 to 30; a buffalo from Rs. 25 to 50; and a male buffalo calf from Rs. 2 to 10. There are two market days every week, on Tuesday and Wednesday; and in 1868-69, when a tax of one and a quarter ana was levied on every beast sold, it yielded as much as Rs. 2,188-13-0: the zamindárs' receipts at two anas a head and the Chaudharis' at the same rate amounted to Rs. 3,502 2-0 each. Taking Rs. 25 as an average price per head, which would be rather below than above the mark, the number of cattle changing hands in the course of the year was 700,425. The exports of grain are put at 200,000 *mans;* and there are in the town some 100 *khattás*, or cellars, ordinarily well filled with reserve stores for the consumption not only of the residents, but also of the numerous travellers passing up and down the great thoroughfare on which the town stands, and who naturally take in at Kosi several days' supplies, both for themselves and their cattle. There is also a very considerable business done in country cloth; as all the villages in the neighbourhood are purely agricultural, and supply most of their wants from the one central mart.

As the town lies in a hollow, it is liable to be flooded after a few days' continuance of heavy rain by a torrent which pours in upon it from Hodal. This was the case in 1873, when much damage was done to house property; and the subsequent drying up of the waters—which was a tedious process, there being no outlet for their escape—was attended with very general and serious sickness. The only remedy lies in developing the natural line of drainage, the course of which is marked in the accompanying sketch. The necessity of some such operation has forced itself upon the notice of the canal department, and it is probable that before very long some definite steps will be taken in the matter.

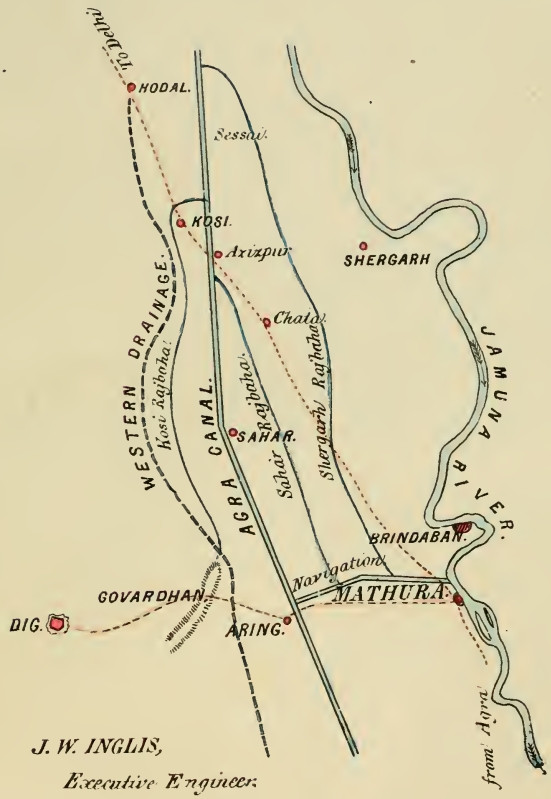
The income of the municipality is about Rs. 12,000 per annum: but this sum is a very inadequate test of the actual trade done, since there is no duty either on cotton or on cattle, excepting beasts intended for slaughter.

The area of the parish is 2,277 acres, on which the government demand used to be Rs. 6,700; but the assessment was proved to be too severe by the distress it caused to the zamindárs, and it has been reduced to Rs. 4,790.

The principal annual *melas* are—1st, the Dasahara, only started between forty and fifty years ago by Lalu Sinh, khattri, and Darbári Sinh, baniya; 2nd, the Muharram; and 3rdly, the Phúl-dol, on *Chait badi* 2, which is a general gathering for all the Játs of the Denda pál from Dah-gánw, Kot-ban, Nabi-pur, Umraura, and Nagara Hasan-pur.

In the centre of the town stands a large saráe, covering nine and a half bíghas of land, with high embattled walls, corner kiosques, and two arched gateways, all

THE AGRA CANAL
MATHURA DISTRICT.



J. W. INGLIS,
Executive Engineer.

of stone, ascribed to Khwájá I'tibár Khán, governor of Delhi, in the reign of the Emperor Akbar. On the inside there are ranges of vaulted apartments all round, and the principal bazár lies between the two gateways. The building is being repaired by the municipality at a cost of Rs. 4,000, and if the ground could be partially cleared and better laid out, it might form a remunerative property. At present it yields an income of between Rs. 300 and 400 a year, even that being a considerable increase on what had ever previously been realized. A large masonry tank, of nearly equal area with the saráe, dates from the same time, and is called the Ratnákar Kund, or more commonly the ' pakka taláo.' Unfortunately it is always dry except during the rains. The municipality were desirous of having it repaired, but it was found that the cost would amount to Rs. 3,500, a larger sum than the funds could afford. The enclosing walls are twenty feet high and the exact measurement is 620 by 400 feet. Three other tanks bear the names of Mayá-kund, Bisákha-kund and Gomati-kund; in allusion to places so styled at the holy city of Dwáraká, or Kusasthali—a circumstance which has given rise to, or at least confirms, the popular belief that Kosi is only a contraction of Kusasthali. It is, however, more probable that the name Kosi is connected with the adjoining sacred grove of Kot-ban, as Társi in the Mathurá pargana with Tál-ban. There are a few handsome and substantial private houses in the quarter of the town called Baladeva Ganj; but as a rule the shops and other buildings have a very mean appearance; and though there are a number of Hindú temples and four mosques, they, too, are all quite modern and few have any architectural pretensions.

The Sarángis, or Jainis, have also three temples, dedicated respectively to Padma-Prabhu, the sixth of the Jinas or Tírthánkaras; Nem-náth or Arishtanemi, the twenty-second; and Mahávíra, or Varddhamána, the twenty-fourth and last of the series,* who is supposed to have died about the year 500 B. C. A *mela* or festival is held at the temple of Nem-náth, which is the smallest and most modern of the three, on the day after the full moon of Bhádon, when water is brought for the ablution of the idol from a well in a garden at some little distance. Any processional display, or beating of drums, or uttering of a party cry is so certain to result in a riot that extra police are always told off to prevent anything of the kind and to confine every religious demonstration strictly within the walls of the temple. The antipathy to the rival faith on the part of the Vaishnava Hindus is so strong that it is ordinarily expressed by saying that it would be better, on meeting a mad elephant in a narrow street, to stand still and be trampled to death than to escape by crossing the threshhold of a Jaini temple.

* Each Tírthánkara has his own distinctive sign: Mahávíra, a lion; Padma-Prabhu, a lotus; Nem-nath, a conch; Chandra-Prabhu, a moon, &c.; and it is only by these marks that they can be distinguished from one another as all are sculptured in the same attitude.

As regards the essential matters of conservancy, water supply and road communication, the condition of the town is satisfactory and has been much improved by municipal action. Most of the streets are either metalled or paved, and lighted by lamps at night; a neat dispensary has been opened and is well attended, though as yet it has no accommodation for in-door patients; and an office has been built in which the committee holds its meetings. The ground between the dispensary and the municipal offices is being laid out as a garden for the supply of fruit and vegetables and as a decorative feature at the entrance of the town. A new cotton market is also in course of construction with lines of substantial brick-built and stone-fronted shops of uniform design, arranged on three sides of a square which has been secured and levelled for the purpose. Rs. 6,000 have already been expended, and in order to secure the speedier completion of a work which will so much improve both the appearance of the town and also the finances of the municipality, a loan of Rs. 12,000 has been contracted, with the sanction of Government, to be repaid in the course of four years by half-yearly instalments, beginning from October, 1874. In the progress of the works an illustration was afforded of the extraordinary mania with which the local baniyas are possessed for hoarding large quantities of grain. This they do in the hope that a year of famine will come when they will be able to realize a rapid fortune by selling their stores at enormously high rates. As the grain is simply thrown into a pit sunk in the ground and no precautions taken to preserve it from the damp, in a few years the greater part of it becomes quite unfit for human consumption, and its sale would only increase the general distress by spreading disease. This, however, is a consideration which has no influence on the mind of a baniya: he has a fixed method of squaring accounts with Providence, and holds that the foundation of a sumptuous temple, at the close of his life, is an ample atonement for all sins of fraud and peculation, and the only one which Divine justice is entitled to demand from him. Such a pit came to light after the heavy rains of 1873. Five of the shops then in course of construction began to settle and give way to such an extent that they had to be taken down. On digging a few feet below the foundations to ascertain, if possible, the cause of the accident, a subterranean granary was revealed with an invoice stating that it had been filled in *Sambat* 1898 (1841 A.D.), and contained in all 1,303 *mans* of different kinds of grain. The greater part of this was so much damaged that it had to be destroyed, and the sale of the remainder realized only Rs. 324.

The Tahsíli School numbers over 100 pupils, of whom about half are learning English; the attendance will no doubt be largely increased when the school is removed from its present crowded and otherwise objectionable quarters in the saráe to the more commodious premises now preparing for erection at a cost of Rs. 6,000. The Police, maintained by the municipality on an annual grant

of Rs. 1,800, are also located in a corner of the saráe, with an entrance made through the old wall directly on to the high road, opposite the paráo. The latter is the property of private individuals, who levy a toll on every animal or vehicle driven into its enclosure,—the rates being fixed by the municipality—and pay Rs. 10 a month for the monopoly.

On the 31st of May, 1857, the rebels on their march to Delhi stopped at Kosi and, after burning down the Customs bungalow and ransacking the police station, proceeded to plunder the tahsíli, but Rs. 150 was all that they found in the treasury there. The records were scattered to the four winds, but were to a great extent subsequently recovered. The Musalmáns of Dotána, the Játs of Azíz-pur, and the Gújars of Majhoi and Rám-pur lent a willing hand to any deed of mischief; but the townspeople and the inhabitants of the adjoining villages of Hasan-pur Nagara, Umraura, Dah-gánw and Nabi-pur, gave what assistance they could in maintaining order, and as an acknowledgment of their good behaviour one year's jama was remitted and a grant of Rs. 50 made to each lumberdár. The position of the town between Agra and Delhi and the strength of its fortified saráe have rendered it a place of some importance at other periods of local disturbance. Thus, in 1774, the Ját Rájá Ranjít Sinh, on his retreat to Barsána, occupied it for some time ; and again, in 1782, after the death of Najaf Khán, his nephew, Mirza Shafi, fled to it as a temporary refuge from before his rival Afrazyáb Khán.

Bathan, Great and Little, are two populous and extensive Ját villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Kosi. According to popular belief, the name is derived from the circumstance that Balaráma here 'sat down' *(baithen)* to wait for his brother Krishna ; but like so many of the older local names, which are now fancifully connected with some mythological incident, the word is really descriptive simply of the natural features of the spot ; *bathan* being still employed in some parts of India to denote a pasture-ground for cattle. In the same way Brindá-ban, 'the tulsi grove,' is now referred to a goddess Vrindá ; Loh-ban, 'the lodhri grove' to a demon Loha-jangha ; and even Kotban, 'the last of the groves,' to a demon Kota, whose head was tossed to Sirthala, and his hands brought to Hatána. On the outskirts of Great Bathan is an extensive sheet of water, with a masonry ghát built by Rúp Rám, the Katára of Barsána ; which, by its name Balbhadra-kund, has either occasioned, or at least serves to perpetuate, the belief that Balaráma was the eponymous hero of the place. At a distance of two miles is Kokila-ban, the most celebrated in Hindi poetry of all the woods of Braj; so much so, indeed, that the word is often used as a synonyme for 'the garden of Eden.' It comprises a wide and densely-wooded area, the trees becoming thicker and thicker towards the centre, where a pretty natural lake spreads cool and clear, and reflects in its deep still waters the over-hanging branches of a magnificent banyan

tree. It is connected with a masonry tank of very eccentric configuration, also the work of Rúp Rám; on the margin of which are several shrines and pavilions for the accommodation of pilgrims, who assemble here to the number of some 10,000, *Bhádon sudi* 10, when the Rás Lílá is celebrated. There is also a walled garden, planted by Ghan-pat Rám, a merchant of Kosi, with a variety of shrubs and fruit trees; but, like most native gardens, it is rapidly becoming a tangled and impenetrable jungle.

Between Kokila-ban and the village are two other holy places, called Kabír-ban and Pádar-Gangá. The origin of the word Pádar is obscure: it is interpreted by *hará*, 'green,' and therefore may be a corruption of the Sanskrit *pádapa*, 'a tree.'* At the Holanga *mela*, *Chait badi* 3, there is a concourse of some 15,000 to 16,000 people, and a sham fight takes place between the women of Bathan, who are armed with clubs, and the men from the adjoining village of Jáu, who defend themselves with bundles of *jhán* twigs.

At Little Bathan, a curious ridge of rock, called Charan Pahár, crops up above the ground, the stone being of precisely the same character as at Barsána and Nand-gánw. It was once proposed to utilize some of it for engineering purposes, but such strenuous objections were raised that the design was never carried into execution. This, it is said, was one of the places where Krishna most delighted to stop and play his flute, and many of the stones still bear the impress of his feet. The hill is of very insignificant dimensions, having an average height of only some twenty or thirty feet, and a total length of at most a quarter of a mile. It is environed by a small belt of jungle, in which may be found almost every variety of the curious inedible fruits for which Braj is noted, *viz.*, the karíl, pílú, pasendu, hingot, barna, and anján-rúkh. A little beyond the neighbouring town of Kámar, just across the Gurgáon border, is a very similar ridge called the Bichor hill, from a large village of that name.

Dotána is a Muhammadan village on the high road between Kosi and Chhátá with a number of old buildings which are sure to attract the traveller's attention. There are seven large tombs dating from the time of Sháh-jahán and Aurangzeb if not earlier (there are no inscriptions) and three mosques of the same period, erected respectively by Ináyat-ullah Khán, Kázi Haidar Khán, and Ruh-ullah Khán. There is also a masonry tank constructed by Shaikhs Hudhan and Jaman, a modern mosque founded by Abd-ul Barkát, and four small gardens. Many of the large brick houses in the village are in a most ruinous condition, and the zamindárs are now in poor circumstances. In the mutiny they joined the rebels in plundering the Kosi Tahsíli, and part of their estate was confiscated and bestowed on Kunwar Shám Prasád, a Kashmíri, at present Tahsíldar of Mahá-ban, who has transferred it to his sister, Maháraní. The

* It is mentioned by name in the Vraja-bhakti-vilása as पाडरवन

name Dotána is thought to be derived from Dánton, a tooth-brush, and if so, is rather suggestive of Buddhist legends. The place is mentioned by Bishop Heber in his Journal, who writes: "January 7th, 1825, traversed a wild but more woody country to Dotána. Here I saw the first instance of a custom which I am told I shall see a good deal of in my southern journey, a number of women, about a dozen, who came with pitchers on their heads, dancing and singing to meet me. There is, if I recollect right, an account of this sort of dance in Kehama. They all professed to be Gopis, or milk-maids, and are in fact, as the thánadár assured me, the wives and daughters of the Gwálá caste. Their voices and style of singing were by no means unpleasant; they had all the appearance of extreme poverty, and I thought a rupee well bestowed upon them, for which they were very thankful." There can be no doubt also that this is the place to which John de Laet, in 1631, alludes in his India Vera, though he calls it Akbar-pur, the name of the next village. "This was formerly a considerable town; now it is only visited by pilgrims who come on account of many holy Muhammadans buried here." Annual fairs are still held in honor of three of these holy men, who are styled Hasan Shahíd, Sháh Nizám-ud-dín, and Pír Shakar-ganj, *alias* Bábá Faríd. The shrines, however, are merely commemorative and not actual tombs; for the Hasan, 'the Martyr,' is probably Ali's son, the brother of Husain; Nizám-ud-dín Aulia is buried at Delhi; and the famous Faríd-ud-dín Ganj-i-Shakkar lies at Pák Patan near the Satlaj.

KÁMAR, six miles from Kosi on the Gurgáon border, is still a populous Ját town with a considerable trade in cotton; but in the early part of last century was a place of much greater wealth and importance, when a daughter of one of the principal families was taken in marriage by Thákur Badan Sinh of Sahár, the father of Súraj Mall, the first of the Bharat-pur Rájás. On the outskirts of the town is a large walled garden with some monuments to his mother's relations, and in connection with it a spacious masonry tank filled with water by aqueducts from the surrounding *rakhyá*, which is more than a thousand acres in extent. At a little greater distance is an artificial lake with unfinished stone ghâts, the work of the Rájá; this is called Durvásas-kund after the irascible saint of that name, but there is no genuine tradition to connect him with the spot; though it is sometimes said that the town derives its name from a 'blanket' *(kamal)* with which Krishna persuaded him to cover his nakedness. In the town are several large brick mansions built by Chaudharis Jasavant Sinh and Sítá Rám, the Rájá's connections, and one of them has a fine gateway in three stories, which forms a conspicuous land-mark: but all are now in ruins. At the back of the artificial hill on which they stand, and excavated to supply the earth for its construction, is a third tank of still greater extent than the other two, but of irregular outline, and with only an occasional flight of stone steps here and there on its margin.

A temple of Súraj Mall's foundation, dedicated to Madan Mohan, is specially affected by all the Játs of the Bahin-wár pál,* who are accounted its chelas and assemble here to the number of some 4,000, on *Chait badi* 2 and the following day, to celebrate the mela of the Phúl-dol. There is a halkabandi school, not a very prosperous institution ; and a weekly market. The Chaukídári Act has been extended to the town ; but it yields a monthly income of only Rs. 60, which, after payment of the establishment, leaves an utterly insignificant balance for local improvements. The only work of the kind which has been carried out is the metalling of the principal bazár.

Sháh-pur, under the Játs the head of a pargana, is a large but somewhat decayed village on the bank of the Jamuná, some ten miles to the north-east of Kosi. It is one of the very few places in this part of the country where the population is almost equally divided between the two great religions of India ; there being, according to the census of 1872, as many as 1,205 Muhammadans to 1,341 Hindus. The total area is 3,577 acres, of which 2,263 are under the plough and 1,314 are untilled. Of the arable land, 612 acres are watered by wells, which number in all 63 and are many of masonry construction. The Government demand is Rs. 3,907. The village was founded towards the middle of the sixteenth century, in the reign either of Sher Sháh or Salím Sháh by an officer of the Court known as Mír Jí, of Biluch extraction, who called it Sháh-pur in honour of his royal master. The tomb of the founder still exists not far from the river bank on the road to Chaundras. It is a square building of red sandstone, surmounted by a dome and divided on each side into three bays by pillars and bracket arches of purely Hindu design. By cutting off the corners of the square and inserting at each angle an additional pillar the tomb on the inside assumes the form of a dodecagon. On the other side of the village, by the road to Bakharári, is another tomb in memory of Lashkar Khán, a grandson of the village founder : it is solidly constructed of brick and mortar, but quite plain and of ordinary design. Nearly opposite is the hamlet of Chauki with the remains of a fort erected by Nawáb Ashraf Khán and Arif Khán, upon whom Sháh-pur with other villages, yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 28,000, were conferred as a jágír for life by Lord Lake. There is a double circuit of mud walls with bastions and two gateways of masonry defended by outworks, and in the inner court a set of brick buildings now fallen into ruin. This was the ordinary residence of the Nawáb, and it was during his lifetime that Sháh-pur enjoyed a brief spell of prosperity as a populous and important town. It would seem that the fort was not entirely the work of Ashraf Khán but had been originally constructed some years earlier by Agha

* *Pál* is the peculiar name for any sub-division of Játs. In the Kosi Pargana, the principal Já' Páls in addition to the Bahin-wár, who own Kámar and 11 other villages, are the Denda, Lukmán, and Ghatona. Similarly, every sub-division of Mewátis is called a *chhat*.

Haidar, a local governor under the Mahrattas, who also planted the adjoining grove of trees.

The village has continued to the present day in the possession of Mír Jí's descendants, to one of whom, Fázil Muhammad, the great grandfather of Natha Khán, now lumberdár, we are indebted for the large bágh, which makes Sháh-pur the most agreeable camping place in the whole of the Kosi pargana. It covers some sixty or seventy bíghas, and, besides containing a number of fine forest trees, mango, *jámun*, *mahuá* and *labera*, has separate orchards of limes and *ber* trees; while the borders are fenced with the prickly *nág-phani*, interspersed with *níms* and *babúls*, having their branches overspread with tangled masses of the *amar-bel* with its long clusters of pale and faint-scented blossoms. The yearly contracts for the different kinds of fruit yield close upon Rs. 1,000. Though a mile or more from the ordinary bed of the river, it is occasionally, as for example in the year 1871, flooded to the depth of some two or three feet by the rising of the stream. The more extensive the inundation, the greater the public benefit; for all the fields reached by it produce excellent rabi crops without any necessity for artificial irrigation till at all events late in the season. In the village are three mosques, but all small; as the Muhammadan population, though considerable, consists to a great extent merely of *kasábs*; there is also a temple erected by the Mahrattas. The chief local festivals are the Dasahara for Hindús and the Muharram for Muhammadans, both of which are largely attended. There is a weekly market on Monday and a small manufacture of earthen *hándis*. The halkabandi school maintains a struggling existence and has an average of only twenty pupils.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana.

Note.—When column 6 is left blank, it implies that the village community, of the caste specified in column 7, are the proprietors.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman	Total.			
1	Ainch ...	593	5	598	Shiv Sahây Mall, Khatri of Delhi.	Gaurua ...	1,163
2	Azíz-pur ...	928	33	961		Jáṭ ...	1,177
3	Barcháuli ...	1,080	6	1,086		Bráhman ...	1,580
4	Baṛhá ...	781	266	1,047		Ahír ...	1,728
5	Barháṇa *cum* Pench-ghar.	869	20	889		Jáṭ ...	1,438
6	Barká ...	869	11	880		Jádoṇ ...	1,797
7	Baṭhan (Great) *cum* Dhánot-kheṛa and Koki-la-ban.	2,649	70	2,719		Jáṭ ...	5,266
8	Baṭhan (Little) *cum* Charan Pahár.	1,521	31	1552		Ditto ...	1,272
9	Bisambhara ...	732	738	1,470		Mewáti ...	1,268
10	Bukharári ...	1,550	72	1,622		Jádoṇ ...	2,329
	Chacholi: the original name for Piloli.						
11	Chandauri ...	1,152	39	1,191		Jáṭ ...	1,221

1. *Ainch.*—On the Gurgáon border. After the mutiny, part of the village was conferred on Khatri Shiv Sahây Mall.

3. *Barcháuli.*—The original name is said to have been Banáuli.

4. *Barha.*—The name given on *removal* of the people here from Tonda Kherá. The Phúl-dol melá is held on Chait badi 3. Bilúchis and Shaikhs once owned all the village, but have now sold a considerable part of it to Dhúsars, Baniyas, and Játs. A bágh of the Shaikhs and new mosque. A struggling halkabandi school.

5. *Barháṇa.*—The Rás-lílá melá is held here, Bhádon sudi 8.

6. *Barká.*—Here is a new temple of Gobardhan-náth, built by Harsukh, baniya.

7 and 8. *Baṭhan.*—(See page 189). A halkabandi school at each of the two villages.

9. *Bisambhara.*—The Muhammadans have a melá here on the 5th and 6th of Rabi-us-sáni in honour of two fakirs, Sháh Chet and Mír Vilâyat Sháh. There is a new mosque.

10. *Bukharári.*—In the village is a substantial house, built about seventy years ago by a wealthy baniya named Bhíka: there is also a bágh that he planted. His descendants have still a share in the village and in Mahroli and Rúp-nagar. Halkabandi school. Temple of Siva Ji.

11. *Chandauri* is supposed to be a corruption of Chandrávali, the name of one of Rádhá's attendants, but is more probably for Chanda-puri, after some Chanda, its founder. Here is a temple of Mahá-deva.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana —(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
12	Chauki ...	167	25	192	Shiv Sahây Mall, Khatri of Delhi	Gaurua ...	933
13	Chaundras; 2 mahâls.	121	8	129	Shaikh Shiâdal, of one mahâl.	Bráhman ...	570
14	Dahi-gánw *cum* Rasoli.	2,107	45	2,152		Jáṭ ...	2,952
15	Dham Siñha ...	829	20	849		Bráhman ...	1,252
16	Dhánota ...	851	3	854	Maya Rám, bohrá.	Jádoṇ ...	1,748
17	Dotána ...	696	715	1,411		Shaikh ...	2,400
18	Garhi Barwári ...	314	13	327	Sáh Madhuri Saran.	Jáṭ ...	1,448
19	Gaunhári ...	502	9	511		Ditto ...	866

12. *Chauki.*—So called from being an old 'out-post' (*Chauki*) on the Gurgáon road.. The original zamindárs were Gauruas: on their falling into arrears, their estate was put up to auction and bought in by Government. In the mutiny, the mustájir, Hidáyat Ali Khán, took part with the rebels and was accordingly dispossessed, and the village conferred on Khatri Shiv Sahây Mall, in recognition of his good services. There is a ruined fort, regarding which see page 192.

13. *Chaundras.*—The original Bráhman proprietors have sold part of their estate to the Shaikhs, who have formed it into a separate zamindári mahál.

14. *Dah-gánw.*—The original form of the name is Dadhi-gánw, *i. e.*, Milk-ham. This is one of the stations of the Ban-játra, the melá being held near the Dadhi-kund on the 6th of Bhádon sudi, when some 2,000 or 3,000 people assemble, and there is a sham fight with guns and matchlocks between Dah-gánw and Hasan-pur Nagara and other adjoining villages. There is a temple of some antiquity ascribed to Rájá Mán, dedicated to Krishna under his title of Brajbhúkhan. A halkabandi school.

15. *Dham Sinha.*—*Dham* is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *Dharma*, and, as it may be presumed, Dharma Sinha was the name of the founder. The road immediately below the village leading to the town of Kosi traverses the centre of a considerable *rakhyá*, in which is a pond called Mohári-kund; a word of doubtful derivation, though it might be taken as equivalent to *chintáharan*. With the exception of one group of *pasendus* and *kadambs*, and two large *baniyans* near the pond, all the trees are *pîlus* and of very great age, with no young ones coming on anywhere. This curious fact is probably to be explained by the number of cattle that are turned out to graze; for in the rains they eat down the young shoots as soon as they appear above the ground. The villagers, however, look upon it as one of the many indications that they are fallen upon evil times and that the good old days are gone for ever. The Rás lílá is celebrated here on the 6th of Bhádon sudi.

16. *Dhánota.*—The Gújars had a share in the village, which they have sold to the bohra. Here is a mango grove planted by Jiya Rám, mortgagee.

17. *Dotána.* See page 190.

18. *Garhi Barwári.*—It is said that the first settlers were Bráhmans, who called the place Bráhmandári, and that it was afterwards refounded by a Jáṭ named Udhma, who called it Udhma Garhi, the modern name being a confused combination of the two. It has now been bought by Sáh Kundan Lál, whose son is the present proprietor.

19. *Gaunhári.*—The Phúl-dol melá is celebrated here, Chait badi 5. There are two bágha planted by Gulâb Jáṭ and Harideva, Pujári.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
20	Giroi ...	2,239	47	2,286		Jáṭ ...	2,903
21	Goheta, 3 biswas, *cum* Pálu Garhi	147	...	147		Ditto ...	394
22	Goheta, 7 biswas..	578	18	592		Ditto ...	904
23	Goheta, 10 biswas.	712	...	712		Ditto ...	1,302
24	Halwána ...	1,911	47	1 958		Ditto ...	2,289
25	Hasan-pur Nagara	1,006	29	1,305		Ditto ...	1,191
26	Hatána *cum* Saráya and Sessai.	2,347	23	2,370		Ditto ...	3,450
27	Jalál-pur ...	148	165	313		Shaikh ...	616
28	Jáu ...	2,017	19	2,036	Heirs of Lálá Bábú	Jáṭ ...	2,377
29	Kálona ...	1,076	9	1,085		Ditto ...	1,112
30	Kámar ...	4,159	164	4,323		Ditto ...	3,509
31	Khairál, 3¾ biswas.	...	...	...	Jádoṇ.	...	452
32	Khairál, 7½ biswas,	405	27	432		Jádoṇ ...	916

20. *Giroi.*—The zamindárs belong to the same *pál* as those of the adjoining village of Nandgánw, and both in concert celebrate the Phúl-dol here on Phálgun sudi 13, near a pond called Gendokhar kund. There are two temples of Jugal-kishor and Murli Manohar, built respectively by Nand Dás and Gomati Dás. A halkabandi school.

24. *Halwána* is more commonly called Pípalwárá. A melá in honour of Baladeva is held Bhádon sudi 6. There are two small modern temples. A halkabandi school.

25. *Hasan pur Nagara.*—The old name was simply Nagara, till one Hasan Ali conferred his own name on the place. Since the mutiny, the Phúl-dol melá has been celebrated here on Chait badi 3. The people of Hasan-pur used to keep it at Bathan till they quarrelled with the zamindárs there.

26. *Hatána.*—Here is a grove called Nand-ban. The hamlet of Little Sessái was founded by some Gosáins from Great Sessai in Gurgáon; it is one of the stations in the Bán-játra. A halkabandi school.

27. *Jalál-pur.*—Founded by a Shaikh Jalál. Jáṭs and Bráhmans have also shares in the village.

28. *Jáu.*—Here is Jávak-ban, a station in the Ban-játra, from which the village derives its name, also a pond called Kishori kund. There are two temples, one of Rádhá-kánt, founded by a Seth of Haidar-ábád, the other of Kunj Bihári, founded by Rúp Rám, the Katára, of Barsána. There are two annual melás; the Holanga, Chait badi 2, and the Rás-lílá, Bhádon sudi 10.

29. *Kádona* was founded by the Mewátis. Here are two temples of Brikh-bhán and Mahádeva.

30. *Kámar.*—See page 191.

31. *Khairál* (3¾ *biswas*).—The older name is Susar-garhi.

32. *Khairál* (7½ *biswas*).—There are two annual melás in honour of Baráhi Devi, held Chait sudi 14 and Kuwár sudi 14. There is a bágh of Nem Siúh, Jádoṇ. The remaining biswas form the village of Sher-nagar.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
33	Kharoṭ ...	1,574	77	1,651		Jáṭ ...	3,141
34	Khaṭáṇṭa ...	618	24	642		Ditto ...	1,295
35	Kosi ...	8,798	3,972	12,770	Jáṭ, Sháikh and Bráhman.	Baniya ...	2,277
36	Koṭ-ban ...	1,977	42	2,019		Jáṭ ...	2,997
37	Lál-pur ...	1,094	30	1,124		Ditto ...	1,833
38	Ledri ...	...	...	...	Ditto ...	...	319
39	Mahanki ...	...	...	...	Jáṭ and Bráhman.	...	298
40	Mahroli ...	180	169	349	Sáh Kundan Lál, mortgagee.	Pathán ...	859
41	Majhoi ...	886	16	902	Ráni Sáhib Kunwar.	Gújar ...	2,386
42	Mandora ...	...	...	...	Jáṭ and Bráhman.	...	799
43	Nabi-pur ...	652	8	660		Jáṭ ...	1,070
44	Nagariya ...	385	...	385		Ahivási ...	554

33. *Kharot*.—The Urs mela of a Fakír named Dost 'Ali Sháh is held here on the 11th of Rabi-us-sáni. A bágh bears the name of Matlúb Sháh, Fakír. In the village are four substantial houses, now in ruins, built by Chintá-mani, a Bráhman in the service of Rájá Súraj Mall. Shaikhs and Bráhmans are part proprietors

34. *Khatánta*.—Bráhmans and Jogís are also part proprietors. Here is a bágh of one Mádho Siñh.

35. *Kosi*.—See page 185. Tahsíli, municipality, police station, imperial post-office, tahsíli school, free school, customs bungalow, municipal bungalow available as a rest house.

36. *Koṭ-ban*.—This is the northern limit of the Ban-játra. A pond bears the name of Sítal-kund. There is a temple of Síta Rám, two large brick-houses and a masonry tank constructed by Chaudhari Sítá Rám, a connection of the Bharat-pur Rájás. The bohras have bought up part of the village.

40. *Mahroli*.—Here is a mosque built by Hasti and Basti Khán, and on the 4th of Rabi-us-sáni a melá is held in honour of Mir Muhammad Farrukh.

41. *Majhoi*.—One of the confiscated Gújar villages on the Jamuná. Two large bágbs record the names of Chaina and Serhu, both members of that community. Two melás in honour of Devi are held Chait sudi 8 and Kuwár sudi 8. There are also two Sati tombs. A police station is maintained here, and a district post-office.

42. *Mandora*.—This village was deserted about 80 years ago.

43. *Nabi-pur*.—This was originally part of Dah-gánw.

44. *Nagariya*.—This village was formed by Thákur Badan Siñh who took two and-a-half biswas out of Dham Siñha and two biswas out of Khaira and bestowed them on Purushottam, Gautam, and Chúra, Ahivásis, of the latter village.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
45	Pai-gánw ...	2,607	30	2,637		Jáṭ ...	3,467
46	Pakhar-pur ...	169	...	169	Kushâli Rám, bohra.	Ditto ...	554
47	Phálan *cum* Garhi Rájá, Garhi Bhíkha and Suphána.	3,920	107	4,027		Ditto ...	5,127
48	Piloli ...	...	...	...	Shaikhs of Jalálpur.	...	197
	Pipal-wárá: the more common name of Halwáná.						
49	Púṭhri ...	141	...	141	Jáṭ ...	Gújar ...	489
50	Rám-pur ...	261	...	261	Rání Sáhib Kunwar.	Ditto ...	1,144
51	Rúp-nagar *cum* Buddha Garhi.	474	13	487		Jádoṇ ..	1,240
52	Rúṭhri ...	...	...	...		...	...
53	Sánchâuli ...	769	94	863		Jáṭ ...	1,045

45. *Pai-gánw.*—On the road from Sher-garh to Kosi. Here is a large tract of woodland known as Pai-ban, with a pond called Pai-ban-kund, where a melá styled the Barasi Nága Jí is held on Kuwár badi 7. The pilgrims, about 1,000 in number, are fed by the Mahant of the temple of Chatur-bhuj. A halkabandi school and a rest-house on a Rájbaha of the Agra Canal.

46. *Pakhar-pur.*—Formerly belonged to the State of Bharat-pur.

47. *Phálan.*—A special melá called the melá Prahlád Jí, is held here at the time of the Holi, on the full moon of Phálgun, when the *kherapat*, or hereditary Pánda, after bathing in the Prahlád-kund, jumps into the blazing Holi bon-fire and always comes out unscorched. For performing this ceremony, which is ordinarily witnessed by some 15,000 spectators, he enjoys a small piece of land rent-free and has all the offerings made at the shrine. The name Phálan is supposed to be connected with the word *phár dálna*, 'to tear in pieces,' in allusion to the legend of Nar Siñha and Hiranya-Kasipu, Prahlád's father *(See page 85)* There is a weekly market on Monday, and a halkabandi school. The three hamlets are named after their respective founders: at Suphána, there is a temple of Baladeva, and a bágh planted by a Bráhman, Sawái.

48. *Piloli*—The real name of this village is Chacholi, but in the last settlement papers the name was accidentally mis-spelt, and the mistake has been perpetuated. It was formerly part of Jalál-pur.

49. *Puthri.*—Till about a century ago, this was included in the Rajput Chaurási of Káma in Bharat-pur. It for some time remained uninhabited. The name is derived from the sand-hills, *puth.*

51. *Rúp-nagar* was founded by Rúp Siñh, a relative of the Bharat-pur Rájá. A bágh bears the name of Medda, Jáṭon.

53. *Sánchâuli.*—Here is a temple of Sánchi Devi at which two annual melás are held, Chait sudi 7 and Kuwár sudi 7. Mewátis and Bráhmans are also part proprietors.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana—(concluded).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
54	Sháh-pur ; 4 mahals.	1,341	1205	2,546		Bilúchis ...	3,577
55	Shahzád-pur ...	586	69	655		Jádoṇ ...	1,071
56	Sher-nagar ...	686	75	761		Ditto ...	2,018
57	Sirthala ...	683	25	708		Jáṭ ...	1,378
58	Sujáuli ...	338	...	338		Jádoṇ ...	500
59	Surwári ; 2 mahals	243	...	243		Jáṭ ...	540
60	Tumáula ...	1,755	25	1,780	Jáṭ and Bráhman.	Ditto ...	2,501
61	Umráura ...	353	5	358		Ditto ...	605

54. *Sháh-pur.*—See page 192.

55. *Sháhzád-pur* once formed part of Majhoi.

56. *Sher-nagar*, originally called Khairál, derives its present name from its founder, Sher Khán. Here are four bághs, planted by Mahá-ram, Indra and Mahárāj, Gopál, and Píta.

58. *Sujáuli.*—Named after Suján, a Jáṭ of Khairál.

59. *Surwári.*—The two new mahals are respectively 18¾ and 1¼ biswas.

60. *Tumáula.*—Halkabandi school, canal bridge. Just above the bridge the canal has been carried through a very large tank, which in the course of centuries had been partially filled up. When the excavations were in progress, a life-size statue was discovered, much defaced and with the head severed from the body. It has no very distinctive attributes, but might be intended to represent the god Ráma, or the Rájá who constructed the tank. The antiquity of the work is attested by the enormous size of the bricks used in the foundations. The site of the reservoir was so well selected that the Canal Engineers will probably have some difficulty in keeping up their embankments against the large body of water which collects on the spot in the rains.

61. *Umráura*—Separated from Dah-gánw by the zamindárs of that village and given to one Umráo, after whom it is named.

II.—PARGANA CHHÁTÁ.

The Pargana of Chhátá, which lies immediately to the south of Kosi, has the same boundaries as it to the west and east, *viz.*, the State of Bharat-pur and the river Jamuná, and further resembles its northern neighbour in most of its social and physical characteristics. Being the very centre of Braj, it includes within its limits many of the groves held sacred by the votaries of Krishna ; but, with the exception of these bits of wild woodland, it is but indifferently stocked with timber, and the orchards of fruit trees are small and few in number. The principal crops are *joár* and *chaná;* there being 63,000 acres under the former, and 29,000 grown with *chaná*, out of a total area of 160,433. A large amount of cotton is also raised, the ordinary out-turn being about 20,000 *mans*. But the crop varies greatly according to the season ; and it is calculated that this year (1873) it will not exceed 1,500 *mans*, in consequence of the very heavy and continuous rains at the beginning of the monsoon, which prevented the seed from being sown till it was too late for the pod to ripen. The coarse limestone which can be obtained in any quantity from the hills of Nand-gánw and Barsána, is not now used to any extent for building purposes ; but it is the material out of which the imperial saráes at Chhátá and Kosi were constructed, and is there shown to be both durable and architecturally effective. The western side of the pargana is liable to inundation in exceptionally rainy seasons from the overflowing of a large *jhíl* near Káma in Bharat-pur territory; its waters being augmented in their subsequent course by junction with the natural line of drainage extending down from Hodal, as shown in the sketch at page 186. In 1861, and again in the present year, the flood passed through Unchá-gánw, Barsána, Chaksauli, and Háthiya, and extended as far even as Gobardhan ; but no great damage was caused, and the deposit left on the surface of the land is beneficial rather than otherwise.

The first assessment, made in 1809, was for Rs. 1,02,906, which has been gradually increased to Rs. 1,77,876, and will certainly be further enhanced at the close of the settlement now pending. For much land, as yet lying waste for want of water, will be brought under cultivation when the Agra Canal has been completed. This will have a total length of 11 miles in the pargana, from Bhadával to Little Bharna, with bridges at each of those places and also at Rahera and Sahár.

Till 1838, Sher-garh and Sahár were two separate parganas, subordinate to the Aríng Tahsíli ; but in that year Sahár was constituted the head-quarters of

a Tahsildár, and so remained till the mutiny, when his office was transferred to Chhátá. The latter place has the advantage of being on the high-road, and is tolerably equi-distant from east and west, the only points necessary to be considered, on account of the extreme narrowness of the pargana from north to south. Thus, its close proximity to the town of Kosi—only seven miles off—is rather a fanciful than a real objection to the maintenance of Chhátá as a local capital.

The predominant classes in the population are Játs, Jádons, and Gaurua Thákurs of the Báchhal sub-division ; while several villages are occupied almost exclusively by the exceptional tribe of Ahivásis (see page 7) who are chiefly engaged in the salt trade. A large proportion of the land—though not quite to so great an extent as in Kosi—is still owned by the original Bhaiyáchári communities ; and hence agrarian outrage on a serious scale is limited to the comparatively small area, where unfortunately alienation has taken place, more by improvident private sales, or well-deserved confiscation on account of the gravest political offences, than from any defect in the constitution or administration of the law. The two largest estates thus acquired during the present century, are enjoyed by non-residents, *viz.*, the heirs of the Lálá Bábú (see page 134), who are natives of Calcutta, and the Ráni Sáhib Kunvar, whose principal residence is at Háthras, though she is now living with the young Rájá at Brindá-ban. Of resident landlords, the three largest all belong to the Dhúsar caste, and are as follows :—First, Kanhaiya Lál, Sukhvási Lál, Bhajan Lál, and Bihári Lál, sons of Rám Bakhsh of Sahár, where they have property, as also at Bharáuli and three other villages, yielding an annual profit of Rs. 3,536. Second, Munshi Nathu Lál—who for a time was in Government service as Tahsildár—with his son, Sardár Sinh, also of Sahár, who have an assessable estate of Rs. 3,874, derived from Astoli, Tatár-pur, and shares in nine other villages; Nathu Lál's father, Girdhar Lál, was sometime Munsif of Jalesar, and was descended from one Harsukh Ráe, who received from Rájá Súraj Mall the grant of Tatár-pur with the title of Munshi, by which all the members of the family are still distinguished. Third in the list is Lálá Syám Sundar Dás, son of Shiw Sahây Mall, a man of far greater wealth—his annual profits being estimated at a lakh of rupees. He is the head of a firm which has branch houses at Kánh-pur, Agra, and Amritsar, and other places, and owns the whole of the large village of Naugáma and half of Tároli. Though he is thus a considerable landed proprietor, his instincts are still entirely those of the money-lender ; as he proves to the cost of the unfortunate community who are now struggling to retain, as his tenants, the fields where once they were masters. As a typical illustration of a state of things which unfortunately is becoming far from uncommon, a detailed description of the circumstances of his estate is here given.

The original village was Tároli, and Naugáma exists only from the time when (probably to protect themselves from some threatened exaction) one half

of the old Báchhal clan agreed to become Muhammadans and moved to an outlying spot where they formed an independent settlement. Like most Malakánas, who have been converted in this summary manner, though they have ceased to be Hindús, they have never been taught even the rudiments of their new faith, and are thus virtually without any moral restraint whatever; while their social isolation has had such a deadening effect upon their mental faculties that in intelligence or acquired information they scarcely rank one step above the level of the brute creation. Probably the best of landlords would find them a troublesome and uninteresting set to deal with, however considerate his treatment of them; certainly no improvement can result from the procedure adopted by their present lord. To prevent the possibility of any individual acquiring a fixed status, leases are never given but for very short periods; at the outset an advance is freely made to the new tenant, at an usurious rate of interest and without any official record of the transaction; accumulation of arrears of rent is encouraged for the three years that the law allows, when immediate action is taken for the recovery of the full amount increased by interest; if any payment has been made in the interim, though the tenant intended it to be on account of rent, the landlord maintains that it is absorbed in the clearing off of the advances; no intimation is given to the patwári of the amount of these advances, nor, as a rule, is any payment made in his presence; but after the lapse of some weeks, when the ignorant boor, who probably did not pay in cash, but through the intervention of a baniya, has forgotten what the amount was, the patwári is ordered to write a receipt for such and such a sum, and this document is accepted by the stolid clown without a question—ordinarily without even hearing it read—and is at once put away and either lost or eaten by white ants; while the counter-part remains as legal evidence against him. To increase the confusion, the rent is collected not only without adequate witnesses or any written memorandum, but also at any odd time and by a variety of different persons, who are ignorant of each others' proceedings; the agents are changed every six months or so, and (as the patwári can only read Hindi,) are by preference people who know only the Persian character. The result is, that any adjustment of accounts is absolutely impossible; the patwári, the agents, and the tenants, are all equally at fault, and the latter are solely dependent on the mercy of the landlord, who at a fortnight's notice can eject every single man on the estate. Thus, during one month of the current year more than a hundred suits were filed against the people of Naugáma for arrears contracted in 1870. After the lapse of three years, the defendants—who are so ignorant that they cannot state the amount of their liability for the present season, but depend entirely upon the patwári and the baniya—can only urge that they know they have paid in full, but (almost necessarily under the circumstances) they have no oral witnesses to the fact, while the village account-books, which

constitute the documentary evidence, are so imperfect as to form no basis for a judgment. At the same time, in the hope of producing the impression that an innocent man was being made the victim of a gigantic conspiracy, actions for fraud and corruption were instituted against both agent and patwári, and other criminal proceedings were taken against the villagers for petty infringements of manorial rights. The scandal and the probability of some criminal disturbance are so great that it may probably be thought expedient before long to withdraw the estate from the direct control of the proprietor and appoint a manager under the Government.

The two places of most interest in the pargana, Barsána and Nand-gánw have already been fully described in Part I. ; there remain Chaumuhá, Chhátá, Sahár and Sher-garh, which may each claim a few words of special mention.

CHAUMUHÁ, on the high road to Delhi, 12 miles from Mathurá station, was included in the home pargana till the year 1816. It has the remains of a large brick-built saráe, covering upwards of four bíghas of land, said to have been constructed in the reign of the Emperor Sher Sháh. It now brings in a rental of only some Rs. 20 a year, being in a very ruinous state. This fact, combined with the perfect preservation of the parallel buildings at Chhátá and Kosi, has given rise to a local legend that the work was bad in the first instance and the architect, being convicted of misappropriating the funds at his disposal, was as a punishment built up alive into one of the walls; the corpse, however, has not been discovered. When Málho Ráo Sindhia was the paramount power, he bestowed the village as an endowment for educational purposes on a pandit by name Gangá-dhar; to whose sons, Tika-dhar and Murli-dhar, it was confirmed in 1824. The settlement was made with the zamindárs at Rs. 5,000, now Rs. 4,974, of which sum three-quarters, *viz.*, Rs. 3,730, go to the Government College at Agra; the remaining quarter, after some deductions, to Gangá-dhar's heirs, by name Nág-náth, Badrí-náth, and Gopi-náth. In the old topographies the saráe is described as situate at Akbar-pur, a name now restricted to the next village, since the discovery of an ancient sculpture supposed to represent the four-faced (chaumuhá) god Brahma. It is in reality the circular pedestal of a Jaini statue or column, with a lion at each corner and a nude female figure in each of the four intervening spaces; the upper border being roughly carved with the Buddhist rail pattern. The inhabitants are chiefly Gaurua Thákurs. A weekly market is held on Tuesday. There is a primary school, and a bungalow occupied by an assistant patrol in the customs; a small new mosque inside the saráe, a temple of Bihári Jí, built by Kási Dás, Baírágí, some 200 years ago and kept in repair by his successors, and two ponds known as Bihári-kund and Chandokhar. As a punishment for mal-practices during the mutiny, the village was burnt down and for one year the Government demand was raised to half as much again.

CHHÁTÁ, since the mutiny the capital of the pargana, is on the high road to Delhi, 19 miles from Mathurá, and has a camping ground for troops, about 46 bíghas in extent. The principal feature of the town is its saráe, covering 20 bígahs of land, which has been noticed at page 17. In 1857, it was occupied by the rebel zamindárs and one of the towers (now built up square) had to be blown down before an entrance could be effected. The town was subsequently set on fire and partially destroyed, and twenty-two of the leading men were shot. It was originally intended to confiscate the zamindárs' whole estate, but eventually the jama was only raised to half as much again for one year. The population are chiefly Játs, the next most numerous class being Já lons. The name is derived by the local pandits from the *Chhattra-dhárana-lila*, which Krishna is said to have held there; but there is no popular legend regarding such an event, nor any very ancient sacred place in its vicinity; though the Vraja-bhakti-vilása (1553 A.D.) mentions, it is true, a Chhattra-ban and a Súraj-kund, of which the latter is still in existence on the Mathurá side of the town, and shows some traces of an old masonry embankment but has lost all reputation of sanctity. The word Chhátá probably refers to the stone *chhattris* which surmount the saráe gateways, and form prominent objects in the landscape from a long distance. There is a tahsíli school, and a weekly market on Fridays. The Hindús have nine small temples and the Muhammadans four mosques.

SAHÁR, seven miles from Chhátá and nine from Gobardhan, was, from 1838 to 1857, the head-quarters of a tahsíli. At the beginning of last century it was a place of considerable importance under the Játs, being the favourite residence of Thákur Badan Sinh, the father of Súraj Mall, the first of the Bharat-pur Rájás. The handsome house which he built for himself is now unoccupied and to a great extent in ruins, and the very large masonry tank which adjoins it was left unfinished at his death and has never since been completed. The township is divided into two *thoks*, the one of Bráhmans, the other of Muhammadans, and the latter have four small mosques and a dargáh. The Government demand under the present settlement is (including nuzúl) Rs. 5,392, collected by 16 lumberdárs. Part of the land has been transferred by the old proprietors to the two Dhúsar families that have been seated here for some generations and are really the principal people in the place. In the town are several old houses with carved stone gateways of some architectural pretension; also a tank with two masonry ghát s called Mahesar-kund, another known as Mánik-Dás-wálá-kund, and a small ruined temple of Baladeva. There is a police station, post office, and a very well attended primary school. A weekly market is held on Wednesday. The Agra Canal runs close to the town and is bridged at the point where it crosses the Gobardhan road. In the mutiny there was no disturbance here except that the lock-up was broken open, a suspected rebel let loose, and the patwári's papers seized and destroyed.

SHER-GARH, eight miles from Chhátá, with which place it is connected by a metalled road, derives its name from a large fort, now in ruins, built by the Emperor Sher Sháh. The Jamuná, which one washed the foot of its walls, is now more than a mile distant from it. The original zamindárs were Patháns, but in 1859, in execution of a decree held by Kishori Lál, bohra, the whole of their estate, excepting 1¼ biswa, now enjoyed by Asaf Khán, a descendant of the old family, was put up to auction and sold for Rs. 16,200 to Muhammad Núr Khán of Merath, from whom it was purchased for Rs. 20,000 by Seth Gobind Dás. It now forms part of the endowment of the temple of Dwárakádhís in the city of Mathurá. In the mutiny considerable alarm was caused to the townspeople by the Gújars of the neighbouring villages, who made this their centre, and whose estates were afterwards confiscated and bestowed on Rájá Gobind Sinh of Háthras. The Hindús have twelve small temples, the Saráugis one dedicated to Parsvanáth, and the Muhammadans three mosques. The weekly market is held on Thursday. There is a police station, a district post-office, a primary school for boys and two for girls, one of the latter being supported by Asaf Khán. The town is singularly well supplied with roads, for, in addition to the one to Chhátá, it has three others (unmetalled) leading direct to Kosi, to Jait, and, across a bridge of boats, to Noh-jhíl.

Alphabetical List of Villages.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
1	Adam-pur,	580	...	580	...	Bráhman ...	979
2	Agaryálá, ...	1,367	62	1,429	...	Gaurua ...	2,917
3	Ahori, ...	66	...	66	Anand Kishor, Bráhman.	Ditto	302
4	Ajhai, (Great)...	37	...	37	...	Ditto (Kachhwáha)	340
5	Ajhai, (Little.)...	2,413	16	2,429	...	Gaurua ...	2,424
6	Ajhnokhi ...	787	17	804	...	Jáloṇ ...	1,304
7	Ajinoṭhi ...	381	2	383	...	Bráhman (Upádhya.)	791
8	Akbar-pur ...	2,424	60	2,484	Sáh Mádhuri Saran.	Gaurua (Báchhal)	2,607

1. *Adam-pur.*—On the Chháta and Sher-garh road. In the mutiny the villagers joined the Gújars in plundering the Sher-garh Bazár, for which they were fined 10 per cent. on the jama. Four lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,583. A temple of Bál-mukund.

2. *Agaryálá.*—A large rakhyá with some fine kadamb trees and two ponds called Bhúshani and Táli, two baghs, four small shrines dedicated to Bihari Jí, Jugal Bihari, and two to Sítá Rám. Jama Rs. 3,957. Four lumberdárs In the mutiny the villagers had a fight with the Gújars.

3. *Ahori.*—The Gaurua zamindárs in 1839 sold their estate to Gosáin Albheli Lal for Rs 710, and his heirs, in 1859, resold it for Rs. 920 to Anand-kishor, Bráhman. In the mutiny this village joined in the attack on the Gaurua Báchhals of Semri. Jama Rs 327.

4. *Ajhai (Great).*—Conferred by sanad of Daulat Ráo Sindhia on Gosáin Mathurá Dás for support of the temple of Sítá Rám, which grant was confirmed to his chela in 1833. The zamindárs live at Little Ajhai.

5. *Ajhai (Little).*—On the Delhi road. For wounding a regimental grass-cutter in the mutiny, the village was attacked and set on fire, 28 men being killed in the affair, and a fine imposed of Rs. 500. A kadamb and ḍhák rakhyá. Jama Rs. 2,305. Eight lumberdárs. Temple of Bihári Jí.

6. *Ajhnokhi* derives its name from the *anjan sila* and *pokhar*, otherwise called the Kishori kund, where the Rás Lílá is celebrated in Bhádoṇ. Jama Rs. 2,000. Three lumberdárs.

7. *Ajinothi.*—Temple of Bihari Jí. Jama Rs. 1,000. Five lumberdárs.

8. *Akbar-pur.*—On the Delhi road. In the mutiny the zamindárs plundered the travellers on the high-way and attacked the Jádons of Semri, in which affair they lost two men. For this, the jama of one year was raised to half as much again. Since the feud with the men of Semri the people of Akbar-pur have a melá of their own every year, Chait sudi 8, instead of going there, as before. Part of the village has been purchased by Sáh Mádhuri Saran. Jama Rs. 2,700. Five lumberdárs. Halkabandi school. By the roadside is a large and very deep báuli approached by a flight of 76 steps, once cased with stone, which has now been almost all stripped off and applied by the villagers to other purposes. Immediately adjoining, are the ruins of a mosque and tomb, and a masonry tank 12 bighas in extent. The boundary walls of the latter are now for the most part broken down, and of the eight kiosques that crowned the extremities of the ghats only one remains. These extensive works are said to have been constructed some two centuries ago by a converted Thákur named Dhakmal. A rájbahá of the Agra Canal passes through the village lands, and a rest-house is being built at the point where it crosses the high-road.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
9	Alwáí ...	541	11	552	...	Jádoṇ ...	910
10	Astoli ...	310	22	332	Nathu Lál, Dhúsar, of Sahár.	Chamár ...	955
11	Badan-gaṛh ...	709	4	713	...	Jáṭ ...	1,506
12	Baḍávali ...	78	71	149	...	Malakána ...	443
13	Bahṭá ...	882	112	994	Sardár Sinh, Dhúsar, of Sahár.	Gaurua ...	1,912
14	Bájana ...	55	...	55	Bhakt Kunwar ...	Jáṭ ...	364
15	Bajhera ...	735	27	762	...	Gújar ..	1,263
16	Barahra ...	399	...	399	Muhr-pál Bráhman,	Gaurua (Báchhal.)	1,290
17	Baroli ...	503	4	507	...	Ditto	756
18	Barsána ...	2,598	182	2,780	Heirs of Lálá Bábú	Gaurua ...	2,140

9. *Alwáí.*—On Chhátá and Gobardhan road. Temple of Rádhá-ballabh. Jama Rs. 1,150. Two lumberdárs.

10. *Astoli.*—On Jait and Sher-gaṛh road. Bought by present zamindár from the Gújars. Jama Rs. 1,188.

11. *Badan-garh.*—So called after Thákur Badan Sinh of Sahár. Jama Rs. 2,550. Six lumberdárs.

12. *Badávali*, now in two maháls, of 5 biswas and 15 biswas respectively, was muáfi till 1836. A dhák rakhyá 62 bighas in extent. Jama Rs. 470.

13 *Bahta.*—On the Jamuná. The village passed first from the Gaurua proprietors through a Káyath mortgagee to a Baniya of Sher-gaṛh, who has still three biswas, while seven are held by Mewátis and ten by Sardár Sinh. There is a bágh of fruit trees. Jama Rs. 2,131.

14. *Bájana.*—The old zamindárs were Gaurua Báchhals. After changing hands several times, the estate was sold in 1856 to Fatih Kunwar and Bhakt Kunwar, daughters of Rájá Syám Sinh of Bikanir. Jama Rs. 325.

15. *Bajhera.*—On Jait and Sahár road. Was given by Alá-ud-dín to a fraternity of Jogis, of whose descendants a moiety, in the time of Muhammad Sháh, became converted to Muhammadanism. Nearly half the estate is now owned by Gújars. There is a dharm-sálá, also two small temples, and a rakhyá of chhonkar trees.

16. *Barahra.*—Part has been recently sold by the Gauruas. There is an old temple of Gopináth and a chhonkar rakhyá. Jama Rs. 905. Two lumberdárs.

17. *Baroli.*—Two thoks of ten biswas each. Jama Rs. 775. Three lumberdárs. In the mutiny the villagers joined in the attack on Semri, and were in turn attacked by Chhátá and Semri combined.

18. *Barsána.*—See page 177. Jama Rs. 3,109. Halkabandi school, police station, and district post-office.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
19	Basai (Sher-garh,)	266	5	271	Ráni Sáhib Kunwar.	Gújar ...	1,367
20	Basai (Great) ...	611	...	611	Madan Gopál, Káyath.	Bráhman ...	695
21	Basai (Little) ...	167	...	167	Muna Lál, mortgagee.	Gaurua ...	725
22	Bázíd-pur ...	88	...	88	...	Bráhman (Sanádh.)	206
23	Bhadával ...	1,119	11	1,130	...	Ahivási ...	1,824
24	Bharáuli ...	462	33	495	Sukhvási Lál, and brother, Dhúsars.	Gújar ...	1,574
25	Bharna (Great)...	1,459	35	1,494	...	Ahivási ...	2,179
26	Bharna (Little)...	1,954	38	1,992	...	Ditto ...	2,900
27	Bharokar ...	479	21	495	Hírá Siñh, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	1,130

19. *Basai by Sher-garh.*—On the Kosi and Sher-garh road, and adjoining the Jamuná. One of the confiscated Gújar villages. A small rakhyá of babúl and chhonkar trees. The name 'Basái,' so common in this district, corresponds precisely to the English 'Thorpe.'

20. *Basai (Great).*—The original proprietors were Gaurua Báchhals, who now own only eight biswas, and Káyaths the other 12. Jama Rs. 1,051.

21. *Basai (Little).*—On the Jamuná. A muáfi village granted by Mádho Ráo Sindhia and confirmed by order of 1843 in favour of the Pujáris of the temple of Atal Bihári. The Gaurua zamindárs have sold three biswas to Bráhmans and mortgaged other 15 to the muáfidárs.

22. *Bázíd-pur.*—On the Jamuná. Jama Rs. 199. Two lumberdárs.

23. *Bhadával.*—This was a muáfi grant on the part of Daulat Ráo Sindhia to Díwán Champá Rám, but was resumed by Government in the time of his son Sarb-Sukh, and the jama fixed at Rs. 2,869. Dhír Sarwar, the ancestor of the Bajrávat clan of Ahivásis, and sole zamindár, gave 16 biswas to the Sanádhs, his purohits. Of the four biswas that he retained, part has passed out of the hands of his descendants. There are eleven lumberdárs. A bridge here on the Agra Canal and first-class rest house.

24. *Bharáuli.*—On the Chhátá and Sher-garh road. The original Gújar proprietors sold or mortgaged almost all their estate to Rám Bakhsh, Dhúsar, whose sons are the present proprietors. Jama Rs. 1,698. Two lumberdárs. Shrine of Gopál Jí. A small rakhyá of pasendu trees.

25. *Bharna (Great).*—More commonly called *Marna* in supposed allusion to a demon 'slain' by Krishna. Jama Rs. 3,656. Fourteen lumberdárs. In the mutiny the people, being members of the Já lon *guhár*, or confederacy, joined the Jádons in their fight with the Gauruas. Three temples and two tanks called Nadhá and Murári.

26. *Bharna (Little.)*—Or, as best known by the people, *Marna Lohra.* On the Agra Canal with a bridge. Jama Rs. 4,800. Twelve lumberdárs. The melá of the Phúl-dol is held here Chait badi 2, near a pond called the Súraj-kund, where is an old temple of Súraj Náráyan, refounded by Rúp Rám, the Katára. This kund has two masonry ghâts; there is another called Karahla. Halkabandi school.

27. *Bharokar,* in the mutiny joined the Kámar guhár in an attack on Nand-gánw. Jama Rs. 1,736. Five lumberdárs.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
28	Bhartiya ...	364	9	373	Lachhman Siñh, Kachhwáhá.	Gaurua (Báchhal)	535
29	Bhau-gánw ...	563	12	575	Sáh Mádhuri Saran.	Ditto	869
30	Bijwári ...	728	...	728	...	Ahivási ...	632
31	Bilonda ...	28	140	168	Sukhvási Lál, Dhúsar.	Malakána,	418
32	Biloṭhi ...	379	...	379	Muáfi ...	Mína ...	545
33	Chaksauli ...	503	...	503	½ Bráhman (Gaur) ½ Jádoṇ.	Jádoṇ ...	1,142
34	Chamar-gaṛhi ...	70	...	70	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Dhímar ...	226
35	Chaumuhá ...	2,648	219	2,867	Gosáin Giridhári,	Gaurua ...	4,070
36	Chhátá ...	5,654	1,070	6,724	...	Jáṭ and Jádoṇ.	...

28. *Bhartiya.*—The original zamindárs were Gaurua Báchhals of 15 biswas and Saná-lha of five biswas: but the whole estate was bought for Rs. 850 by Baladeva Siñh, Gaurua Kachhwáhá, of Brindá-ban, whose son is the present proprietor. Jama Rs. 750.

29. *Bhau-gánw.*—On the Jamuná and liable to diluvian. It is divided into two thoks of ten biswas each. Part has been sold and other part mortgaged to the Sáh. Present jama Rs 1,131. Nand-ghát with its temple of Nand Rái, is one of the stations in the Ban-játra, and the name is popularly derived from the terror *(bhay)* felt by the inhabitants when Nanda was swept away by the flood while bathing.

30. *Bijwári.*—Seven lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,125.

31. *Bilonda.*—The old zamindárs were Gaurua Malakánas. Their estate passed in 1847 to Kanhaiya Lál, Dhúsar, who sold it to Lachhman Siñh, Bráhman, of Gobardhan, for Rs. 200, and he resold it, in 1860, for Rs. 991, to Sukhvási Lál and Bihári Lál, brothers of Kanhaiya Lál. Jama Rs. 700.

32. *Biloṭhi.*—On the Mathurá and Delhi road. This was a grant from Nawáb Najaf Khán to one Premnand, to whose grandsons, Bál-mukund and Bihári Lál, it was confirmed in 1819. In 1827 they sold the property for Rs. 5,600 to Sukh-deva Dás, and Baladeva Dás; the latter being now succeeded by his son Harideva Dás.

33. *Chaksauli.*—At the foot of the Barsána hill, and separated from that town by the narrow pass called the 'Sánkari khor.' Two melas are held here, Bhádon sudi 9 and 13, at the Mor-kutti, a pavilion on the ridge overlooking the gorge. There are two thoks of ten biswas each. Four lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,425.

34. *Chamar-garhi.*—The original zamindárs were Gújars, but after being farmed by different people for many years, the estate was at last purchased by the widow of the Lálá Bábú in 1854. Jama Rs. 350.

35. *Chaumuhá.*—See page 21. Halkabandi school. Customs Bungalow.

36. *Chhátá.*—See page 22. Tahsíli, police station, post office, tahsíli school, girls' school, district bungalow available as a rest-house.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
37	Dáhroli ...	607	...	607	...	Ahivási ...	931
38	Dalota ...	790	...	790	...	Gaurua (Báchhal).	1,035
39	Darauli ...	558	1	559	...	Jádoṇ ...	848
40	Deva-pura ...	445	...	445	...	Ditto ...	710
41	Dhímrí ...	409	16	425	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Gújar ...	827
42	Dibhálá ...	523	11	534	...	Ditto ...	1,534
43	Gángroli ...	543	...	543	...	...	1,185
44	Garhi ...	645	...	645	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	234
45	Gházi-pur ...	427	3	430	...	Jádoṇ ...	634
46	Gora ...	46	...	46	Udhá, Malakána,	Gaurua ...	624

37. *Dáhroli.*—Two thoks of three biswas each Three lumberdárs Jama Rs. 1,090. The Phúl-dol melá is kept Chait badi pariwá. In the mutiny the Ahivási proprietors, who belong to the Jádoṇ *gulhár*, joined that confederacy in their attack on the Gauruas of Páli.

38. *Dalota.*—Jama Rs. 1,150. Six lumberdárs.

39. *Darauli.*—Two thoks. Six lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,084. Two temples of Rádhá Krishan and Ilám Lálá, and a large tank.

40. *Deva-pura.*—Two thoks. Three lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,020. A temple of Gopál and a Kachahri, built by Muhkam Sinh, the ancestor of the present Jádoṇ proprietors.

41. *Dhímrí*, near the Jamuná, was sold by the old Gújar proprietors in 1809 A. D. to the Lálá Bábú. The jama is now Rs. 1,050. After the mutiny, in which the villagers had taken part with their brother Gújars at Ujháni, three of the ringleaders were hanged. There are two ponds and groves of kadamb trees, called Bhúkhan-ban and Niwár-ban, both visited in the Banjátra.

42. *Dibhálá.*—Three lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 950. Here is Ratn-kund, a station in the Banjátra, with an old temple and *tiwári*, and the chattri of a bohra's wife. The village is on the hill range which reaches from Unchá-gánw and Barsána to Nahra.

43. *Gángroli.*—Given at the end of last century by Mádho Ráo Sindhia to Mohan Dás, Bairágí, and confirmed in 1838 to Rám Ratn, still living, for the use of the temple of Rádhákánt at Brindá-ban. The zamindárs, who are Gaurua Báchhals, are allowed Rs. 7-8-0 per cent. on the muáfidár's rental. There is also a jama of Rs. 18 on land lately recovered from the river.

44. *Garhi.*—Sold in 1812 A.D. to the Lálá Bábú for Rs. 500. The yearly jama is now Rs. 1,460. In the mutiny five of the Gújar community were hanged.

45. *Gházi-pur* by Barsána.—Two thoks of ten biswas each; owned, the one by Bráhmans, the other by Jádoṇs. Jama Rs 650. Five lumberdárs. Here is the sacred pond of Prem Sarovar, faced with stone by Rúp Rám, Katára; with three temples dedicated to Kishori Ballabh, Lalitá Mohan, and Gopál Ji, the two latter being foundations of Rúp Rám's. Opposite is a walled garden with a handsome stone chattri in memory of his brother Hem-ráj. In the adjoining *rakhyá* is celebrated the Rás Lílá Bhádon sudi 12.

46. *Gora.*—The old Báchhal zamindárs have sold 13½ biswas to Udhá, Malakána, of Undi, and Mohar Dás, Bairágí, of Brindá-ban. There is a rakhyá of chhonkar trees. Jama Rs. 600. Three lumberdárs.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
47	Gulál-pur ...	203	59	262	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Gújar ...	1,417
48	Háthiya ...	1,329	796	2,125	Ditto, muáfidárs.	Mewáti ...	4,466
49	Hazára ...	430	22	452	Káyath mortgagees, Bráhman mortgagors.	Málí ...	689
50	Husaini ...	401	49	450	Ráni Sáhib Kunwar.	Gújar ...	1,794
51	Jait-pur ...	441	...	441	...	Gaurua (Báchhal).	373
52	Jamál-pur ...	15	...	15	Dhúsars ...	Gaurariya	950
53	Jaṭwári ...	790	28	818	Ráni Sáhib Kunwar.	Gújar ...	1,496
54	Jávali ...	534	4	538	Gaurua (Báchhal),	Gaurua and Bráhman.	798
55	Kájiroṭh ...	390	25	415	Rájpúts ...	Gaurua ...	814

47. *Gulál-pur*, on the Jamuná. Sold by the Gújars to the Lálá Bábú. The jama, which used to be included with that of Garhi, is now Rs. 900.

48. *Háthiya.*—Given with Rup-nagar in 1792 A.D. by Máího Ráo Sindhia, to Kripá Sankar, Jotishi, and sold by his heir Gobind Lál for Rs. 21,000 to the Lála Bábú in 1814, who appropriated it to the use of his temple of Krishna Chandramá at Brindá-ban. After his death, in 1829, it was confirmed to his son Srí Nárávan. Of the zamindari, Gaurnas had 14 biswas, Jádons and Bráhmans five, and Mewátis one, and they received a malikána of 5 per cent. on the muáfidár's rental; but now 17½ biswas have passed into the hands of the Lálá Bábús heirs. There is a large mango grove, and a new mosque.

49. *Hazára* on the Jamuná, was held muáfi by one Chand Siromani, and afterwards farmed by his chela Charan Dás, whose heirs have mortgaged it to Laraiti Lál, Káyath. Jama Rs. 960. The old zamindárs were Báchhals. There are two bágbs

50. *Husaini*, on the Kosi and Sher-garh road, derives its name from a Saiyid's dargáh. A rakhyá of kadamb trees. Jama Rs. 1,890. One of the confiscated Gújar villages.

51. *Jait-pur*, on the Jamuná. Jama Rs. 776. Four lumberdárs.

52. *Jamál-pur*, in Akbar's time, was part of the jagir of Nawáb Fatih Khán and Rahmat Khán, and was called Fatih-pur. The Dhúsar zamindárs live at Sahár. Three thoks. Five lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,300. There is a kadamb-khandi and a pond called Chandan-kund.

53. *Jatwári.*—Four biswas were sold by the Gújars before the mutiny to Lachhman Dás, Baniya, Sitá Rám Ahir, and some Bráhmans, and after the mutiny the other 16 biswas were conferred on Rájá Gobind Sinh, who has also bought, for Rs. 1,190, the baniya's 1½ biswa. Jama Rs. 1,412. There is a mango grove.

54. *Jávali.*—A muáfi grant of Aurangzeb's, confirmed by Sindhia, and subsequently by the English Government. The present Bairágí muáfidárs are Lachhman Dás, Bhagawan Dás, and Baladeva Dás. Jama Rs. 1,050. Four thoks.

55. *Kájiroth.*—On the Jamuná. Given by the old Báchhal zamindárs to their purohits, Sanádhs; whose descendants have gradually transferred all but one biswa, held by Gopál, Sanádh, to Rájputs. These latter, about the year 1800 A. D., divided the village into two thoks called Kánha and Harsukh. There are three lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,126. A temple of Sítá Rám, and a tree called Akhai-bat are visited in the Ban-játra.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant Caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
56	Kamai ...	2,415	49	2,464	...	Jádoṇ ...	3,979
57	Karahla ...	1,587	28	1,615	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Jádoṇ ...	1,540
58	Karáhri ...	176	29	205	Ráni Sáhib Kuṇwar.	Gújar ...	718
59	Khaira ...	2,927	100	3,027	...	Ahivási ...	4,054
60	Khán-pur ...	776	9	785	...	Ditto ...	1,046
61	Khandwái ...	161	...	161	Nathu Lál, Dhúsar, of Sahár.	Gújar ...	412
62	Khursi ...	164	...	164	Ráni Sahib Kuṇwar-	Ditto ...	272
63	Konkera ...	449	...	449	...	Jáṭ ...	338

56. *Kamai.*—In the mutiny three of the Jádoṇ zamindárs were killed fighting with their clansmen against the Gaurnas There is an unusually substantial and commodious village school recently built, chiefly at the cost of the inhabitants. This is one of the stations in the Ban-játra, and the Rás Lílá is celebrated, Bhádon sudi 6 The melá of the Phúl-dol is also kept, Chait badi 5, but this latter is of modern institution. There are four small temples and three sacred ponds called Hari-kund, Baladeva-kund and Piri-pokhar. The jama is Rs. 5,383, Fourteen lumberdárs.

57. *Karahla* was sold by the Jádoṇs in 1811 A. D., to the Lálá Bábú for Rs. 300, The yearly jama is Rs. 1,900. There is a very extensive kadamb-khandi, with a pond called Krishan-kund, where the Rás Lílá is celebrated, Bhádon sudi 7. Three temples. A halkabandi school.

58. *Karahri*, till 1836, used to be assessed with Pingari. The separate jama is now Rs. 535.

59. *Khaira* consists of 18 biswas only, the other two having been cut off about 150 years ago to form the village of Nagariya in the Kosi Pargana. The name Khaira is derived from the *Khadira-ban*, where is a pond called Krishan-kund, the scene of an annual melá, and on its margin a temple of Baladeva with rather a handsome chattri in memory of one Rúp Rám, Bohra, built by his widow 30 or 40 years ago. A temple with the title of Gopi-náth is said to have been founded by the famous Todar Mall of Akbar's time Three other small temples are dedicated respectively to Madan Mohan, Darsan Bihári, and Mahaprabhu, and two ponds bear the names of Bhawani and Chinta-khori. There is a halkabandi school, and a weekly market on Saturday.

60. *Khán-pur.*—On the Agra Canal. Two thoks. Five lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,800. There is a pond called Syám-kund with a temple of Bihári Jí, near which the Phúl-dol is held, Phálgun sudi 12, and is attended by all the people of the five or six adjoining villages. As in most places where there is a considerable Ahivási population, there are several large brick-built houses.

61. *Khandwái.*—On the Kosi and Sher-garh road. After being mortgaged for some years, the whole village has now been transferred outright—7½ biswas to Jamuná Dás, 12½ to Nathu Lál, Dhúsar. Jama Rs. 497. A garden of mango and jáman trees.

62. *Khursi.*—On the Chhátá and Sher-garh road. One of the confiscated Gújar villages. Jama Rs. 493.

63. *Konkera.*—Some Kuntel Jáṭs from Sonkh were settled here by Thákur Padan Sinh, and held the village first as a jagír, but were afterwards constituted by Nizám Khán joint zamindárs with the former Thákur proprietors. Jama Rs. 550. Three lumberdárs.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
64	Lahrwári ...	245	...	245	...	Gújar ...	573
65	Lár-pur ...	892	37	929	Kalua, Gújar ...	Litto ...	1,680
66	Lodháuli ...	215	...	215	...	Jádoṇ ...	410
67	Mahrána ...	2,336	103	2,439	...	Jáṭ ...	1,732
68	Mai ...	337	8	345	Godha, Gaurua ...	Gaurua (Báchhal).	1,400
69	Manḍoi ...	214	...	214	Búnche Lál, Bráhman.	Jádoṇ ...	452
70	Mángroli ...	118	...	118	Nathu Lál, Dhúsar, of Sahár.	Gaurua (Báchhal).	368
71	Mán-pur ...	210	7	217	...	Rajpút (Kachhwáhá).	481
72	Náhra ...	241	7	248	...	Gaurua (Jasávat).	815

64. *Lahrwári.*—Some 500 years ago the then Gújar proprietor had four sons Bhúm, Pátam, Rasmal and Shera, who divided the village into as many thoks of five biswas each. About the year 1700 A.D., Shera's descendants removed to Mahá-ban, and their lands were divided between the three other thoks Jama Rs. 750. Three lumberdárs.

65. *Lár-pur.*—Two thoks, of ten biswas each, called Purbaiya and Pachhaiya, the latter subdivided into four bahris, the former into two, called Ganga Bishan (mortgaged in 1860 for Rs. 1,000) and Kalua. Jama Rs. 1 949. Eight lumberdárs. In the mutiny the villagers joining the Báchhals and other Gauruas against the Jádons lost two men. A small temple of Bihári Jí built about a century and half ago.

66. *Lodháuli.*—A rakhyá of kadamb trees with pond called Lalitá-kund. Jama Rs. 650. Three lumberdárs.

67. *Mahrána* belongs to the Kámar confederacy. A rakhyá of chhonkar trees. Jama Rs. 3,300. Seven thoks. Fourteen lumberdárs.

68. *Mai.*—Part sold and part mortgaged to Baijnáth, Kunj Bihári Lál, Káyaths of Brindában, and Godha, one of the original Báchhal proprietors. Jama Rs. 1,063. Three lumberdárs.

69. *Mandoi.*—Jama Rs. 558. Three lumberdárs. Part has been sold to Bráhmans. A bágh, planted by Jasi, Kásdhári, and a pond called Áchárya-kund.

71. *Mán-pur* by Barsána. Here is the temple called Mán-mandir, lately restored by Rám Dayál, of Khurja, where the Mán-lílá is held Bhádon sudi 12, and Gahvar ban and kund (see page 179) Jama Rs. 270.

72. *Náhra.*—At the end of the Barsána ridge. In 1839 the Jasávat zamindárs mortgaged their estate for Rs. 425; and some years later the sole surviving mortgagee, Ganga-dhar, sold his interest for the same sum to Bhoja, Baniya. This latter was murdered in 1862 by Nand-kishor and Bani Sinh, Bráhmans, hereditary purohits of the old Jasávat family. Bhoja's three sons are now absolute proprietors of the whole village, but the feud continues, and an affray having occurred this year (1873) when they happened to meet at a melá at Barsána, all parties have been bound over to keep the peace: before the twelve months had elapsed they forfeited their recognizances. The jama is Rs. 448. There is a rakhyá of kadamb trees.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
73	Nand-gánw ...	3,887	129	4,016	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Ját ...	5,236
74	Nari ...	1,462	30	1,492	Jádons and Sanádhs	Jádon ...	2,020
75	Nau-gáma ...	729	1,306	2,035	Syám Sundar, Dhúsar.	Malakána,	3,584
76	Páli ...	674	10	684	...	Jádon ...	690
77	Parkham ...	725	21	746	...	Gújar ...	1,616
78	Pasoli ...	746	...	746	Chaudhari Daulat Siñh of Rál.	Gaurua ..	1,408
79	Pelkhu ...	1,418	38	1,456	...	Ahivási ...	1,968
80	Pilhora ...	264	...	264	Chaudhari Daulat Sinh of Rál.	Gaurua (Báchhal)	655
81	Píngari ...	39	7	46	Chhítar Mal, Baniya.	Garariya...	464

73. *Nand-gánw.*—See page 180.

74. *Nari* was the jágír of a Begam till 1830, in which year it was first assessed. The jama is now Rs. 2,650. There are four thoks, each sub-divided into two pattis, and eight lumberdárs. A halkabandi school, two small temples, and three ponds called Bisokhar, Súraj-kund and Lál Meo, from the name of the Mewáti who dug it.

75. *Nau-gáma.*—(*i. e.*, New-ton) On the Jait and Sher-garh road Bought at auction from the Báchhal Malakána zamindárs in 1840 by Shiw Sahây, Dhúsar, whose son Syám Sundar Dás is the present proprietor. A temple of Mal Bihári, built a century and half ago. Two bághs. Jama Rs. 4,976. This village was part of Tároli, till separated by those of the zamindárs who adopted the faith of Islam.

76. *Páli* on the Chhátá and Gobardhan road, was held muáfi by Mahant Pitambar Dás and his chela Sálagrám till 1839, when it was settled with Mahant Pál Mukund at Rs. 950. The whole has now been sold to Jádons and others. A temple of Murli Manohar and a rakhyá of karil and chhonkar trees.

77. *Parkham* was in the Mathurá Pargana till 1834. There are three thoks, called Bráhmanán 5 biswas, Bakhshi 7½ and Chúrá 7½ biswas. The jama is Rs. 1,500. Seven lumberdárs. There are four ponds called Pokhar, Pokhar Kalan Kund, and Samokhar.

78. *Pasoli*, on the Jait and Sher-garh road, was first put up to auction in 1840, and sold for Rs. 1,031; but the purchaser fell into arrears and absconded; and, after being farmed for some years, the estate was conferred on Chaudhari Daulat Siñh. Jama Rs. 1,139. There is a pond called Manasá-kund, where a melá is held Bhádon sudi 6.

79. *Pelkhu.*—About the year 1700 A.D., the Gújars sold 2½ biswas to Ahivásis, since which time there have been two thoks. Jama, Rs. 2,200. Seven lumberdárs. A rakhyá of kadamb trees. A halkabandi school.

80. *Pilhora.*—In 1831 mortgaged by the Báchhals to Nand-kishor, Bhát, of Brindá-ban, who re-mortgaged to Bábú Párbati Charan, a Bengáli. On the latter's absconding, the estate was bought in by Government and finally conferred on Chaudhari Daulat Siñh. Jama Rs. 900.

81. *Píngari* used to be assessed with Karáhri. The separate jama is now Rs. 380. The zamindárs, Gaur Bráhmans of Senwa, have mortgaged the village to Chhitar Mall, Baniya, of Chhátá.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalmaos.	Total.			
82	Pír-pur ...	140	1	141	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Gújar ...	1,029
83	Pisáyo ...	961	20	981	...	Jádoṇ ...	1,384
84	Rahera ...	1,384	22	1,406	...	Ditto ...	2,000
85	Ránera ...	1,481	12	1,493	...	Gaurua ...	2,575
86	Ránkoli ...	560	16	579	...	Gújar ...	810
87	Ranwári ...	918	16	934	...	Jádoṇ ...	1,536
88	Ríṭhora ...	654	8	662	...	Bráhman,	1,356
89	Rúp-nagar ...	180	...	180	Amar Lál, Bráhman.	Jáṭ ...	280

89. *Pír-pur*, on the Jamuná near Sher-garh, is so called from a Saiyid's tomb. It was bought in 1843 for Rs. 300 by the widow of the Lálá Bábú of one Gur Dás, who had acquired it from the old Gújar proprietors. The jama is now Rs. 1,049 Here is Bihár-bau, in which is a tank with one flight of masonry steps, and a temple of Bihári Ji, built about 1830 by a Bohra's widow, of Chhábiri.

83. *Pisáyo.*—The Rakhyá, called in the Sanskrit topographies *Pipáta-rana*, is one of the most picturesque spots in the whole district. It is of very great extent, and in the centre consists of a series of open glades, leading one into the other, each encircled with a deep belt of magnificent *kadamb* trees, interspersed with a few specimens of the *papri*, *pasendu*, *dhák* and *sahora*, of lower growth These glades, with are often of such regular outline that they scarcely seem to be of natural formation, are popularly known as the *bavan chauk*, or '52 courts,' though they are not really so many. They all swarm with troops of monkeys. On the eastern border, the jungle is of more ordinary character, with ragged *pilu* and *renja* trees and *karil* bushes; but to the west, where a pretty view is obtained of the temple-crowned heights of Barsána in the distance, almost every tree is accompanied by a stem of the *arni*, which here grows to a considerable height, and scents the whole air with its masses of flower, which both in perfume and appearance much resemble the English honey-suckle. Adjoining the village is a pond called Kishori-kund and two temples, visited by the Bin-jára pilgrims, Bhádon sudi 9. Jama Rs. 1,950. Three thoks. Eight lumberdárs.

84. *Rahera*, on the Agra Canal with a bridge. There is a small rakhyá, where the Rás Lílá is celebrated, Bhádon sudi 6. Jama, Rs. 2,739. Six *thoks*. Nine lumberdárs. A halkabandi school.

85. *Ránera*, on the Chhátá and Sher-garh road. Founded by one Param Sukh from Jaypur, whose three sons are commemorated by the three still existing thoks, called Arámi, Kidu, and Amar-chand. The village was granted muáf by Mádho Ráo Sindhia to Gopináth, Bhaṭ, and confirmed in 1838 to his heir Raghu-náth. Jama Rs. 3,120.

86. *Ránkoli*, on the Barsána range, is in the Gaurua *guhár* or confederacy. Jama Rs. 660. Four lumberdárs.

87. *Ranwári*, on the Chhátá and Gobardhan road, is in the Jáloṇ *guhár*. Jama Rs. 2,350. Two thoks. Five lumberdárs.

88. *Rithora*, by Nand-gánw. Jama Rs. 1,850. Four thoks. Five lumberdárs. A rakhyá of ním and chhonkar trees.

89. *Rúp-nagar.*—Here is a fine masonry tank constructed by Rúp Rám of Barsána, who founded and named the village. It was granted muáf with Háthiya by Mádho Ráo Sindhia to Kripá Sankar, Jotishi, whose present representative, Amar Lál is both muáfidár and zamindár.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
90	Sahár ...	3,375	912	4,287	Bráhman and Musalman.	Bráhmans,	4,109
91	Saiyid-pur ...	111	11	122	...	Gaurua ...	288
92	Sanket ...	965	17	982	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Jádoṇ ...	1,174
93	Sánkhi ...	782	7	789	...	Ditto ...	1,607
94	Sawál ...	1,241	20	1,261	...	Gújar ...	2,276
95	Sehi ...	2,343	206	2,549	Swámí Rangáchárya	Gaurua, (Báchhal.)	4,936
96	Semri ...	1,131	38	1,169	...	Jádoṇ ...	2,750
97	Senwa ...	1,413	6	1,419	...	Bráhman (Sanádh.)	1,499
98	Sher-garh ...	3,560	1,741	5,301	Seth Raghunáth Dás	Paṭhán	3,424
99	Sihána ...	1,157	15	1,172	Bihári Lál, Bráhman.	Gaurua, (Báchhal.)	1,601

90. *Sahár.*—See page 22. Police station, branch post-office. The old tahsíli has an upper story available as a rest-house.

92. *Sanket.*—'The place of assignation,' between Nand-gánw and Barsána, was sold in 1812 for Rs. 301 to the Lálá Bábú. The jama is now Rs. 1,642. There is a large temple dedicated to Rádhá Raman, which was built by Rúp Rám, of Barsána, and two others founded respectively by the Rájá of Bardwán and the Mahárájá of Gwaliar. Two sacred ponds are called Kishan-kund and Bimala kund.

93. *Sánkhi,* on the Chhátá and Gobardhan road. The Rás Lílá is kept here on the full moon of Bhádon. Jama, Rs. 1,680. Two thoks.

94. *Sawál,* on the Jait and Sahár road. Jama Rs. 2,594. Four thoks. Seven lumberdárs. A rakhyá of *kadamb* trees.

95 *Sehi* was, in 1842, put up to auction for arrears and bought in by Government. After being farmed for some years by Kunwar Faiz Ali Khán, it was sold in 1862 for Rs. 4,800 to Seth Gobind Dás, who in the following year sold it to Swámi Rangáchárya for Rs. 10,000. Jama Rs. 6,100. There are two temples and a mosque built 200 years ago by the ancestor of Rahím Kháu, Páṭhán.

96. *Semri,* on the Delhi road, was part of the jágír of the Begam Sáhib till 1836. The jama is now Rs. 2,930. Eleven lumberdárs. About 100 years ago two hamlets were formed, Birja and Devi Sinh, and somewhat later a third, Garhi Dadhi. In the mutiny the Jádon zamindárs and their clansmen had a pitched battle with the Gaurnas. Besides several small modern temples, their is an ancient shrine of Devi of much local repute, where two annual melás, each lasting for a fortnight, are held, the one in the light half of Baisákh, the other and much the larger one in the light half of Chait. There is a rakhyá of dhák trees.

97. *Senwa.*—Four thoks separately assessed; 18 lumberdárs; jama, Rs. 2,800. A sacred pond called Syám-kund indicates the probable derivation of the name. A halkabandi school.

98. *Sher-garh.*—See page 23.

99. *Sihána,* on the Jait and Sahár road. Given by Mádho Ráo Sindhia to Mahant Gobardhan Dás for the use of the temple of Rasik Bihári Lál at Brindá-ban and confirmed in 1841 to his heir,

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
100	Siyárá ...	1 0·5	10	1,085	Bholánáth Bráhman mortgagee.	Gaurua (Báchhal)	1,827
101	Tároli ...	3,170	228	3,398	Syám Sundar Dás and Durgá Prasád.	Gaurua (Báchhal).	4,514
102	Tatár-pur ...	253	...	253	Sundar Lál, Dhúsar.	Ahivási ...	608
103	Uba ...	373	...	373	Kishori Lál ...	Jádoṇ ...	880
104	Ujháni ...	491	12	503	Rári Sáhib Kunwar.	Gújar ...	1,667
105	Umráo ...	584	30	614	...	Jádoṇ ...	1,304

Nirottam Dás, who has now been succeded by Mahant Banmáli Saran. Jama, Rs. 2,200. A mango orchard and a large brick house bear the name of Rám Bal, a Bharat-pur Ját, who lived about two centuries ago. Two ponds are called respectively Kshír-Ságar and Dhanokhar. A halkabandi school.

100. *Siyárá*, on the Jamuná, which is crossed by a ferry, was held muáfi by Bihári Lál, Bráhman till his death in 1841, when it was first assessed. The present jama is Rs. 1,474. Five lumberdárs. There are two thoks of ten biswas each, called Siyárá Khás and Nagariya; the former is still held by the old Báchhal zamindárs; the latter has been partly sold to Seth Roshan Lál, and the remainder mortgaged for Rs. 1,150 to Bholá-náth, Bráhman. A bágh of Randhír, Thákur. There are three small temples, one built by Mádho Ráo Sindhia; and the Chir Ghát on the river bank is one of the most noted stations in the Ban-játra. The Phúl-dol is kept Phálgun sudi 11.

101. *Tároli*, for Tárá-puri, is a very extensive parish a little off the Jait and Sher-garh road. Having been put up to auction for arrears on the part of the old Báchhal zamindárs, it was first farmed for some years and eventually, in 1862, sold for Rs. 5,700 to Syám Sundar Dás and Ilar Náráyan, Dhúsars, whose son and daughter had married. Ilar Náráyan's son sold his half for Rs 15,000 to Bábú Durgá Prasád of Brindá-ban, and, in 1867, there was a complete separation of the two estates. Jama, Rs. 5,382. A halkabandi school. A market on Monday. There is an annual melá on the full moon of Kártik and the two preceding days in honour of one Swámí Búra Bábú, who is supposed to be particularly efficacious in the cure of skin diseases. In the village is a large temple dedicated to Rádhá Gobind, recently built out of subscriptions collected by a Bairágí, which has a front of carved stone; and there are several substantial shops and houses belonging to well-to-do Baniyas. The old zamindárs state that their ancestor came from Chitor some 700 years ago, and that they have borne the inferior title of Gauruas only of late years since some of their number adopted the practice of *kirao* or *kiraya*, that is, of marriage with the widow of a deceased elder brother. For their treatment by the new landlord see page 20.

103. *Uba*, on the Jamuná, given by Mádho Ráo Sindhia to Sesh Mall, Misr, for *Sadávrat*, *i. e.*, for the perpetual maintenance of a dole-house, and confirmed to his heirs for the same use in 1838. The muáfidárs' jama is Rs. 875; the Government also receiving a jama of Rs. 130 for alluvial and resumed land. The zamindárs were originally Gautam Bráhmans of one moiety, Jádoṇs of the other; but now the former hold only 8¾ biswas and all the remainder of the village has been transferred to Kishori Lál. On the river is a temple of Baladeva, built by Rúp Rám of Barsána, where two annual fairs are held; the Phúl-dol, Chait badi 5, and the Hindol, Sáwan sudi 5. A mango grove perpetuates the name of its planter, Mohana, Bráhman.

104. *Ujháni*, on the Jamuná. One of the confiscated Gújar villages. Jama, Rs. 1,441. A mango orchard.

105. *Umrao*, on the Agra Canal, given by Mádho Ráo Sindhia to Bál Kishan, Shástri, and in 1862 confirmed to his heirs. The original zamindárs were Gújars, who sold 12½ biswas to

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
106	Unchá-gánw ...	823	13	836	...	Gújar ...	1,742
107	Undi ...	376	550	926	...	Malakána,	895
108	Háji-pur by Basai (Great).	...	...	...	Madan Gopál, Káyath, Duli Rám, Gaurua.	...	278
109	Kamal-pur, by Nand-gánw.	...	...	...	Játs.	...	179
110	Khor by Barsána,	...	...	...	Temple of Lárli Ji at Barsána.	...	292
111	Lohrári by Basai (Great).	...	...	...	Bráhmans ...	...	234

Káyaths; but both the old and new proprietors fell into difficulties and to a great extent abandoned the village, whereupon it was occupied by a Jádon from Díg, named Parsá. Subsequently the Gújars returned, partially dispossessed the Jádons and gave some of the land to Rám Bal, a Ját of Undi. There are now three thoks, one for each of the specified castes A hamlet called Umar-pur is occupied by the zamindárs of Ranwári, who have 5 per cent. on the mnáfidár's rental; the zamindárs of Umrao have 7 per cent. There is a rakhyá of chhonkar trees, an ancient temple of Bihári and a pond called Kishorí-kund.

106. *Unchá-gánw*, by Barsána. Here is a temple of Baladeva, built by Rájá Todar Mall, Khatri, Akbar's minister, and a pond called Deva-kund, where a fair is held on the forenoon of Bhádon sudi 12 by the pilgrims of the Ban-játra on their way to Barsaná. Jama, Rs. 1,325. Four lumberdárs.

107. *Undi.*—Given by Mádho Ráo Sindhia to the temple of Kesava Deva at Mathurá. There are four thoks of five biswas each. Jama, Rs. 1,000. A sacred pond is called Prem-kund. In the mutiny, the villagers fighting with the Chhátá people had two men killed.

108. *Háji-pur*, was formerly assessed with Lohrári. The separate jama is now Rs. 100. The old zamindárs were Báchhals; now Daulat Rám, Gaurua of Bhau-gánw, has eight biswas, and Madan Gopál, Káyath of Mathurá, the other 12.

109. *Kámál-pur* is held by the Játs of Nand-gánw. Jama, Rs. 210.

110. *Khor* (*i. e.*, khol, an 'opening' between the hills) lies under the Barsána range. It was given by Mádho Ráo Sindhia to the temple of Lárli Jí and confirmed in 1843. The zamindárs have an annual allowance of Rs. 20.

111. *Lohrári* used to be united with Háji-pur. The separate jama is now Rs. 250. The Bráhmans of Basai have 12½ biswas; Moti Rám and Baladeva, sons of Manasá Rám, the other 7½.

III.—PARGANA MATHURÁ.

The Mathurá Pargana is the last of the three lying to the west of the Jamuná. Towards the south it abuts on the Farrah Pargana of the Agra District, and at some places the border is only five or six miles distant from the capital. A suggestion has therefore been made in an influential quarter that if Jalesar were attached, not to Eta (as has ordinarily been proposed), but to Agra, the Farrah Pargana would form the readiest compensation. This would be a partial return to the old arrangement, as several of the villages now in Mathurá were once under Farrah; and it seems to satisfy every local requirement and to be in all respects most desirable.

With the sole exception of Jalesar, with which it corresponds very closely in extent, the pargana is the largest in the district; having an area of 183,233 acres, with 163 villages and townships and 194 separate estates, of which 23 are held rent-free. Under the Ját and Mahratta Governments of last century it was in four divisions, Aríng, Sonkh, Sonsa, and Gobardhan; Aríng being the *jágír* of Bájí Bái, the queen of Daulat Ráo Sindhia, who (if local traditions are to be believed) inherited all the ferocious qualities of her infamous father, Ghatgay Shirzi Ráo, the perpetrator of the massacre of Púná. In 1803, after its cession to the Company, it was formed into two parganas, Mathurá and Aríng, under a Tahsildár whose head-quarters were fixed at the latter place, and so continued till 1868, when they were transferred to their present more appropriate location at the capital.

The first settlement was assessed at Rs. 5,149 for Mathurá and Rs. 98,885 for Aríng, making a total of Rs. 1,04,034, which was gradually increased to Rs. 2,14,336; the actual area also having undergone considerable change. For, in 1828, after the conclusion of the war with Durjan Sál, 15 villages on the Bharat-pur border were annexed, and about the same time several *muáfi* estates in the neighbourhood of Mathurá were resumed. The first contractor for the Government revenue was a local magnate, whose name is still occasionally quoted, Chaube Rudra-man, who after one year was succeeded by Khattri Beni Rám.

In addition to the city, it includes within its limits some of the most notable places in the district, as Brindá-ban, Gobardhan, and Rádhá-kund, as also several large and populous villages of modern growth and no special characteristic beyond their mere size, as Palson, Phondar, Usphár and others, each with two or three thousand inhabitants. The principal landed proprietors are

Swámi Rangáchárya, as head of the Seth's temple at Brindá-ban; Gosáin Purushottam Lál of Gokul; Rájá Prithi Sinh of Awa; the heirs of the Lálá Bábú, in Calcutta; and Seths Ghansyám Dás and Gobardhan Dás of Mathurá; not one of whom resides immediately upon his estate.

The predominant classes of the population are Játs, Bráhmans and Gaurua Kachhwáhás. The ancestor of all the latter, by name Jasráj, is traditionally reported to have come at some remote, but unspecified, period from Amber, and to have established his family at the village of Kota, whence it spread on the one side to Jait, and on the other to Satoha, Giridhar-pur, Páli-kherá, Maholi, Nahrauli, Naugáma, Nawáda, and Társi; which at that time must have formed a continuous tract of country, as the villages which now intervene are of much more modern foundation. The estates continued for the most part with his descendants till the beginning of the present century; but seventy years of British legislation have sufficed to alienate them almost entirely.

The most common indigenous trees are the *nim*, *babúl*, *remja* and *kadamb*: and the principal crops tobacco, sugar-cane, *chaná*, cotton, and barley; *bájrá* and *joár* being also largely grown, though not ordinarily to such an extent as the varieties first named. Wheat, which in the adjoining parganas is scarcely to be seen at all, here forms an average crop. The cold-weather instalment of the Government demand is realized principally from the outturn of cotton. An average yield per acre is calculated as one *man* of cotton, seven of *joár*, three of *bájrá*, six of wheat, eight of barley, five of *chaná*, eight of tobacco, and ten and a half of *gur*, the extract of the sugar-cane. The cost of cultivation per acre is put at Rs. 7 for the *kharíf* and Rs. 10 for *rabi* crops. The river is of little or no use for irrigation purposes; but after the abatement of the rains it is navigated by country boats, which are always brought to anchor at night. Water is generally found at a depth of 49 feet below the surface of the soil; and it is thus a matter of considerable expense to sink a well, more especially as the sandiness of the soil ordinarily necessitates the construction of a masonry cylinder. The Agra Canal, when opened, will be a great boon to the agriculturist: it will have a length of 16 miles in the pargana from Konai to Sonoth, with bridges at Basonti, Aríng, Sonsa, Lál-pur and Little Kosi.

Aríng, nine miles from Mathurá, on the high road to Díg, was, from 1803 to 1868, the head of a Tahsíli, removed in the latter year to the Civil Station. Till 1818 the town was a jágír of a Kashmír Pandit, by name Bábá Bisvanáth. On his death it was resumed and assessed at Rs. 6,447, which sum has subsequently been raised to Rs. 10,000. In 1852, the old Gaurua zamindárs' estate was transferred at auction to Seth Gobind Dás, who has made it part of the endowment of his temple at Brindá-ban. In the mutiny the rebels marched upon the place with the intention of plundering the treasury, but were stoutly opposed by the zemindárs and resident officials, and driven back after a few shots had

been fired. Lálá Rám Bakhsh, the hereditary patwári, who also acted as the Seth's agent, was conspicuous for his loyalty, and subsequently received from the Government a grant of Rs. 1,000 and the quarter jama of the village of Kothra, which he still enjoys. The Tahsildár, Munshi Bhajan Lál, also had a grant of Rs. 1,200, and smaller donations were conferred upon several other inhabitants of the town, chiefly Bráhmans. It is much to be regretted that a misunderstanding with regard to the management of the estate has arisen within the last year or two between the Seth and his agent, the Lálá, which threatens to sever entirely the latter's connection with the place. Aríng is generally counted as one of the 24 upabans, and has a sacred pond called Kilol-kund, but no vestige of any grove. Various mythological etymologies for the name are assigned by the local pandits; but, as usual, they are very unsound; and probably the word was originally written Arang, which means 'a mart,' in allusion to the trading capabilities of the town, situate as it is on the great throughfare between Mathurá and Díg. There is a school of the tashíli class (which hitherto has been liberally supported by Lálá Rám Bakhsh), a post-office, and a police-station in charge of a Sub-Inspector. Three small temples are dedicated respectively to Baladeva, Bihári Jí and Pipaleśvar Mahádeva; and the ruins of a fort constructed last century preserve the name of Phundá Rám, a Ját, who held a large tract of territory here as a *jágir* under Rájá Súraj Mall of Bharat-pur. The Agra Canal passes close to the town and is bridged at the point where it crosses the main road. The market day is Sunday. The avenue of trees extending from Mathurá through Aríng to Gobardhan was mainly planted by Seth Sukhánand.

Aurangabad, four miles from Mathurá on the Agra road, derives its name from the Emperor Aurangzeb, who is said to have made a grant of it to one Bhím Bhoj, a Tomar Thákur, with whose descendants it continued for many years. For some time previously to 1861 it was however held rent-free by a Fakír, commonly called Bottle Sháh, from his bibulous propensities, a grantee of Daulat Ráo Sindhia. On his death it was assessed at Rs. 691, which has since been raised to Rs. 898. The place is frequently, but incorrectly, called Naurangábád. It also has the subsidiary name of Mohanpur, from one Mohan Lál, a Sanádh, a man of some importance, who came from Mát and settled there last century. On the bank of the Jamuná is an extensive garden, and beside the high road the ruins of a handsome red-sandstone mosque. The weekly market is held on Friday and is chiefly for the sale of thread and cotton. The Government institutions consist of a police-station and a primary school; the latter for some years past bearing an exceptionally high character. A reach of sandy and broken ground extends from the town to the river, where a bridge-of-boats affords means of communication with Gokul and Mahában on the opposite bank. Aurangábád is the chief place for the manufacture of wicker chairs and couches, which find a ready sale among the English residents of the adjoining station.

Alphabetical List of Villages.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
1	Ahalyá-ganj ...	318	7	325	Bijay Lál, Saráugi,	Chamár ...	964
2	Ahmal (Great) ...	847	26	873		Jáṭ. (Kuntel).	729
3	Ahmal (Little) ...	472	...	472		Ditto ...	769
4	Ajal ...	195	...	195		Ditto ...	205
5	Ajít Paṭṭi ...	471	...	471		Ditto ...	1,035
	Akrúr: a hamlet of Dhaurera.						
6	Alha-pur ...	80	...	80	Chunni Lál, Jáṭ ...	Bráhman, (Gautam.)	390
7	Anyor ...	874	769	1,643	Malakánas and Bráhmans.	Malakána,	2,034
8	Arázi Shámilát ...	4	...	4	Jáṭs ...	Bairágí ...	40
9	Arhera, or Arahra,	245	86	331	Baladeva Siñh, Bráhman, of Gokul.	Malakána and Chamar.	904

1. *Ahalyá-ganj*, on the road to Brindá-ban, was so named by Tuka Ji Holkar (who died 1795 A. D.,) after his wife Ahalyá. A Bairágí by name Rám Dás held it with the neighbouring village of Dhaurera as a free grant from Sindhia for some years but it was resumed before the mutiny. The original zamindárs were Kachhwáhás; but now one bíswa is held by Gautam Bráhmans, the remainder by Bijay Lál, Saráugi, son of Díwán Sarb-sukh, whose ancestors were Díwáns to the Mahárája of Jay-pur. There is some khárlar land, but no irrigation from wells.

2. *Ahmal (Great)* is so called after the village founder, Ahmal, who came from Sonkh.

3. *Ahmal (Little)* was founded from Great Ahmal by one Síś Rám. After the mutiny it was conferred for a time upon Chaudhari Daulat Sinh of Rál, who transfered it to Seth Gobind Dás; but it was eventually restored to the old proprietors.

4. *Ajal.*—See Sonkh. Jama, Rs. 575.

5. *Ajít Patti.*—See Mangotla. Jama, Rs. 2,100.

6. *Alha-pur*, on the Dehli road, was settled some 200 years ago by one Lálman, Gautam, who named it after his son Alkha. His descendants have now parted with almost all the estate to Jáṭs and Khattris. The village is held muáfi by the Gautams of the temple of Lakshmi Náráyan at Brindá-ban. Present jama, Rs. 400.

7. *Anyor*, on the Giri-ráj, but 'at the other end' *(any or)* from Gobardhan. Here are two ancient temples dedicated to Gobind Deva and Baladeva, and a sacred tank, called Gobind kund, ascribed to Ráni Padmavati, the waters of which are supposed to be very efficacious in the cure of leprosy. The Pind-dán, or offerings to the dead, in the ceremonial of the Srádh, have as much virtue here as even at Gaya. There are 40 acres of woodland. The original occupants are said to have been Kirárs. After the mutiny the village was conferred for a time on Chaudhari Daulat Sinh, but eventually restored to the existing zamindárs. Jama, Rs. 2,653.

8. *Arázi Shámilát*—One of the eleven mahál into which the original village of Nainu Paṭṭi has been divided; the other ten being Saida, Nagara Kalán, Nagara Bhán, Nagara Bhúnchha, Nagara Ghaniya, Nagara Chauthaiya, Daum-pura, Jangali Bári, Khilu, and Nagara Kanku.

9. *Arhera* was founded some 300 years ago by Bhoja, Malakána, and the family of Rám Chand, Gújar, from the neighbouring village of Kota. Their descendants continued to be the proprie-

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
10	Aríng ...	3,981	190	4,171	Swámi Rangáchárya ...	Gaurua, Jáṭ, and Bráhman.	5,503
11	Aráki Múmin-pur,	1,203	28	1,231	Ganes Panda, Gujaráti.	Chamár ...	1,489
12	Asé ...	380	...	380		Jáṭ, (Kuntel.)	470
13	Atas ...	854	353	1,207	Akalánand, Gosáin,	Malakána ...	3,612
14	Aurang-ábád Mohan-pur.	1,745	541	2,286	Bráhmans ...	Baniya and Musalman.	916
15	Azam-ábád Saráe,	334	9	343		Gaurua, (Kachhwáhá.)	135
16	Azam-pur ...	96	...	96		Gújar ...	255

tors till recently, when their estate was put up to auction for arrears, and has finally passed into the hands of Baladeva Siṅh, Bráhman, of Gokul. The jama, now Rs. 1,500, was for some years previous to 1811 enjoyed as a free grant.

10. *Aring.*—See page 38.

11. *Aráki Múmin-pur*, founded some 600 years ago by Nizám, Gújar; Malúk, Bráhman Sanádh, and Dayá Rám Gaurua, who came from across the Ganges and dispossessed the former occupants, who were Kalals The founders' descendants have now sold part of the village to a Gujaráti Pánda, living at Mathurá, by name Ganes. The jama (Rs. 1,949) was granted by Sindhia to Chaubes Kesava Deva, Sukh Deva, and Ratn Lál, of whom the last-mentioned only survives, and his interest, which is only for life, has been transferred to Sáh Kundan Lál.

12. *Asé.*—See Sonkh. Jama, Rs 1,073.

13. *Atas*, on the bank of the Jamuná, is divided into three Nagaras,—Atas Miyan, Atas Hindu, and Atas Devi. The founder, Mahta, Tomar, who expelled the Kirárs from the place, had two sons, Mákhu and Samar, of whom the former turned Muhammadan and took as his share the half of the estate thence called Atas Miyan, while his brother and his descendants kept Atas Hindu. 2½ biswas known as Atas Devi, on account of a temple that bears that name, were originally conferred on one Chúra, a Gújar servant, but have passed through various hands to Akalánand, Gosáin of the temple of Sringár Baṭ at Brindá-ban, who is also the muáfidár.

14. *Aurang ábád Mohan-pur.*—See page 39.

15. *Azam-ábád Saráe*, outside the city of Mathurá, on the Delhi road, derives its name from a very large saráe ascribed to Azam Sháh, son of the Emperor Aurangzeb (see page 18). It covered a wider area even than the one at Chhátá, and was most substantially built, the foundations being sunk to an enormous depth, but there was little or no architectural decoration. It is now a ruin, and the materials have been largely employed in paving the streets of the city. As it stands at some distance from the new road, it had ceased to be of any use to travellers. The land was taken from the adjoining villages of Jay-Sinh-pur and Gobind-pur, and conferred on Mádho Sinh, whose descendants still retain the greater part, though three biswas have passed to Durgá Prasád, Khattri. Jama Rs., 359.

16. *Azam-pur*, near Aurang-ábád, was founded in the reign of Aurangzeb by Azam Khán, the Governor of Mathurá from 1642 to 1645 A.D., who gave it to a servant, Gulább, Gújar. After the mutiny it was temporarily conferred on Seth Roshan Lál. Jama, Rs. 316.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus	Musalman.	Total			
17	Babúri ...	185	77	262	Gosáin Purushottam Lál.	Malakána,	640
18	Bachh-gánw ...	2,024	20	2,044		Jáṭ, (Kuntel.)	3,694
19	Bájana ...	373	12	385	Seth Ghansyám Dás, mortgagee.	Gújar, and Chamár.	419
20	Bákir-pur ...	209	4	213	Gosáin Purushottam Lál.	Sanádh ...	586
21	Barhota ...	750	27	777		Gaurua, (Kachhwáhá)	1,139
22	Basái ...	140	...	140		Gújar ...	307
23	Basonti ...	540	23	563	Rájá Prithi Sinh of Awa.	Gaurua, (Jasávat.)	1,234

17. *Babúri*, 'the *babúl* grove,' near the Agra road, was originally occupied by Kuláls, who were ejected by one Mál, a Tarkan Gaurua. One of his descendants turned Muhammadan, adopting the name of Fatih Mubárak, and is the ancestor of the present Malakána family. The village has been divided into two mahál, called Pachhwaiya and Purwaiya, of seven and three biswas, respectively; the latter was sold to Pachauri Ballabh Sinh of Mahá-ban, and has passed from him to Gosáin Purushottam Lál. Babúri was part of the jágír of Baija Bai, wife of Daulat Rao Sindhia, and was originally included in the Sousa, and later in the Aring, Pargana. After the mutiny the Malakána mahál was confiscated for a time and conferred on Seth Roshan Lál. The jama is Rs. 686.

18. *Bachh-gánw*, on the Bharat-pur border. The predecessors of the present Jáṭ zamindárs were Kirárs. The place is said to derive its name from, and to have been the scene of, a famous incident in Krishna's life, who, when the jealous god Brahma took away the calves *(bachhe)* from his herd, at once created others to supply their place. The legend, however, has no ancient connection with the locality, and is referred to it simply in explanation of the village name. There is a weekly market on Monday, a halkabandi school, and four small temples. Jama, Rs. 6,300.

19. *Bájana* was founded by two Gújars, Mohan and Báka, whose descendants transferred it to Chaubes, by whom it has been mortgaged to Gaur Sahay Mall (deceased) and Ghansyám Dás. The jama (now Rs. 548) was enjoyed by Hakím Nam-dár Khán till 1817, when it was resumed.

20. *Bákir-pur* is so called after Azam Khán Mír Muhammad Bákir governor of Mathurá, who changed its name from Kalyán-pur and bestowed it upon two Bráhmans, named Lálman and Lorha, that were in his service. It is now divided into five mahál, of which the largest one—being eleven biswas—is owned by Gosáin Purushottam Lál; in the smaller the old Sanádh family still retain some interest. Jama, Rs. 727. Close to the junction of the boundaries of Bákir-pur, Giridhar-pur, and Mathurá, may be traced a large ancient tank with a number of Buddhist *stupas* on its margin.

21. *Barhota*.—The predecessors of the present Gaurua zamindárs were Kirárs. There is a *kadamb-khandi* of 166 bighas with a temple of Buddhánand Lakshmi Náráyan, built by Mangal Dás, Bairágí, about a century ago. Jama, Rs. 1,600.

22. *Basái* was settled by Gújars in Akbar's reign. In 1868 it was divided into two equal mahál called Uda and Kánha.

23. *Basonti*, on the Agra Canal, with a bridge and rest-house. The old Jasávat family now owns only 2½ biswas, the Rájá of Awa 15, and Bráhmans the remaining 2½. Jama, Rs. 1,350.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
24	Báṭhi ...	1,759	139	1,898	Mahant Gob'ind Dás.	Gaurua, (Kachhwáhá.)	2,990
25	Berká ...	283	6	289		Ditto and Jáṭ.	235
26	Bhadál ...	853	21	874		Sanádh ...	1,670
27	Bhadár ...	264	...	264		Jáṭ ...	520
28	Bhagosa ...	617	...	617		Sanádh ...	1,637
29	Bhavan-pura ...	963	1	979		Jáṭ, (Kuntel.)	383
30	Bíja-pur ...	459	26	485	Prasádi Lál, Chaube.	Chamár ...	815
31	Boripa ...	728	50	778		Jáṭ (Kuntel),	1,496
32	Brindá-ban ...	20,160	836	20,996		...	2,027

24. *Báthi*, on the customs line between Satoha and Chaumuhá, has long been held muáfi by the Gurus of the Rájá of Bharat-pur for the use of the temple of Síá Rám, of which they are the hereditary mahants. The shrine stands within the walls of the village fort, built by Mahant Rám Kishan Dás in the time of Súraj Mall. The first zamindárs were Kalárs, then Gaurnas, and the latter have sold eight biswas to the muáfi lár, Gobind Dás. In the sacred grove of Bahula-ban, from which the place derives its name, are several small shrines, and a melá is held at it, as one of the stations in the Ban játra, on Bhádon badi 12.

25. *Berka*, 'the *ber* tree grove,' was originally held by Kirárs, but re-founded by one Balaram, the ancestor of the present zamindárs. Jama Rs. 597.

26. *Bhadál* was divided in 1851 into two mahárs, the one of 11¼, the other 8¾ biswas, and this latter has been again subdivided into four. Both were long mortgaged to Jugal Dás, Bairágí, and Sí a Rán Khatri, but have now been redeemed with the exception of a small share, of which the Bairágis have acquired absolute possession. Jama, Rs. 1,900

27. *Bhadár*, founded by Indra and Lálman, Bhadauriya Thákurs, whence the name. There is a fort built by Mán Sinh, Jáṭ, and a masonry tank due to Incha, zamindár. 224 bighas are occupied by a *dáhar*, or wood. Jama, Rs. 710. In the mutiny the zamindárs were attacked by the people of Singá and had to flee to Phenchri.

28. *Bhagosa*.—The jama (Rs. 1,659) is appropriated to the maintenance of the temple of Harideva at Gobardhan (see page 173). The old zamindárs were Kirárs ; are now Sanádhs.

29. *Bhavan-pura*.—One of the villages conferred for a time after the mutiny on Chaudhari Daulat Sinh. Jama, Rs. 1,009. Bráhmans are now shareholders to a small extent.

30. *Bijá-pur*, founded 250 years ago, by Bijay Sinh, Rájput, who took half of the village of Narhauli and called it after his own name. Till 1841 it was all muáfi, and 403 bighas are so still, held by a Chaube who also owns 15 biswas of the zamindári. The Government jama is Rs. 203

31. *Boripa*.—The old zamindárs were Kirárs, the present are Jáṭs and Dhúsars. Jama, Rs. 2,107.

32. *Brindá-ban*.—See page 113. For some unexplained and inexplicable reason the official designation of this town is declared to be Bindrabun !

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
33	Chhatíkra ...	667	23	690	Banmáli Charan Dás, Mahant.	Gaurua ...	1,364
34	Chhirora ...	394	13	407	...	Lodha ...	746
35	Datiya, 5 biswas	71	...	71	Bráhmans.	Sanádh ...	160
36	Ditto 15 biswas,	258	29	287	Ditto	Gaurua and Jáṭ.	502
37	Daulat-pur ...	151	279	430		Mewáti ...	403
38	Daum-purá ...	158	...	158	...	Jáṭ (Kuntel),	68
39	Dhan-gánw ...	1,047	28	1,075	Gujaráti Bráhmans	Gaurua ...	1,522
40	Dhaurera ...	96	...	96	Gosáin Purushottam Lál.	Bráhman ...	1,267
41	Dyoseras ...	1,132	494	1,626		Ditto and Mewáti.	2,804
42	Ganesara ...	745	3	748		Bráhman ...	1,145

33. *Chhatíkra*, on the Delhi road, was founded by Manu, Jama, and Ror, three Kachwáhás from Rál. Their descendants now retain only 1¾ biswa, the rest having been sold to the mahant of the temple of Syám Sundar at Brindá-ban, who is also muáfidár. There is a *jhári*, or wood, with a small shrine dedicated to Garur Gobind, which is reputed to be of great antiquity, and is highly venerated. On Sáwan sudi 8, during what is called the pánch tirath-ká-melá, it is visited by a large number of pilgrims; the other four holy places being Madhu-ban at Maholi, Sántanukund at Satoha, Gokarnesvar at Mathurá, and the Brahm-kund, at Brindá-ban.

34. *Chhirora*, (Chhitara-pura), founded by Mán and Manohar, two Lodhas, who came with Rája Jasaráj, Kachhwáhá, from Amber, and settled first at Koṭa, and thence removed to Chhirora, which they named after a relative Chhitar. The zamindárs are now Bairágis, Khattris, Baniyas, and Dhúsars. The jama (Rs. 1,420) till 1817 was enjoyed by a Chaube named Nand Lál. There is a stone *báuli* dating from the time of the Delhi Emperors. In the present map of the district this place is spelt Juhrewruh!

37. *Daulat-pur* derives its present name from Daulat Sinh, Mewáti, to whom it was given by Rájá Súraj Mall. The old name was Lechorá, and the zamindárs Jasávats. Jama, Rs. 550.

38. *Daum-pura.*—See Nainu Paṭṭi.

39. *Dhan-gánw*, founded by Ati-bal, a Tarkan Gaurua, who came from Sarsa and expelled the Kirárs. Till 1825 the village was included in the Farrah pargana of the Agra District. Jama, Rs. 2,199.

40. *Dhaurera*, on the Jamuná, between Mathurá and Brindá-ban, was also called Sháh-ábád. The village founders were Kachhwáhás, from whom the estate has passed to Gosáin Purushottam Lál. At the small hamlet of Akrúr, which is populated entirely by Gosáins, is the ancient temple of Binári Jí, better known by the name Bhatrond, where a melá is held on the full moon of Kártik. (See page 114.) Jama, Rs. 1,000.

41. *Dyoseras.*—The name is said to be derived from the Rishi Durvásas and the pond is shown where he is said to have practised penance: but the derivation does not appear very probable. The old zamindárs were Bráhmans and Jasávats; the present proprietor is Rádhá, widow of Har Prasád, the purohit of the Rájá of Bharat-pur. Jama, Rs. 3,000.

42. *Ganesara*, founded by one Gur Deva from Rasiya in Bharat-pur, whose descendants still retain 16 biswas. With the exception of 316 bighas 18 biswas, assessed in 1854 at Rs. 290

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
43	Gántháuli ...	1,467	23	1,490	Har Phúl, Bráhman, Roshan Lál, Khattri.	Sanádh ...	2,360
44	Ghátam Patti ...	228	2	230		Jáṭ (Kuntel),	572
45	Giridhar-pur ...	210	...	210	Mahant Kishan-Dás.	Gaurua ...	435
46	Gobardhan (Bráhmanán).	1,750	8	1,758			
47	Gobardhan (Gaurua.)	2,244	195	2,439			
48	Gobind-pur ...	56	1	57	Bráhmans ...	Chamár ...	455
49	Gopál-pur ...	17	...	17	Rám Bakhsh and Záhiriya, Baniyas.	Jáṭ (Kuntel),	208
50	Hakím-pur ...	416	12	428		Jáṭ ...	501
51	Indau ...	1,227	...	1,227		Ditto ...	1,319
52	Jachaundha ...	873	2	875	Swámi Rangáchárya.	Gaurua (Kachhwáhá).	1,640
53	Jait ...	1,743	89	1,832	Heirs of Lálá Bábú	Gaurua ...	3,925

and called Mahál Rambhá Chaubin, after the name of the last grantee, the whole village is enjoyed muáf by Raghu-náth, Bhaṭ There is a *jhári* of 31 bighas.

43. *Gántháuli*, on the road to Díg. Here is a sacred pond called Gulál-kund, with a temple and dharm-sálá. The old zamindárs were Gujárs, Jasávats, and Bráhmans, of whom the last named still remain, while the others have been superseded by Khattris. Jama, Rs. 2,987.

44. *Ghátam Patti.*—See Mangotla. Jama, Rs. 1,730.

45. *Giridhar-pur*, so called from Giridhar, a Kachhwáhá, who came from Satoha. His descendants have sold the greater part to the muáfídár, the mahant of the temple of Dán Ráe at Brindá-ban. There is an old temple of Devi.

46-47. *Gobardhan.*—See page 169.

48. *Gobind-pur* has never been assessed, being held muáf by the heirs of Jagannáth, Bhaṭ, who are at the present time Gobardhan-náth, Mathurá-náth, Gopi-náth, and Som-náth.

50. *Hakím-pur.*—So called after the founder, a physician at the Emperor's court. The old zamindárs were Kirárs, are now Pachandra and Kudár Játs and Baniyas. Here is a dharm-sálá, built by Sabha, Chaube. The village, divided by recent Batwára into three mahálís, of 12 6, and 2 biswas respectively, was after the mutiny confiscated for a time and bestowed on Chaudhari Daulat Sinh.

51. *Indau.*—So called after the founder, a Ját, from Bachh-gánw, who expelled the old occupants, Kirárs. Seven of his descendants have given their names to as many *nagaras*,—Sabala, Deviya, Shera, Gulál, Marúf, Harpál, and Shafi. Jama, Rs. 2,200.

52. *Jachaunda*, on the road to Díg. Purchased from the Gaurnas by Saiyid Imdád Ali, Deputy Collector, and sold by him to Swámi Rangáchárya. Jama, Rs. 2,300.

53. *Jait.*—On the Delhi road. Police station, district post office, and halkabandí school. Was founded by Rájá Jasaráj, Kachhwáhá, from Kota, and transferred by his descendants, in 1811

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
54	Jájan Paṭṭi ...	1,464	41	1,505	...	Jáṭ (Kuntel),	1,241
55	Jakhin-gánw ...	785	35	820	Rájá Prithi Sinh of Awá.	Gaurua ...	1,760
56	Jamál-pur Saráe,	451	7	458	Gobardhan and Bhaváni Sinh, Tomars.	Chamár ...	656
57	Jamunáuta ...	324	4	328	Swámi Rangáchárya.	Gaurua (Jasávat).	1,125
58	Jangali Báṛi ...	909	4	913		Jáṭ (Kuntel)	586
59	Jánú ...	1,617	48	1,665		Gaurua (Jasávat).	3,162
60	Jaṭi-pura ...	725	121	846	Srí Giridhári Jí, Gosáin.	Malakána & Bráhman.	841

A. D., without any written agreement or definite consideration to the Lalá Bábú. Till 1808, the village was part of the jágír of Báijá Bái, and included in the Sonsa Pargana; then was attached to the Farrah, and in 1834, to the Mathurá Pargana. Jama, Rs. 4,952.

54. *Jájan Patti.*—See Mangotla. Jama, Rs. 2,829.

55. *Jakhin-gánw.*—Sold to the Rájá of Awá by Keso-nand, Gosáin of the temple of Sringárbaṭ at Brindá-ban This is one of the stations in the Ban-játra; and there is a temple of Baladeva built by Rúp Rám of Barsána. The Agra Canal passes through the village lands. Jama, Rs. 1,800.

56. *Jamál-pur Saráe*, in the Mathurá Civil Lines, is said to have been first founded by a Tomar from Mai Mirza-pur, but derives its present name from the Saráe, now used as the Police Damdama, built by Khwajá Itibar Khán, governor of Delhi, in Akbar's reign, who also built the Saráe at Kosi. In the mutiny the Tomar zamindárs, Sedhu and Máo Sinh, pillaged and burned the houses in the station, in return for which they were flogged almost to death, and their village destroyed. It has been rebuilt on another spot, but the old site is occupied by the Magistrate's Court-house. The jama is Rs. 280; part has been mortgaged to Rati, Gararíya, of Nagara Bahádur.

57. *Jamunauta* is said to have been once on the river-bank. Jama, Rs. 2,006. On the road-side north of the village is a dharm-sálá built by Majlis Rao, Baniya, of Bharat-pur.

58. *Jangali Bári.*—See Nainu Paṭṭi.

59. *Jánu.*—On the Bharat-pur border. The former zamindárs were Kirárs: a part is now owned by Baniyas. There is a *dhák* tree jungle of 21 bighas, in which is the hut of a fakír, Ramzán Sháh, with a pond. Four small temples. Jama, Rs. 2,800. This was one of the villages temporarily confiscated after the mutiny and bestowed on Chaudhari Daulat Sinh.

60. *Jati-pura*, on the Gobardhan range, was first so called by Gosáin Biṭṭhal-náth, *alias* Jaṭi Jí: its older name was Gopál-pur. The original zamindárs were Gauruas, but their estate has passed into the hands of the muáfidár, the Gosáin of the temple of Navanít-priya at Gokul. There has never been a Government assessment. There is a kadamb-khandi of 273 bighas, where the Rás-lila is celebrated, Bhádon sudi 11; and on the day after the new moon of Kártik the Annkút melá is held at the temple of Gokul-náth. On every full moon throughout the year, people will be seen performing the parí-krama. On the summit of the ridge are the remains of the old temple of Srí-náth, built by Ballabhácháryа, and in the village many other temples and tanks—Navanít-prya, Biṭṭhal-náth, Mathurá-náth, and Sukta-kund constructed by Gosáin Biṭṭhal-nath; Bijay-náth, built by Rájá Jay Sinh; Udho-kund, Airavati-kund constructed by Rájá Nahar Sinh of Bharat-pur, and Hari Ji-kund by Seth Lajja Rám of Bhárol.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus	Musalman.	Total.			
61	Jay-sinh-pura ...	1,135	116	1,251	Kishori Lál, Dhúsar.	Chamár and Musalman.	1,001
62	Jhapra ...	176	1	177		Jáṭ	322
63	Jonai ...	286	...	286	Bráhmans and Thákurs.	Bráhman,	592
64	Junedi ...	637	14	651	Rájá Prithi Siuh of Awá.	Ditto	1,178
65	Junsuṭhi ...	1,118	76	1,194	Seth Gobardhan Dás	Gaurua (Kachhwáhá).	1,720
66	Karnául ...	298	22	320	Gosáin Purushottam Lál.	Tarkar Thákurs and Chamárs.	900
67	Keso-pur ...	14	...	14	Lodhas ...	Málí ...	170

61. *Jay-sinh-pura*, on the Brindá-ban road, was originally known as Dáud-pur, subsequently as Ráe-pur after Ráe Ráná one of Akbar's nobles, and derives its present name from the founder of Jay-pur. He gave it to certain Muhammadans and Gújars; and the former are still zamindárs of 16 biswas, while the remaining 4, constituted into a separate estate, are owned by Kishori Lál, Dhúsar. Jama, Rs. 517. On a hill overlooking the Jamuná are the remains of Jay Sinh's mansion, now commonly called Mahál Dúdhádhári. Before the mutiny the Náná of Bithor had a house and garden of 17 bíghas here The former was razed to the ground and the materials sold to Durgá Prasád, Khattri, who has built shops on the site; the garden was given to Pandit Durgá Prasád, Deputy Collector, in district Aligarh. On Kártik sudi 9 the melá of the Jug-ádi Navamí is held, and every fortnight from Asádh sudi 11 to the same date in Kártik, perambulations of Mathurá are made, starting from the Sarasvati-kund. There is a shrine of Chámundá Devi and a Saraugi temple.

62. *Jhaprá.*—The Jáṭ zamindárs belong to the Pachandara clan. Jama, Rs. 468. This was one of the villages given temporarily after the mutiny to Chaudhari Daulat Siuh.

63. *Jonai* was founded by Gopál Sinh, Rájput, whose descendants still retain 10 biswas; the other 10 have passed to Bráhmans. In 1807, Jonai was part of the jágír of Baijá Bai in pargana Sonsa, and was included in the Sahár Tahsíli till 1843, when it was first assessed at Rs. 425. The present jama is Rs. 666.

64. *Junedi* was sold to the Rájá by Kesavánand, Gosáin of the temple of Sringár-baṭ at Brindá-ban. Jama, Rs. 1,400.

65. *Junsuthi.*—The Katchhwáhás have sold 19 biswas to Seth Gobardhan Dás, the remaining one is held by Jáṭs. Jama, Rs. 2,662.

66. *Karnául* is said to derive its name from Rájá Karna, is certainly named after some Karna or other. 800 years ago it was re-settled by Angan, Tarkar, from Tartora, and Chánd, Ahír, from Mahá-ban, whose descendants partly sold, partly mortgaged, the estate to Seth Rúp Chand, whose son Gobardhan Dás made a gift of it to Gosáins Biṭṭhal-náth and Purushottam Lál. The latter now enjoys it with biṭṭhal-náth's two sons, Kalyán Ráe and Braj-náth. Till 1817, it was held muáfi by one Rám Kishan, but resumed on his death in that year. Jama, Rs. 1,363.

67. *Keso-pur*, so called after the famous temple of Kesava Deva, comprises the city suburbs about the Katra. Here is a Jaini temple built by Mani Rám the father of Seth Lakhmi Chand. Jama, Rs. 131.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
68	Khámini ...	647	68	715	Tulsi Rám, Baniya	Gújar ...	846
69	Khilú ...	755	12	767		Jáṭ (Kuntel).	623
70	Koila, 'Ali-pur ...	667	17	684		Bráhman Chamár.	1,638
71	Konai ...	954	21	975	Rájá Prithi Sinh of Awa.	Jádoṇ ...	1,894
72	Kosi (Little) ...	737	30	767	Swámi Rangáchárya.	Gaurua (Tarkars).	1,874
73	Koṭa ...	486	14	500	Jánáki Prasád of Raya.	Gaurua and Chamár.	1,316

68. *Khámini*, on the road to Gobardhan, originally belonged to Kachhwáhás and Gújars, from whom it has passed to Tulsi Rám, *modi* of the Rájá of Bharat-pur. Jama, Rs. 1,500.

69. *Khila.*—See Nainú Paṭṭi.

70. *Koila 'Ali-pur*, on the Jamuná opposite Gokul, was held muáfi by Munáwar Alí Sháh of Agra, till his death in 1831, when it was resumed. The jama is now Rs. 1,617. It was once two distinct villages, Sánáth Upádhyas being the zamindárs of Koila and Gaurnas of 'Ali-pur. Part is now owned by Gosáin Purushottam Lál. There are a saráe and mosque, built by Bhuri Begam in the time of the Mughal Emperors.

71. *Konai*, on the Agra Canal, was sold to the Rájá by Kesavánand, Gosáin of the temple of Sringár-baṭ at Brindá-bán. Jama, Rs. 1,550. There is a *zakhyá* of very considerable extent, with a fine group of kadamb trees in the centre, on the margin of a large pond; the whole forming a very picturesque spot. On the outskirts of this *kadamb-khandi*, in addition to the usual bushes of *khs* and *karil*, and many *chhonkar*, *venja*, and *labera* trees, there are several of the rarer *akol* and the *sahora*, and also by a second pond one venerable specimen of the *pilákhan*, a variety of the fig genus, scarcely found anywhere else in the district, with foliage resembling that of the *pípal* and fruit like the *gular*. There is a temple of Devi, a substantial brick-built pyramidal tower, partly in ruins, with elaborately carved jambs and lintel to its doorway and many fragments of sculpture of a somewhat earlier date. Also a small stone *chhatt-i* in memory of Jasu, an officer in the service of the Bharat-pur Ráj, whose grandson, Pitambar, is still living in the village. Adjoining it is a very large and deep well, the water of which is so brackish that it is impossible to use it for any purpose whatever. The want of good water is general throughout the whole of the village, and in consequence 1,418 bighas of land are now lying waste, out of a total area of 3,368. The canal will probably cause a great part of this to be brought under cultivation: but there is some difficulty in the matter, for 750 bighas, including 575 of waste, lie west of the canal, and can only be reached after going round either by the Basonti or Bharna bridge, each being more than two miles distant from the village. The objection to founding a subordinate hamlet across the canal is that no water fit for drinking purposes can be obtained there. The inhabitants are petitioning for the construction of an additional bridge.

72. *Kosi (Little)*, on the Bharat-pur road, has a bridge over the Agra Canal and rest-house, a temple of Bihári Jí, and an old mud-built saráe. There is a market on Saturday. Jama, Rs. 3,000. The masonry wells, of which one occurs here and others at intervals along the road, were sunk at the expense of a Rani of the present Bharat-pur Chief, a daughter of the Rájá of Pattiála.

73. *Kota*, on the Delhi road, is said to have been once called Katak-ban. The ancestor of the old Kachhwáhá zamindárs was one Jasráj from Amber, whose descendants sold the estate to Hardeva Dás and Baladeva Dás the heirs of Sárang Dás, who had been muáfidár till his death in 1850. The Government assessment is now Rs. 1,815. Jánaki Prasád, Baniya of Raya, now owns 19¼ biswas, the remaining ¾ biswa being administered by the Court of Wards on behalf of Hardeva Prasád, grandson of Durga Prasád.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant Caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
74	Kothra ...	329	...	329	Rám Bakhsh of Aṛíng.	Jáṭ (Kuntel)	612
75	Kunjera ...	704	25	729	...	Jádoṇ ...	1,627
76	Lál-pur ...	670	5	675	Kaṭára Bráhmans.	Jogí, ...	1,664
77	Láṛ-pur ...	282	66	348	Srídhar, Chaube,	Bráhman and Malakána.	1,127
78	Loṛha Paṭṭi ...	1,534	46	1,580		Jáṭ (Kuntel)	1,563
79	Madan-pura ...	108	5	113	Mír Madad Ali, road contractor.	Ahír, ...	392
80	Mádho-pur ...	227	16	243	Mahárnái, sister of Syáma Prasád, Tahsildár.	Malláh, ...	228
81	Mádhuri-kuṇḍ ...	1,112	221	1,333		Gaurua, ...	1,545

74. *Kothra.*—The Jama is Rs 1,000; but since the mutiny only Rs. 750 are paid to Government, the balance being a grant to the lumberdár for his good services.

75. *Kunjera,* or Kunj-ban, has a sacred pond called Baladeva-kuṇḍ, with a small temple bearing the same title. Jama, Rs. 2,271. The old zamindárs were Jasávats; are now Jádoṇs.

76. *Lál pur,* on the Sonkh road, with a bridge over the Agra Canal, founded by one Lálu, Gaurua, was in the time of Thákur Churá-mani of Bharat-pur held as a jágír by Mumrez, Jáṭ. It was subsequently resumed, but the zamindári was confirmed to his heirs, who transferred it to a family of Katára Bráhmans. One of the latter, by name Khumáni, purohit of the Ráná of Dhol-pur, was killed by the Jáṭs in the mutiny.

77. *Lár-pur,* was founded by a Tarkar named Láram, who came from across the Ganges. Of his descendants, Gángá, the owner of 5 biswas, turned Muhammadan; other 5 biswas have been sold to Sarwar and Pancham, Bráhmans; the remainder continued with the Hindu portion of the old family till recently, when the entire village was purchased by Srídhara, Chaube. He also owns 7½ biswas of the hamlet of Mani Ráni, while the other 12½ biswas are held as a separate mahál by Bráhmans of a different family. Láṛ-pur was held muáf by Baladeva, Gosáin, a disciple of Swámi Haribans, by grant of Mádho Ráo Sindhia, till 1856, when it was assessed at Rs. 850.

78. *Loṛha-Patti,* on the Sonkh road, is so called after its founder. The original zamindárs were Kirárs. Jama, Rs. 3,800.

79. *Madan-pura,* on the Jamuná and liable to diluvion, was founded by an Ahír from the neighbouring village of Karnául. His descendants have transferred it to Contractor Mír Madad Ali. Till 8161 it was part of the jágír of Fakír Bottle Sháh of Aurangábád. Jama, Rs. 350.

80. *Mádho-pur,* on the Jamuná, adjoining the cantonments, was formed out of Mathurá, Jamálpur, and May Mirza-pur by Salím Sháh some 300 years ago, who gave it to a Mallah, Chaina. It was confiscated after the mutiny, and conferred, first on Seth Roshan Lál, but finally on Pandit Durgá Prasád, Deputy Collector. In consequence of diluvian, the jama has been reduced from Rs. 382 to Rs. 250.

81. *Mádhuri-khund,* on the Agra Canal, is now divided into three maháls called Rám-bal, Durbal, and Magol. The kund is said to be named after one of Rádhá's companions; and bathing in it on a Wednesday is thought to be sure to bring as much good luck as a visit to 68 places of pilgrimage. There is a temple of Mohan-ji and a nameless Chhattri in a garden. The old zamindárs were Kirárs, are now Kachhwáhás. For their good conduct in the mutiny they received a donation of Rs. 400, and one year's jama, Rs. 1,337, was remitted.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
82	Maghera ...	788	3	791		Bráhman (Gautam)	1,290
83	Maholi ...	1,113	54	1,167	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Gaurua ...	2,376
84	Mahráuli ...	1,507	46	1,553	Rádhá, widow of Har Prasád, Purohit.	Gaurua (Jasávat),	2,901
85	May Mirza-pur...	624	4	628	Seth Mangi Lál ...	Gaurua Chamár.	296
86	Malhú ...	977	14	991		Jáṭ (Kuntel)	992
87	Malsaráe ... Mangotla	600	1	601		Jáṭ ...	646
88	Maṛora ...	335	324	659	...	Mewáti ...	1,258
89	Másúm-nagar ...	209	5	214	Param-ánand, Misr,	Gújar ...	390

82. *Maghera* is held muáf by Nand Kunwar, Bhat, of Brindá ban. The zamindárs were formerly Kirárs ; are now Ahivásis.

83 *Maholi, i. e*, Madhupuri, was refounded by two Kachhwáhás, Ráj-deva and Bhoj-deva, the sons of Jasráj of Koṭa. The estate continued with their descendants till 1812, when it was sold for the insignificant sum of Rs. 900 to the Lálá Bábú. The jama is now Rs. 3,239. Though only a few miles from Mathurá, the village was long the head of a pargana and subsequently was included in Aríng till 1833. By the sacred grove of Madhu-ban is a masonry tank called Madhu kund, with a temple of Chatur-bhuj where a melá is held by the Ban-játra pilgrims, Bhadon badi 11. There is a halkabandi school. For further particulars see page 54.

84. *Mahráuli*, probably a corruption of Mahídhara-puri, has a kadamb-khandi of 18 bighas and two small temples. The old zamindárs were Jasávats; the present proprietor is the widow of Har Prasád the Purohit of the Rájá of Bharat-pur. Jama, Rs. 3,600.

85. *May Mirza-pur*, on the Jamuná, adjoining the cantonments, was founded by Ráná Bahádur, a Tomar from Delhi, who named it after his son Maya Rám. From his heirs it has passed to Seth Mangi Lál. For a few years it was held muáf by Hakím Nám-dár Kháu. The present jama, liable to revision, as the stream affects the area, is Rs. 287.

86. *Malhu* and the village of Singa were founded by the two sons of one Mahta, who called them after their own names. On the road to Mathurá is a dharm-sálá, built by Manasá Rám Sáhukár, of Kumbhír, about 35 years ago. Jama, Rs. 2,200.

87. *Malsaráe* has passed from the old Kirár zamindárs to Sinsinwár Jáṭs. Jama, Rs. 1,287.

Mangotla, more commonly written and pronounced Magora, on the road to Bharat-pur, was, both under the Muhammadans and the Jáṭs, the head of a local division, and is reputed a place of great antiquity. After being long deserted, it was re-settled by a family of Tomar Thákurs, who divided it into four estates, which they called after their own names, Ghátam, Rám, Ajít and Jáṭan. These four paṭṭis are now to all intents and purposes distinct villages with the Mangotla bazár as a common centre. There is a weekly market on Thursday and a halkabandi school.

88. *Marora*, held muáf by Nand-kishor and Záhiriya, Bráhmans. The old zamindárs were Kirárs, are now Jasávats and Chaurásiya Bráhmans, these latter being a branch of the Gaur tribe, from Mewát. A pond bears the name of Bárokhar.

89. *Másúm-nagar*, originally called Haidar-pur, derives its later name from Másum Alí, Amil of Mathurá under Najaf Khán. It was founded in the first instance by Bhoj-deva and

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
90	Mathurá (City) ...	46,033	8,291	54,324	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	...	3,234
91	Mora ...	927	21	948	...	Gaurua ...	1,628
92	Muhammad-pur	613	...	613	...	Bráhman...	563
93	Mukund-pur ...	420	23	443	Seth Mangi Lál ...	Jáṭ ...	492
94	Mukharai ...	582	9	591	...	Sanádh ...	971
95	Muresi ...	751	5	756	...	Bráhman...	964
96	Murseras ...	1,041	18	1,059	Gobardhan Siṅh, Jáṭ.	Gaurua (Jasáwat) and Jáṭ.	2,200
97	Murshid-pur ...	73	...	73	...	Bráhman...	168
98	Nabí-pur ...	283	16	299	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Gaurua and Chamár.	1,176

Raj-deva, sons of Jasráj, Kachhwáhá, from Koṭa, who gave it to their foster-father, Buddhá, a Gújar. With his descendants it continued till 1810, when it was bought by Gújar Mall, son of Dayánand Misr, and father of the present proprietor. It was part of the jágír of Báija Bái till 1803, when it was first assessed at Rs. 450.

91. *Mora*, given muáf by Sindhia to Gopál, Bhaṭ, whose heirs retained the half jama till 1841, when it was settled with the Kachhwáhá zamindárs at Rs. 1,600. It has now passed to Seth Gobardhan Dás. In the mutiny one of the old zamindárs, Chhítar, took a prominent part, looting all the adjoining villages : he died in jail.

92. *Muhammad-pur*, known on the spot only by its older name of Parsoli, is so called after Muhammad Sháh, in whose time it was resettled by some Bráhmans from the neighbouring town of Gobardhan. Here is the Chandra-Sarovar, a fine octagonal tank with a temple of Lachhman, both constructed by Rájá Nahar Sinh of Bharat-pur. Jama, Rs. 1,001.

93. *Mukund-pur*, so called from the founder, a Mahratta. Subsequently it was occupied by some Játs from Kámar, named Gulább Lál, Sísa, Bhoja, and Jawáhir, with whose descendants it continued till after the mutiny. Jama, Rs. 1,047.

94. *Mukharai*, is held muáf by Mahant Rám Bakhsh. The old zamindárs were Kirárs, are now Sanádhs, Dhúsars and Baírágis. In 1868 it was divided into three maháls. Jama, Rs. 1,360.

95. *Muresi*, on the Bharat-pur road, is held muáf by the temple of Ganes, at Jay-sinh-pura. The founder was a Bráhman from Kumbhír, named Bás.

96. *Murseras*, bought by the Játs from the old Gújar and Jasávat zamindárs. Jama, Rs. 1,900.

97. *Murshid-pur*, on the Jamuná, adjoining the city, derives its name from the local governor, Murshid Kuli Khán. It was first assessed in 1841. The jama, which varies according to the course of the river, is now Rs. 430. The descendants of Sat Rám, Sanádh, the village founder, still hold 7¼ biswas ; Syám Lál and Mádho Lál, sons of Shankar Lál, the old mukaddam of the city, 5 biswas ; Nand-kishor, Baniya, other 5, and Hardeva Prasád, Khattri, the remaining 2¾.

98. *Nabi-pur* derives its name from Abd-ul-nabi, the founder of the mosque in the centre of the city. It was sold by the Kachhwáhá zamindárs to the Ráni Kaitáni, the widow of the Lálá Bábú. Jama, Rs. 1,700.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population. Hindus.	Musalman.	Total	Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
99	Nagara Bháu ...	44	...	44	Baladeva Misr and Bhágirath.	Jáṭ (Kuntel).	252
100	„ Bhúnchha,	227	...	227	...	Ditto ...	120
101	„ Chauthaiya.	83	...	83	...	Ditto ...	272
102	Nagara Chhinga...	407	21	428		Ditto ...	578
103	„ Gajú ...	413	4	417		Sanádh ...	239
104	„ Ghaniya,	262	4	266		Jáṭ (Kuntel).	92
105	„ Kalán ...	418	...	418		Ditto ...	231
106	„ Kanku ...	144	...	144		Ditto ...	211
107	„ Kási ...	396	1	397	Seth Ghansyám Dás.	Gaurua (Kachhwáhá).	920
108	„ Neta ...	163	...	163		Jáṭ ...	280
109	„ Sámant Nainu Paṭṭi.	96	...	96		Jáṭ (Kuntel).	208

92, 100, 101. *Nagaras Bháu, Bhánchha, Chauthaiya.*—See Nainu Paṭṭi.

102. *Nagara Chhinga.*—In the time of Thákur Chúrá-mani of Thún in Bharat-pur, a Kuntel Jáṭ, by name Banárasi, held part of Sonsa and Boripa as jágír. His grandson founded this hamlet, which he called after his own name. Jama, Rs. 1,109.

103. *Nagara Gaju* was first called Nagara Bráhmaan, after the caste of its founders, who came from Junsuṭhi. Jama, Rs. 594.

104, 105, 106. *Nagaras Ghaniya, Kalán, and Kanku.*—See Nainu Paṭṭi.

107. *Nagara Kási*, so called after its founder, who came from Junsuṭhi, was sold by the Kachhwáhás to Seth Ghansyám Dás, son of Gur Saháy Mall. Jama, Rs. 1,204.

108. *Nagara Neta* was settled by Jáṭs from Parhota, with whose descendants it still continues. Jama, Rs. 325.

109. *Nagara Sámant*, near Lál-pur on the Agra Canal, in the time of Thákur Chúrá-mani, of Thun, was held muáf by one of his kinsmen named Mumrez. The settlement was subsequently made with the Jáṭs, but now they have only five biswas and Bráhmans the other 15. Jama, Rs. 245.

Nainu Patti consists of 11 distinct maháls *viz.*, Arázi Shámilát, Daum-pura, Jangali Bári, Khilu, Saida; and Nagaras Bháu, Bhúnchha, Chauthaiya, Ghaniya, Kalán and Kanku. These were formed by the sons and relations of the original Jáṭ proprietor, Nainu, *viz.*, Jangali Bári, Khilu and Saida, by his three sons so named; Nagaras Bhuchha, Ghaniya, Kalán and Kanku, by the children of his fourth son Kirat; and Nagaras Bháu and Chauthaiya and Daum-pura by his kinsmen. A bairágí Priya Dás held 70 bighas 7 biswas muáf, and this land when resumed was constituted the Arázi Shámilát. The older zamindárs were Kirárs. There is a small temple of Braj-bhúkhan.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
110	Nahráuli ...	685	38	723		Chamár and Gaurua.	705
111	Naugáma ...	563	21	584	Bághchi Bohra, mortgagee.	Gaurua ...	1,265
112	Naugáma Mahál...	3	...	3	Harideva Dás, Bairági.	Ditto ...	...
113	Nawáda ...	211	...	211	Kalyán Lumbardár.	Ditto ...	650
114	Ním-gánw ...	917	21	938	...	Gaurua (Jasávat)	2,159
115	Paiṭha ...	1,614	98	1,712	...	Sanadh ...	3,080
116	Páli (Bráhmanán),	195	...	195	...	Ditto ...	242
117	„ (Gaurua) ...	48	...	48	Nathu Siñh, Kachhwáhá.	Máli ...	243

110. *Nahráuli*, on the Bhárat-pur road, was founded by Jasráj, Kachhwáhá, and named after Nahar, one of his relatives. His descendants still retain one-third, while Pátti Baladeva has been acquired by Bháu and Pratáp of Mát, and Patti Sawái by Keval and others of Maholi. Jama, Rs. 1,079. To punish the people for the part they had taken in pillaging the Civil Station, their village was burnt down after the mutiny, and for a time given to Seth Roshan Lál. On a chabutara by the roadside is an ancient Mahádeva, sculptured with a head in relief.

111. *Naugáma* is said to derive its name from one Nág, a Kachhwáhá, who came from Maholi and ejected the Kalárs: in which case the original form of the name must have been Nágáma. Part has been mortgaged to Bághchi, Bohra, and part sold to Jánaki Prasád of Raya. The jama, Rs. 1,942, is enjoyed muáf by Anand Lál and Mádho Lál, Baidyas, a gift from Sindhia.

112. *Naugáma Mahál* was held muáf by Prahlád Dás, Bairági, and formed into a separate estate on his death, when it was settled at Rs. 35 with his chela, Chhabíla Dás, who has now been succeeded by Harideva Dás. This latter has mortgaged it to Kundan Lál, Baniya, agent for two Mahratta ladies, Tápi Bái and Jamuná Bái.

113. *Nawáda*, like Naugánia, was formed by Nag, Kachhwáhá, the son of Sarang, and grandson of Jasráj, who came from Satoha and and took 400 bighas out of each of the four adjoining villages, Aurangábád, Bija-pur, Arúki, and Tartora. His descendants are still in part possession. Jama, Rs. 872.

114. *Ním-gánw*, on the Chhátá and Gobardhan road, is so called after Gosáin Manohar Dás, of the Nimbárak Sampradaya, who built a small temple, still standing. Jama, Rs. 2,307.

115. *Paitha*, near Gobardhan (Jama, Rs. 3,166), is held muáf by Misrs Baladeva Lál and Gangá Rám of Mathurá, of whom the former is accounted the most learned astronomer and astrologist in this part of India. The zamindárs of old were Kirárs; are now Bráhmans and Gújars. There is a masonry tauk called Náráyan Sarovar, and by it a small temple, of great reputed antiquity, dedicated to Chaturbhuj, with a curiously twisted tree known as the *Aintha kadamb*, and a natural cave believed to reach the whole way to Gobardhan, and to be the one that the people of Braj went into to save themselves from the wrath of Indra. There are also two other small temples, and, on the road to Gobardhan, a Mahádeva called Muhári that is said to be sunk an immense depth in the ground, and will never allow itself to be covered over. Several attempts have been made to build a temple over it; but whenever the roof began to be put on, the walls were sure to fall in. This and several other of the sacred sites in the neighbourhood are marked by inscribed tablets set up last century by an officer under Sindhia.

116, 117. *Páli*, divided before the mutiny into two Mahals, in one of which Bráhmans from Baṛhota; in the other Gaurua Jasávats are zamindárs. The jama of each is Rs. 330.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
118	„ (Dungara) ...	149	...	149		Jáṭ (Kuntel.)	196
119	„ Kheṛá ...	481	...	481		Ditto ...	650
120	„ Mahta ...	413	27	440		Ditto ...	528
121	Panná-pur ...	...	...	...	Málho Lál Chaube.	Ditto ...	398
122	Páṛal ...	583	64	647		Sanádh ...	1,861
123	Parson ...	2,416	29	2,445	Rájá Prithi Siñh of Kishan-garh.	Ahivási ...	3,712
124	Phenchri ...	335	4	339	Zálim Siñh and Rám Chand, Lumberdárs.	Jáṭ (Kuntel).	693
125	Phondar ...	2,989	81	3,070		Ditto ...	3,242
126	Pura ...	452	6	458		Ditto ...	1,240
127	Púṛna ...	868	236	1,104		Ditto ...	508

118 and 120. *Páli*, on the road to Sonkh, is said to have been named in honour of Anang Pál of Delhi, by a Thákur, three of whose descendants, Dungara, Lorha, and Mahta formed it into as many separate mahál. Lorha, which is uninhabited, has a jama of Rs. 310, Dungara, Rs. 420, and Mahta, Rs. 150.

119. *Páli Kherá* was founded by the sons of Jasráj, Kachhwáhás from Maholi, who named it after their sovereign lord, Anang Pál of Delhi. It continued with their descendants till above 100 years ago, when Nagaru and Dalua sold 17½ biswas to Dhan Sinh, Gújar, and Kripá, Jáṭ. The remaining 2½ biswas were acquired by Gújars in 1813. Jama, Rs. 479.

121. *Panna-pur*, founded about the year 1725, by Paṇná, Khwajá, in the service of Sawái Jay Sinh, who took 200 bighas from Mathurá and as many from Nahráuli and Maholi. It was made over to Tulsi, Gújar, his foster-father, who bestowed five biswas of it on Bráhmans. The present zamindárs are Chaubes, Gújars and Bairágis. Jama, Rs. 273. It is uninhabited.

122. *Páral*, on the Chhátá and Gobardhan road, was made into two mahál in 1842; Bráhmans having 12½, and Khattris 7½ biswas. Jama, Rs. 1,936.

123. *Parson*, the present Ahivási zamindárs acquired from the Kirárs. The Rájá of Kishangarh is muáfidár. Two small temples and a halkabandi school.

124. *Phenchri*.—The present Pahchandra, Dhúsar, and Bráhman zamindárs acquired from the Kachhwáháś. Jama, Rs. 1,093. Rámchand, Brálman, is only a fictitious owner on behalf of Bábú Párvati Prasád.

125. *Phondar*, on the Bharat-pur border, has a kadamb-khandi of 20½ bígahs, with a pond, from the flowering lotuses in which the name is supposed to be derived.

126. *Pura* is said to have been originally called Jogi-pura. The old zamindárs were Rávat Játs. Jama, Rs. 1,800.

127. *Púrna*. See Sonkh. Jama, Rs. 1,215.

Alphabetical List of Villages.—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
128	Rádhá-kund ...	2,255	73	2,328	Rájá Prithi Sinh and Swámi Rangáchárya.	...	2,778
129	Ráj-pur ...	339	..	339	Tíkam Sinh of Brindá-ban.	Bráhman ...	1,598
130	Rál ...	3,302	123	3,425	Rájá Prithi Sinh of Awa.	Thákur Kachhwáha.	5,110
131	Rám Páṭṭi ...	3,392	185	3,577		Jáṭ (Kuntel).	...
132	Rám-pur ...	898	50	948		Jáṭ (Kuntel and Pahchandra).	784
133	Rasúl-pur ...	912	14	926		Jáṭ (Kuntel),	1,296
134	Ratu ...	261	...	261		Ditto ...	412
135	Raunchi ...	59	16	75		Bráhman ...	449

128. *Rádhá-kund.*—For a description of its famous tanks, see pages 40 and 133. The old zamindárs were Gauruas; the present proprietors are Swámi Rangáchárya, the Guru of the Seth's temple at Brindá ban, and Rájá Prithi Sinh of Awa, who hold each in equal shares. Here is a large colony of Bengális, one of whom keeps a Sanskrit school There is also a halkabandi school. The Kusum-sarovar and Chhattri of Rájá Súraj Mall are on the extreme border of the village land towards Gobardhan (see page 174).

129. *Ráj-pur*, on the Jamuná, adjoining Brindá-ban, was first so called with reference to the Ráj-ghát, an old ford and reputed *tírtha*, by Bhagawán, a Sanádh from Kámar, who came and settled here Before, it had been known as Malhu Kherá, after a Kachhwáhá named Malhu. Part of the village is still held by Gauruas and Bráhmans, descendants of the old stock. Here is a fine báuli of red sandstone constructed by Mulhar Ráo Sindhia; another made by Gopál Ráo; and two very large walled gardens, the one near the temple of Bhatrond, laid out by Párikh Jí, the grandfather of Seth Lakhmi Chand, the other by Bábú Kushál, Seth of Gujarát. The latter is tenanted by Bairágis and the village rental, Rs. 836, is devoted to their support and the maintenance of the garden.

130. *Rál.*—The old Gaurua zamindárs sold their estate to Kesavánand, Gosáin of the temple of Sringár-ghat at Brin á ban, from whom it has been purchased by Rájá Prithi Sinh of Awa. The principal resident in the town is Chaudhari Daulat Sinh, a descendant of the old family. See page 11. In a garden outside the town are three chhattris in memory of his ancestors, Mahá Sinh, Gopál Sinh and Devi Sinh. The large mud fort was built by the last named. There are two large tracts of woodland, abounding in game, the one 324, the other 566 bighas in extent, a halkabandi school, and three small temples, dedicated respectively to Baladeva, Mohan Jí and Kesava Deva.

131. *Rám Patti.*—See Mangotla.

132. *Rám-pur* derives its name from a sacred pond called Rám-tál. It is now divided into two mahals, owned, the one by Kuntel, the other by Pahchandra, Jats. Jama, Rs. 850.

133. *Rasul-púr*, on the road to Bharat-pur, and on that account made a police station. Here is a dharm-sálá built by Náráyan Dás, bohra; and a temple of Baladeva and a masonry tank constructed by Rám Dás, Bairági. Jama, Rs. 2,400. A district post-office.

134. *Ratu* was formed into a separate village by Ratu, a Ját from Bachh-gánw. Jama, Rs. 700.

135. *Raunchi*, on the Jamuná, was founded by Hamír, a Kachhwáhá from Rál. Of his two sons, Míram and Ganes, the former turned Muhammadan. Some of their descendants are still

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
136	Sadr Bazár ...	5,684	1,873	7,557		...	...
137	Sahjua ...	1,894	123	2,017	Ját ...	Bráhman ...	...
138	Saida ...	346	...	346		Ját (Kuntel)	...
139	Sakaráya ...	972	5	977	Kishan Sahái, Bráhman, Lumberdár.	Gaurua and Chamár.	2,487
140	Sakarwá ...	1,108	...	1,108	Swámi Rangachárya.	Máli ...	1,599
141	Sakítra, 5 biswas,	241	...	241	Rájá Jasavant Sinh of Bharatpur.	Bráhman and Gaurua.	273
142	„ 15 biswas	1,219	32	1,251	Gauruas ...	Chamár ...	771
143	Sakna ...	362	6	368	Nand Kishor, Baniya.	Bráhman ...	605
144	Salím-pur ...	596	10	606		Ját. ...	584

part proprietors, while other part is held by Seth Roshan Lál and Murli and Tulsi, Bráhmans, of Aurangábád. The muáfi estate has also been acquired by purchase from Gosáin Mathuranáth by Seth Roshan Lál.

137. *Saljua.*—See Sonkh. Jama, Rs 1,500.

138. *Saida.*—See Nainu-Paṭti.

139. *Sakaráya*, founded by a Gaurua named Santokh, whose descendants still own a small share; the rest has been transferred to Bráhmans. The jama, Rs. 1,404, is an endowment of the temple of Rádhá-kánt at Brindá-ban. Overlooking the Jamuná is an old mud fort, Sakar-ban, from which the village derives its name—Sakra being a title of Indra—is one of the places visited in the Ban-játra, and extends over 340 bighas. A mahál of 118 bighas 6 biswas held muáf by Gobardhan Dás and Gangá Dás, Bairágis of Brindá-ban, was resumed in 1855 and settled with their heirs at Rs. 63.

140. *Sakarwá* also derives its name from Sakra. It was purchased by the Swámi from the old zamindárs, who were Bráhmans and Jasávats. Jama, Rs. 2,364.

141. *Sakítra*, 5 *biswas*, comprises part of the town of Gobardhan, including all the most famous sites, *viz*, the Mánasi Gangá, the Chhattris of Rájás Ranjít Sinh and Baladeva Sinh, the Gwál Pokhar, the temple of Chakresvar Mahadeva, built by Súraj Mall, the temple of Lakshmi Nárávan rebuilt by Seth Rádhá Krishan and Swámi Nivásá-chári, the Chhattris of Ránis Rúp Kunwar and Amrit Kunwar, and many other small shrines and monuments. The old zamindárs were Jasávats, but now the Rájá of Bharat-pur is both muáfidár and zamindár. There is a market on Saturday.

142. *Sakitra*, 15 *biswas*, has a jhári of 81 bighas. Jama, Rs. 1,123.

143. *Sakna* has a temple of Baladeva. The zamindárs were formerly Bráhmans and Ahírs; are now Bráhmans, Baniyas, and Malakánas. Jama, Rs. 900.

144. *Salím-pur*, was founded by Bhoja, Ját, an officer of Salím Sháh's. The greater part of the estate has passed from his descendants to Baniyas. The village was formerly included in Pargana Sonsa, and was part of the jágír of Bája Bái: later it was attached to Pargana Sahár till 1833. Jama, Rs. 1,196.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus	Musalman.	Total.			
145	Satoha Askarpur,	1,494	24	1,518	Kachwáhás ...	Gaurua ...	1,305
146	Sehán ...	616	17	633	Dáni Rám ...	Jáṭ (Kuntel)	532
147	Sehi ...	1,102	14	1,116		Ahivási ...	1,592
148	Sháh-pur, Chainpur.	277	11	288	Lálji, Chaube ...	Gaurua ...	793
149	Sháh-pur Jáṭán...	251	7	258		Jáṭ ...	259
150	Síngá ...	1,210	82	1,292		Jáṭ (Kuntel)	1,214
151	Son ...	1,256	42	1,298	Uday Rám ...	Ditto ...	1,502
	Sonkh ...	...	...	...	...	Ditto ...	2,267
152	Sonoṭh ...	434	3	437	Bábú Harichandra and Randhír.	Gaurua ...	1,120

145. *Satoha* is on the road to Gobardhan. For a description of the Sántanu-kund see page 168. The old zamindárs were Kachhwáhás, the descendants of Sarang, the son of Jasráj, of Maholi; they have now been partially superseded by Paniyas and Dhúsars There is a halkabandi school, and by the tank a bungalow occupied by a Patrol in the Customs Department. Two hamlets are called Sadola and Askar-pur: the latter has been purchased by Seth Raghunáth Dás.

146. *Sehán*, also called Raghunáth-pur, on the Agra Canal, has a temple of Bihári Jí. This was one of the villages given temporarily after the mutiny to Chaudhari Daulat Sinh. Jama, Rs. 1,150.

147. *Sehi* was acquired by the Ahivásis from the Kirárs.

148-149 *Sháh-pur*, on the Agra Canal, with a bridge and bungalow, was founded by one Shahmán, a Gaurua Kachhwáhá from Sonsa; and Chain-pura, at first a separate village, by one Chaina from the same place; this latter is now deserted Some years ago two mahálsi were formed, the one Sháh-pur Chain-pura, now owned by Chaube zamindárs, with a jama of Rs. 1,078, the other Sháh-pur Jáṭan, held by Pahchandra Jáṭs, with a jama of Rs. 432.

150. *Síngá*, on the Sonkh road, is so called after the founder, as the village of Malhu after that of his brother. In the mutiny the Jáṭ zamindárs plundered the people of Bhadár, for which they had to pay Rs. 1,060 compensation. There are seven hamlets. Jama, Rs. 2,700.

151. *Son*, said to have been founded by a Rájá of that name, has been acquired in part by Jánaki Prasád, Baniya of Háya. Jama, Rs. 3,010.

Sonkh, on the road from Mathurá to Kumbhir, is supposed to derive its name from the demon Sankhasur. Under the Jáṭs it was the head of a local division The Jáṭ founder, one Ahlá l, had five sons, by name Ase, Ajal, Purna, Tasiha, and Sahjua, who divided the estate into as many pattis, which still exist and are to all intents and purposes distinct villages, with the Sonkh bazar as a common centre. A police station, a district post-office, an establishment of town chaukidars under Act XX. of 1856, and a halkabandi school. A market at Sahjua on Thursday, at Purna on Monday. The latter place has also an old mud fort.

152. *Sonoth* is said to derive its name from Sohan Pál, Tomar. It has been divided into two mahálsi: Janúbi, held by Bengáli Káyaths, with a jama of Rs. 800; Shimáli, held by Gaurua Gaurs, with a jama of Rs. 812. There is an old mud fort, built by one Dabbal, in ruins since the time of Najaf Khán, and a temple of Devi, built by Sindhia, where a melá is held on the full moon of Baisákh.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
153	Sonsa ...	934	34	968		Gaurua ...	1,145
154	Sunrakh ...	580	...	580		Bráhman ...	2,446
155	Társi ...	728	21	749	Seth Gobardhan Dás.	Gaurua.	...
156	Tasíha ...	279	136	415		Jáṭ (Kuntel),	513
157	Tehra ...	525	7	532		Lodha ...	500
158	Tonḍ ...	165	22	187	Kanhay and Pír Bakhsh.	Mewáti ...	6 5
159	Tosh ...	697	36	729	Rájá Prithi Sinh of Awa.	Jádoṇ ...	1,324
160	Unchá-gánw ...	738	15	753	Amar Lál, Jotishi,	Gaurua (Kachhwáhá.)	1,612
161	Usphár ...	1,032	1,206	2,238	Durgá Prasád ...	Malakána ...	...

153. *Sonsa*, on the Agra Canal, near the Sonkh road, has a jhári of 18 bíghas, an old fort built by the Mahrattas, and a temple of Mahádeva built by Manasá Rám, Sáhukár of Kumbhir. After the mutiny the zamindárs received some small rewards for good services done to the Government. In the time of the Jáṭs Sonsa was the head of a pargana. There is a halkabandi school.

154. *Sunrakh*, on the Jamuná between Brindá-ban and Jait, was the original seat of the Ahivásis, who were expelled some 300 years ago by Lokman, Kachhwáhá from Bathi, and Rai Rám, a Gautam from Rál, and the present Gautam and Gaurua zamindárs are their descendants. There is an old fort built by one Híra Sinh of Rál. Jama, Rs. 1,873.

155. *Társi*, on the Bharat-pur road, was founded by Tárá-chand, a Kachhwáhá from Satoha. From his descendants the estate has passed to Seth Gobardhan Dás and Syám Sundar Dás, Dhúsar, of whom the first owns two-thirds and the latter one-third. Jama, Rs. 2,201. Here is the sacred grove of Tál-ban, where a melá is held Bhádon sudi 11. The bungalow, occupied by an assistant patrol in the Customs Department, was destroyed by the villagers in the mutiny, for which act they had to pay a compensation of Rs. 800. When the canal is opened, the customs line will follow its course and the bungalow will be removed to Little Kosi.

156. *Tasíha.*—See Sonkh. Jama, Rs. 1,200.

157. *Tehra* was founded by Arjun, a Lodha, from Amber, who named it after his son. There is a jhári of 25 bíghas. The village was held muáf by Rám Náráyan, Chaube, till 1863, when it was assessed at Rs. 915.

158. *Tond.*—The zamindárs were formerly Kolis and Jogis, are now Jáṭs, Baniyas, and Mewátis. There is a jhári of of 8 bíghas with a shrine of Kanva Deva, where the Kolis hold a melá in Bhádon.

159. *Tosh*, bought by Thákur Pítambar Sinh of Awa from the Kachhwáhá zamindárs In the mutiny the people ranged themselves on the side of the Government under Chaudhari Daulat Sinh. Jama, Rs. 1,450.

160. *Unchá-gánw*, on the Sonkh road, was sold by the old Kachhwáhá zamindárs to Amar Lál, Jotishi, who is also the muáfidár. Jama, Rs. 1,961. Here is the sacred grove of Kumud-ban, 58½ bíghas in extent, where a melá is held Bhádon badi 11.

161. *Usphár*, near the Sonkh road, was sold by the old Thákur zamindárs to Isvari Sinh, Baniya, who resold 15 biswas of it to Durgá Prasád, Bengáli. Jama, Rs. 2,804. In the mutiny the representatives of the old proprietor made an attempt to eject their new masters.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(concluded).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
162	Dhak-pura ...	...	...	...		...	395
163	Tartora ...	...	..	...	Seth Roshan Lál ..	...	492

162. *Dhak-pura*, uninhabited, so called from the number of *dhák* trees. Jama, Rs. 750.

163. *Tartora*, another uninhabited village, was founded by Padam Sháh, a Tarkar Thákur from across the Ganges, whose descendants have sold it to it to Seth Roshan Lál, Khattri. Jama, Rs. 751. The old village Kherá immediately adjoins the regimental race course, and by a well a little way beyond, towards Aurangábad, are arranged a number of sculptured stone fragments, some of them ornamented with the pattern known as the Buddhist railing.

IV.—PARGANA MÁT.

The Pargana of Mát is the most northern of the four on the east of the Jamuná, and is a long, narrow, straggling tract of country lying between the river and the Aligarh border. As it abounds in game of various kinds—black buck, wild boar, and water-fowl—it has considerable attractions for the sportsman; but in every other point of view it is a singularly uninviting part of the district. There are no large towns, no places of legendary or historical interest, no roads, no local trade or manufacture, and no resident families of any distinction. The soil also is generally poor, the water bad, and, except quite at the north, there are few groves of trees to relieve the dusty monotony of the landscape. As if to enhance the physical disadvantages of the locality by an artificial inconvenience, the tahsíli has been fixed at the village of Mát, in the extreme south, on the very borders of the Mahá-ban pargana; though the merest glance at the map will show that Surír—a place of almost exactly the same size as Mát—is the natural centre of the division. Its recognition in that character would be an immense boon both to Government officials and to the agriculturist. The present arrangement dates from a time when the pargana was of very different extent, and Mát easily accessible from all parts of it. For, till 1860, it included the whole of the Raya sub-division to the south; while in the north, Noh-jhíl formed an entirely separate tahsíli. This was more in accordance with the division of territory existing in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, when the whole of Mát proper came under Mahá-ban, and Noh-jhíl made part of pargana Noh in the Kol Sarkár. Immediately before the cession of 1804, the latter was the estate of General Perron; while Mát, with Mahá-ban, Sa'dabád, and Sah-pau, was held by General Duboigne.

As now constituted, the pargana comprises 141 villages, forming 153 separate estates. Of these, the great majority are Bhaiyáchári, and thus it comes about that the richest resident landlords are the members of a Bráhman family, quite of the yeoman class, living at Chháhiri, a hamlet of Mát. They are by name Pola Rám and Parasurám, sons of Rádhá, and Kalhan, son of Bál-kishor, and have jointly an assessable income of Rs. 9,276 a year, derived from lands in Mát, Bijáuli, Harnaul, Jaiswa, Jáwara, Nasíthi, and Sámauli. They have lately been at considerable expense in building a school in their native place. Three other men of substance, of much the same social position, are Lachhman, Bráhman, of Bhadra-ban; Serhu, Bráhman, of Tenti-ká-gánw, and Lála Rám, Baníya, of Jáwara. Of non-residents, Ráo Abdullah Khán of Salím-pur in

Aligarh, a connection of the Sa'dabád family, has estates about Khánwal and Karáhri, on which the annual Government demand is about Rs. 2,000; Rájá Tikam Sinh of Mursán enjoys a royalty of Rs. 1,061 from the Dunetiya Circle; and Lálas Mahi Lál and Jánaki Prasád own the two large villages of Arua and Bhadanwára.

After the mutiny as many as eighteen villages (eleven in whole and seven in part), belonging to the rebel leader Umráo Bahádur of Nának-pur, were confiscated, and all the proprietary rights conferred on Seth Lakhmi Chand rent-free for the term of his natural life. On his death, the grant was further extended to his son, Seth Raghunáth Dás, on payment of the half jama; but the muáfi estate (being about Rs. 8,000 a year), which alone he retains in his own hands, it may be presumed, will lapse entirely on the termination of the second life. The zamindári has been transferred to his uncle, Seth Gobind Dás, and by him constituted part of the endowment of the temple of Dwáraká lhís at Mathurá. The original proprietor was a member of a family that had always been in opposition to the British Government, and died fighting against us at Delhi. Their principal seat was at Kumona in Bulandshahr, where, in 1807, Dunde Khán, with his eldest son, Ran-mast Khán, who is said to have been possessed of perfectly marvellous and herculean strength, held the fort for three months, though the garrison consisted of a mere handful of men. After the surrender, a pension of Rs. 6,000 a year was settled upon Ran-mast Khán, which his widow enjoyed till her death, an event which took place about a year ago; but the father's whole estate was declared forfeit and bestowed upon Mardán Ali Khán of Chitári, a scion of the same stock. Umráo Bahádur was the child by adoption of Dunde Khán's second son, Nawáb Ashraf Khán of Nának-pur, and, as above mentioned, was killed in the rebel army before Delhi. With him fell his youngest brother, Mazhar Ali Khán, who left a son by name Rahím Ali Khán, who is now either dead or at the Andamans; the sole surviving representative of the family being a son of Umráo Bahádur's—Amír Bahádur—who was too young to be engaged in the rebellion with his father.

The total population of the pargana according to the census of 1872 was 100,248;* the predominant class to the south being Gaurua Thákurs; while in the north the agricultural community are almost exclusively Játs, mainly of the Nohwár sub-division. The principal winter crops are *joár*, *bájra*, maize and cotton, the latter occupying some 13,000 acres, while *til*, *arhar*, and hemp are also grown, but ordinarily in the same field with *joár*. In the hot weather about 24,000 acres are under *chaná*, 18,000 under wheat, and 13,000 under barley. Though there are indigo factories at four places, *viz.*, Lohi, Karáhri, Bhálai and Arua, the first named has almost entirely suspended operations, and at the other three the plant used is mainly grown in villages across the border in the Aligarh dis-

* According to the tahsíli calculation, 99,823.

trict. The most productive lands are the alluvial flats, which in the rains form part of the river bed; the high bank that bounds them is generally bare and broken, and the soil further inland poor and sandy, where the only trees that thrive well are *nim*, *farás* and *babúl*. Connection with the opposite parganas of Kosi, Chhátá, and Mathurá, is maintained by two bridges-of-boats (the one from Chhin-pahári by Noh-jhíl to Sher-garh, the other from Dángoli to Brindá-ban,) and as many as seven ferries, at Ráe-pur, Farídam-pur, Musmina, Surír, Oháwa, Iloli Guzar, and Mát. Scarcely any attempt has been made to provide for internal communication. In the whole pargana there is not a single yard of metalled road except in the Mát bazár, where it has been constructed out of the Chaukidári tax; the only bit of first-class unmetalled road is the four miles from Noh-jhíl to the Sher-garh bridge, and all the remaining thoroughfares are narrow, winding cart tracks, sunk so much below the level of the adjoining fields that in the rains they assume the appearance of small rivers. In 1856, a strip of land was taken up of sufficient width for the construction of a good broad road to extend from the Brindá-ban bridge to the town of Noh-jhíl, thus traversing all the southern half of the pargana. But little was done beyond marking it out; and as all the lower part of it for some miles lies across the ravines, where it is annually cut away by the rains, it is for at least six months in the year all but impassable; the sum allowed for its maintenance, Rs. 5 a mile, being quite inadequate to carry out more than the most superficial repairs. The number of bridges and culverts required would undoubtedly render it rather a costly undertaking; but the pargana one per cent. contribution to the road cess is out of all proportion to the benefit which it receives in return; for the jama is Rs. 2,37,734, while the road-allotment is only the paltry sum of Rs. 405. The claim to more liberal treatment is therefore not unreasonable; while the road, in behalf of which the special claim is advanced, is one of the most crying wants of the district. It would connect three places of some importance in the pargana, *viz.*, Mát, Surír and Noh-jhíl, at the one end with Sher-garh, which is a perfect terminus of roads, and at the other with Brindá-ban and Mathurá; while a short branch from Mát would bring it in contact with a station on the new line of Railway at Raya, and another from Noh-jhíl with the market of Bájana.

Many of the smaller thoroughfares here, as in other parts of the district, are rapidly being obliterated, and unless speedy measures are taken for their preservation very great inconvenience must eventually result. The occupants of the fields through which they pass encroach upon them year by year till at last in the less frequented tracts nothing is left but a mere ridge scarcely broad enough for a foot-path. When the traffic is too considerable to allow of this complete appropriation, the lane is narrowed till it barely admits the passage of a single cart; a high bank is then raised on either side with earth always

excavated from the roadway, which thus is sunk several feet below the level of the country and in the rains becomes a deep water-course. In the dry season of the year it is rendered equally impassable by huge aqueducts carried across it at short intervals in order to convey water for irrigation purposes from a well on one side to lands forming part of the same farm that happen to lie on the other. A small sum is annually allotted for the maintenance of village roads, and might be more advantageously expended than has hitherto been the custom, in the prevention of encroachments and the construction of an occasional syphon drain.

As a rule, the Bhaiyáchári villages have a much more prosperous appearance than those which have passed into the hands of some one wealthy proprietor. In the former case every shareholder plants the borders and waste corners of his fields with quick growing trees, such as the *farás*, or tamarisk ; which he fells from time to time as he wants timber for his well or agricultural implements, or for roofing his house ; but immediately supplies their place by new cuttings. Thus the village lands from a little distance often look picturesque and well-wooded, though possibly there may not be a single grove or orchard on them. In a zamindári estate, on the other hand, the absentee landlord is represented on the spot only by an agent, whose sole duty it is to secure as large a yearly return as possible for his employer. Every manorial right is strictly enforced, and trees are felled and sold in large quantities, and never replaced, either by the tenant, who is not allowed to cut a single stick, however urgent his requirements, and therefore has no object in planting, or by the landlord, who cares nothing for the well-being of the village which can be sold as soon as its productiveness is exhausted. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to mention a single instance in the whole district of one of the new landlords doing anything whatever for the permanent improvement of his estate. It never even occurs to them that their tenants have the slightest claim upon their consideration. Having probably amassed their fortune by usury, they are willing to make advances at exorbitant rates of interest for any improvements the cultivators may wish to carry out themselves ; but their ears are closed to any other application. Thus virtually these pseudo-zamindárs refuse to accept the position of landlords ; they are mere contractors for the collection of the Imperial revenue, and it seems imperative upon the Government to recognize them only in that inferior capacity and itself to undertake all the responsibilities of the real landlord. Since they have no influence for good, both policy and humanity demand that at least their power for evil should be restricted within the narrowest possible limits.

The most noticeable feature of the pargana is the extensive morass from which the town of Noh-jhíl derives the latter part of its name. Its dimensions vary very much at different seasons of the year and according to the heaviness

of the rain-fall, but it not unfrequently spreads over an area measuring six miles in length by one in breadth. It is the favourite haunt of large swarms of water-fowl, which are caught at night in nets, into which they are frightened by torches and fires lit on the opposite bank. They ordinarily sell for about Rs. 4-8 the hundred. The lands which have a chance of being left dry by the subsidence of the waters in time to be sown with hot-weather crops, bear the distinctive name of *Lána*, and are formed into separate estates which it is a matter of no little difficulty to assess at their average value. When there is any harvest at all, it is exceptionally good; but not unfrequently the land remains flooded till seed-time is over, and the only source of profit then left to the proprietor is the pasturage. The inundation, though primarily the result of the natural low level of the country, has been artificially increased by excavations made some centuries ago with the express object of laying the approaches to the Fort under water: this being one of the special modes of rendering a stronghold impregnable laid down in Sanskrit treatises on the art of war. An outlet was provided by a winding channel, some five miles in length, called the Dhundal Nálá, which passed under Fíroz-pur and joined the Jamuná near Mangal-khoh; but its mouth is now completely blocked for a long distance. The cost of re-opening it has been estimated at Rs. 2,093; an expenditure which would soon be recovered by the settled revenue of the reclaimed land. A simpler, but at the same time a less efficient, remedy might be found in the reconstruction of an embankment ascribed to Nawáb Ashraf Khán, which formerly existed near the village of Musmina, and was kept in partial repair by the Ját zamindárs of that place till 1866. In that year, the jhíl was entirely dry, and the dam being in consequence neglected, the next heavy flood washed it away. To provide an exit for the water seems, however, far preferable to blocking its entrance; as the temporary submersion has a very beneficial effect on the land, and its total prevention might result in rendering a large area absolutely unculturable. A well-devised scheme of drainage for this part of the country, the transfer of the tahsíli from Mát to Surír, and the construction of a good serviceable road from Noh-jhíl to the Brindá-ban bridge, are the three great requirements of the district which urgently demand a speedy settlement.

A few words upon local etymology. The formation of a village name by simply attaching *ká*, the sign of the genitive case, to the name of the founder, is a peculiarity of which several instances will be found in the alphabetical list at the end of this section, though it is of rare occurrence elsewhere. It has an exact parallel in some English names of places, as for instance, 'S. Leonard's.' Other more common suffixes have equally close counter-parts: thus, *pur*, *pura*, and *puri*, correspond with 'ton' or 'town,' as in Newton, Canningtown; *gám*, *gáma*, or *gánw* with 'ham' for 'hame,' as in Oldham; *nagar* with 'burgh,' as in Edinburgh; *kherá*, usually indicative of antiquity, with 'chester,' as in Winchester;

garh or *garhí*, with 'castle'; as in Newcastle; *tháno*, not often found except in a very corrupt and contracted form, with 'stow,' as in Godstow; *guzar* with 'ford' or 'bridge,' as in Oxford or Cambridge; *ganj* with 'market,' as in Newmarket; *ban* with 'wood,' as in Norwood; *basái* and *bás* with 'thorpe,' as in Woodthorpe; and the more modern *dhál* with the American 'ville,' as in Smithville. In all the earlier names where the termination *pur* or *puri* is used, it has coalesced with the former part of the compound in such a way as not to be readily distinguishable, as in 'Mitháulí.'

MÁT, though for some years past it has given a name to a pargana, is nothing but an exceptionally mean assemblage of mud hovels, without any bazár or even a single brick-built house. Though it stands immediately on the high bank of the Jamuná, it is separated from the actual bed of the stream by a mile of deep sand, and the ferry which connects it with Sakaráya on the opposite side is therefore very little used. Four miles lower down the stream is the Brindá-ban bridge-of-boats; but the road which leads to this also, as already mentioned, lies across the ravines and is so imperfectly constructed that for a great part of the year it is almost impassable. About half-way it skirts the margin of an extensive morass, called the Moti-jhíl, which though never very broad, sometimes attains a length of nearly two miles. The township (jama Rs. 8,983) is divided into two thoks, Rájá and Múla, and was till recently owned entirely by Bráhmans and Thákurs, but some Muhammadans are now in part possession as mortgagees. The Chaukidári Act is in force, but yields an income of only Rs. 52 a month, which leaves a very small balance for local improvements. The school is merely of the primary class, and not so well attended as the one in the adjoining hamlet of Chháhiri. There is an old mud fort, and within its enclosure stand the tahsíli and police-station, the only substantial buildings in the place. Though there is no grove of trees to justify the title, it is still designated as one of the Upabans, and is a station in the Ban-játra; the name being derived from 'the milk-pails' *(mát)* here upset by Krishna in his childish sports. At Chháhiri, a little higher up the stream, is the sacred wood of Bhándír-ban, a dense thicket of *ber*, *hins*, and other low prickly shurbs, with a small modern temple, rest-house, and well in an open space in the centre. Just outside is an ancient fig-tree *(bat)* which Krishna and his playmates Balarám and Sridáma are said to have made their goal when they ran races against each each other. (See page 37.) A large *melá*, chiefly attended by Bengális, is held here, *Chait badi* 9, and is called the Gwál-mandala. The temple in the grove is dedicated to Bihári, that under the Bhándír-bat, to Sridáma. In the village are three other small shrines in honour of Rádhá Mohan, Gopál, and Mahádeva. Two mosques have also been recently built by the Muhammadans. In the mutiny the only act of violence committed was the seizure of six grain-boats passing down the river, for which the zamindárs were subsequently fined.

Bájana, about five miles north-east of Noh-jhíl, has from time immemorial been occupied by Játs. Many years ago, the three leading men divided it into as many estates, called after their own names, Sultán Patti, Dilu Patti, and Síu Patti. These are now to all intents and purposes distinct villages, each with several subordinate hamlets, where most of the landed proprietors reside, while the old bazár still remains as a common centre, but is mainly occupied by tradespeople. In it are the saráe, police-station, built in 1869, and halkabandi school. Here, too, every Saturday, a large market is held; all the dealers who attend it having to pay an octroi tax at graduated rates, according to the commodities which they have for sale. These duties are farmed out to a contractor, who in 1865, the year when the last revision of settlement took place, paid for the privilege Rs. 340, a sum which has now been increased to Rs. 429. This income certainly is not very large, but as the market is a popular one, it might, beyond a doubt, be greatly increased, if only the headmen would recognize the obligation under which they lie of occasionally devoting part of the proceeds to local improvements. Up to the present time they have done nothing: the market is held in the main street, which is so densely crowded from one end to the other that all through traffic is obstructed; the saráe is too small to accommodate one half the number of visitors, and there is no separate yard in which to stall horses and cattle; the clouds of dust that rise from the unmetalled roadway make it painful to see and breathe, and would seriously damage any goods of better quality that might be brought; and, in addition to all this, an open space at the end of the street, where the crowd is the very thickest, has been selected as a convenient spot for depositing all the sweepings of the town till they are carted away as manure for the fields Even the two substantial masonry wells, which there are in the bazár, have not been constructed by the market trustees, but are the gift of one of the resident shop-keepers. In the next settlement, when the lumberdárs' rights are recorded, some mention might also be made of their responsibilities.

Another market is held on Thursday, but exclusively for the sale of cattle. A considerable amount of business is transacted, though the animals offered for sale are generally inferior in quality to those brought to the Kosi market on the opposite side of the river. Bájana has also been one of the depôts for Government stallions since 1856, when the establishment was transferred here from the adjoining village of Shankar-garhi. The horses are four in number, one Arab, one Turkish, and two country-bred. They are made over to the care of the zamindárs, who are paid Rs. 8 a month for each horse and further receive a fee of Re. 1 for every mare that is brought to be covered. The groom on each such occasion expects a gratuity of four anas, which may or may not be supplemented by a fixed salary from the zamindárs. An inspection is held on the spot once a year in the cold weather, by the Stud Committee, when some

60 or 70 colts are generally brought up for view, the limit of age being from nine months to three years. Some are summarily rejected ; others bought up at once ; and the rest returned for further inspection within the limit of age above specified. In the hot weather the colts are sent with the brood-mares to be inspected by the committee at Aligarh.

The two *pattis* of Sultan and Dilu are watered by a short branch of the Ganges Canal, which enters the district at the village of Ahmad-pur, and passes also through Shankar-garhi. In Siu Patti the proprietary shares are not reckoned by biswas but by wells, which, whether really so or not, are put at 36 in number. The jama is Rs. 3,400 and the quota of each 'well' is Rs. 96, making a total of Rs. 3,456 ; the surplus of Rs. 56 going to the lumberdárs. Similarly in Mát the reckoning is by ploughs and bulls; a plough being a share and a bull half a share. Dilu Patti has two hamlets, Murliya Jawáhir and Murliya Badám ; Sultán Patti five, *viz.*, Naya-bás, Dálgarhi, Prahlád-garhi (of which one biswa was sold 18 years ago to an Athwaraya), Ajnot, and Idalgarhi ; and Siu Patti three, *viz.*, Jareliya, Mahá-ram-garhi, and Bhút-garhi. At the time of the mutiny Umráo Bahádur was proprietor of 2½ biswas in Dilu Patti, was mortgagee of 10 biswas in Thok Badám and farmed as much of Thok Hira. This was confiscated with the rest of his estates ; the 2½ biswas were conferred on Seth Lakhmi Chand, the other parcels of land have reverted to their original owners. Half of Thok Kamala was also declared forfeit, but eventually returned on payment of a fine ; the zamindárs having joined in the assault on the Fort of Noh-jhíl. One of the number, Khúba, who had been specially forward in attempting the life of the Tahsildár, Sukhvási Lál, died in jail before sentence. The Arázi Kásht Sultán Patti and Arázi Dilu Patti are lands recovered from the jhíl and separately assessed—the one at Rs. 90, the other at Rs. 152.

Noh-jhíl is a decayed town, 30 miles from Mathurá, which up to the year 1860 was the head of a separate tahsíli now incorporated with Mát. The original proprietors were Chauhán Thákurs, who were expelled in the thirteenth century by some Játs from Narwári near Tappal, and others from Jartúli near Khair, in the Aligarh District, who afterwards acquired the name of Nohwár, and at the present time are further distinguished by the title of Chaudhari. They brought with them as purohits some Gaur Bráhmans of the Phátak clan, who received various grants of land, and at the last settlement their descendants owned 15 biswas of the township, the remaining five being held by Muhammadan Shaikhs. In the seventeenth century some Biluchis were stationed here by the emperor for the express purpose of overawing the Játs ; but their occupation did not last above 80 years. On the 4th of June, 1857, the Nohwár Játs of the place with their kinsmen from the neighbouring villages of Musmina and Parsoli, attacked the fort and plundered all the inhabitants except

the Bráhmans, with whom, as above shown, they had an hereditary connection. The lumberdár, Ghaus Muhammad, was killed, and all the Government officials fled to the village of Tehra by Surír, where the Malakána zamindárs gave them shelter, and in acknowledgment of their loyalty subsequently received a donation of Rs. 151 and a remission of Rs. 100 on the yearly jama, which still continues. The estate is now held as follows: 12½ biswas by the Bráhmans, 3¾ by Shaikhs, and 4¼ biswas of alluvial land by the Seths. This latter share had been purchased at auction by Umráo Bahádur's father, and was confiscated with the rest of his property. Two outlying suburbs are called respectively Toli Shaikhán and Toli Khádim-i-dargáh. The Fort, of which incidental mention has been already made, is of great extent, covering 31 bíghas of land. It was rebuilt about the year 1740 by Thákur Devi Sinh, an officer in the service of the Bharat-pur Rájá. It is now all in ruins, but its crumbling bastions command a fine view of the extensive lake that spreads for miles beneath it. Within its enclosure is the old tahsíli, built in 1826, now converted into a police-station, and a lofty tower, erected in 1836 for the purposes of the Trigonometrical Survey: ascent is impossible, as the ladder in the lower story was destroyed in the mutiny and has not been replaced. Outside the town is a Muhammadan *makbara*, or tomb, called the dargáh of Makhdúm Sáhib Sháh Hasan Ghori, traditionally ascribed to a Dor Rájá of Kol Sarkár who flourished some 300 years ago. This is not in itself improbable, for about that time all the Aligarh Dors became converts to Islam. The buildings are now in a dilapidated condition, but include a covered colonnade of 20 pillars which has been constructed out of the wreck of a Hindu or Buddhist temple. Each shaft is a single piece of stone 5½ feet long, and is surmounted by a capital which adds an additional foot to the height. The latter are sculptured with grotesques, of which the one most frequently repeated represents a squat four-armed monster, who with his feet and one pair of hands raised above his head supports, as it were, the weight of the architrave. The shafts though almost absolutely plain are characteristic specimens of an eccentricity of Hindu architecture. (See page 150.) Several other columns have been built up into the roof; one carved in low relief with several groups of figures, parted from one another by bands of the pattern known as the 'Buddhist railing,' has been taken out and transported to Mathurá. The statues which adorned the temple have probably been buried under ground; but no excavations can be made, as the place is used for Muhammadan interments. The saint's *urs* or melá is held on the 14th of Ramazán, and his tomb is visited by some of the people of the neighbourhood every Thursday evening. There was an endowment of 300 bíghas of land and a yearly pension of Rs. 100, but the latter ceased on the death of Makhdúm Bakhsh, the representative of the original grantee, and the land was settled at half jama (Rs. 80) in 1837. In the bazár are a small mosque and two temples built by the Mahrattas. The proximity of

the jhíl renders the town feverish and unhealthy, and the establishment of a branch dispensary would be a great boon to the inhabitants.

SURÍR, by its position the natural centre of the pargana, is a small town on the high road half-way between Mát and Noh-jhíl. It is about a mile from the left bank of the Jamuná, where is a ferry to Bahta on the opposite side. It is said to have been called at one time Sugrív-kherá, after the name of one of the different founders; but this appellation is now quite obsolete. The original occupants were Kalárs (the local name, as it would seem, for any aboriginal tribe) who were expelled by Dhákaras, and these again by Rájá Jitpál, a Jáes Thákur. His posterity still constitute a large part of the population, but have been gradually supplanted in much of the proprietary estate by Baniyas and Bairágis. The township (jama, Rs. 9,619) is divided into two *thoks*, called Bija and Kalán, and there are 11 subordinate hamlets. Three small temples are dedicated respectively to Mahádeva, Lakshmi Náráyan, and Baladeva. There is a police station, a primary school and a weekly market held on Monday. At the time of the mutiny, Lachhman, the lumberdár, with 11 others was arrested on the charge of being concerned in the disturbances that took place at the neighbouring village of Bhadanwára, in which the zamindár, Kunvar Dildár Ali Khán, was murdered, his wife violated, and a large mansion that he was then building totally destroyed. He was considerably in the debt of his banker, Nand Rám of Raya, who when the estate was put up to auction bought it in and has been succeeded as proprietor by his nephew, Jánaki Prasád.

Alphabatical List of Villages.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominent caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
1	Abhai-pura ...	137	...	137	Seth Raghunáth Dás	Bráhman ...	490
2	Ahmad-pur ...	694	...	694	Tiwári Bráhmans,	Ditto ...	638
3	Akbar-pur ...	1,025	7	1,032		Ditto ...	1,240
4	Amán-ullah-pur..	741	23	764		Gaurua ...	973
5	Arua ...	3,369	92	3,461	Mahi Lál, Baniya, and others.	Jáṭ ...	4,708
6	Asaf-ábád ...	346	...	346		Bráhman ...	300
7	Awa-kherá ...	298	...	298		Jáṭ ...	329
8	Badan-pur ...	524	36	560	Naju Khan ...	Bráhman and Gaurua.	1,068

1. *Abhai-pura*, originally founded by Abhai Sinh, a Jáṭ from Kaulána. Some 50 years ago the proprietor was a Bráhman by name Serhu, who sold 15 biswas to Balarám, Jáṭ; and in 1854 the remaining five biswas were bought by Nawáb Ashraf Khán, and at the time of the mutiny were held by his son, Umráo Bahádur, the whole of whose estate was confiscated and conferred on Seth Lakhmi Chand, whose son Raghunáth Dás now holds it at half jama. The other 15 biswas have been recovered by the Bráhmans.

2. *Ahmad-pur* has 201 bighas irrigated by the Aligarh branch of the Ganges Canal. A halkabandi school.

3. *Akbar-pur*, on the Mát and Surír road, was by Rájá Súraj Mall re-named Tenti-ká-gánw (from the abundance of the *kartl* plant, the fruit of which is called Tentí), and it is by this latter name that it is still most commonly known in the neighbourhood. The old zamindárs were Malakánas, but now are Bráhmans, descended from one Sikham. A hamlet is called Nagara Hariya.

4. *Amán-ullah-pur*, also called Mahmud-garhi, after the name of the founder, a native of Lohi, which it adjoins There are two annual melás held, the one on Bhádon sudi 8, the other on Chait badi 1, in honour of Bábare Bábá, a local saint.

5. *Arua*, between Mát and Raya, includes the deserted village site of Bindrauli. It was re-founded by a Jáṭ named Bíjay-pati, whose descendants, some 25 years ago, partly sold and partly mortgaged their estate. At present the largest proprietors are Mahi Lál, Baniya of Ráya, who has about 13 biswas, and Lakhmi Dás, the Pujári of the temple of Lárli Jí by the Mán Sarovar, who has 2½. Two market days, Monday and Friday; and two indigo factories, belonging, the one to Mr. O'Brien Saunders, the other to Mahi Lál and Jamuná Prasád. In the mutiny, Udha, one of the zamindárs, was put to death by the zamindárs of the next village, Jáwara; whereupon his friends at Arua and Ayra-khera assembled a large force for an attack upon Jáwara, and in the engagement many lives were lost on both sides. For this and other acts of depredation Arua was fined Rs. 10,000. On the village border is the lake of Mán Sarovar. There are 12 subordinate hamlets, the largest being called Darwa, where is a halkabandi school.

6. *Asaf-ábád* was founded from Khaira, of which it was formerly a hamlet. Here is a block kankar quarry.

7. *Awa-khera*, after being long deserted, was re-peopled some 70 years ago from Kaulána. In the mutiny the people joined in the attack on the Noh-Jhíl Tahsíl, and were fined Rs. 186.

8. *Badan-pur*, shortly before the mutiny, was purchased from the old Gaurua zamindárs for Rs. 409 by Khairáti Khán of Farrukhabad, who in the disturbances had his estate damaged to an amount estimated at Rs. 24,500. On the Jarára border is a *dahar* of 12 bighas, and near the village, a large mango orchard.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
9	Bádauṭh ...	469	...	469		Jáṭ ..	822
10	Bághai ...	487	21	508		Ditto ...	649
11	Bágharra ...	196	...	196	Athwaraya Bráhmans.	Ditto ...	647
12	Báhdín ...	132	...	132	Bráhmans, Jáṭ, and Baniyas.	Ditto ...	121
13	Baikunth-pur ...	113	135	248	Bráhmans ...	Malakána ...	383
	Bájana made up of	Dilu Paṭṭi, Siu		Paṭṭi, an	d Sultán Paṭṭi.	...	...
14	Baklá ...	403	6	409		Jáṭ ...	263
15	Baland-pur ...	363	...	363	Lachman, Thákur,	Bráhman ...	313
16	Balí-pur ...	101	1	102		Ditto ...	134
17	Baranṭh ...	2,212	140	2,352	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Jáṭ ...	844
18	Basáuṇ ...	86	...	86		Ditto ...	

9. *Badauth*, one of the 40 Bájana villages, has 200 bíghas watered by the Aligarh branch of the Ganges Canal.

10. *Bághai*, founded by Man-Sukh, a Jáṭ from Kaulána, is also called Kateliya. There are 49 bíghas of *jhíl*.

11. *Bágharra*.—One of the 12 Jáṭ villages. The old village site, now deserted, is called Sherká-kherá. The Athwarayas purchased from the Jáṭs about 25 years ago.

12. *Báhdín*.—There is a market on Sunday held on the border of Nagara Humáyun. A málikána is paid to Rájá Tíkam Sinh.

13. *Baikunth-pur*.—Founded 300 years ago by Surkh-rú, Malakána, by whose name it is still most popularly known. His descendants first mortgaged and then sold to Serhu and Ajay Rám, Bráhmans.

Bájana.—See page 66.

14. *Baklá*, so called after the founder, a grandson of Rám Náráyan. The people live mostly at Nagara Shám.

15. *Baland-pur*.—Founded 200 years ago by Balavant, Jáṭ, and Mukund, Jáes from Harnaul. Now Lachhman, Thákur, of Karahri, has 17½ biswas, and Lachhman, Bohra, of Bhadraban 2½.

16. *Bali-pur*.—Founded 125 years ago, by Bali, a Jáṭ from Bájana.

17. *Barauth*, near the Jamuná, one of the 12 Jáṭ villages. Thok Kida, 1,720 bíghas, was sold for arrears to Nawáb Ashraf Khán of Nának-pur, and, after passing to his son Umrao Bahádur, was confiscated and, with the rest of his estate, bestowed rent-free for life on Seth Lakhmi Chand. In the mutiny the zamindárs joined with those of Suhág-pur in plundering the patwári, Lál Ji; his brother, Hírá Lál, the patwári of Pál-khera, they killed. There are five hamlets.

18. *Basáun* is included with Daulat-pur. The Jáṭ zamindárs were fined Rs. 96 for attacking the Fort at Noh-jhíl in the mutiny.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
19	Begam-pur ...	96	...	96	Swámi Rangáchárya	Bráhman ...	287
20	Berá ...	855	25	880		Do. and Jáes,	1,111
21	Bhadanwárá ...	1 488	102	1,590	Jánaki Prasád of Raya.	Gaurua ...	2,741
22	Bhadra-ban ...	751	1	752		Bráhman ...	1,680
23	Bhálai ...	1,291	75	1,365	Bráhmans, Baniyas, and Muhammadans	Thákur ...	1,935
24	Bhartiya ká ...	275	5	280		Jáṭ ...	508
25	Bherai ...	673	31	704		Ditto ...	2,166
26	Bhidauni ...	873	40	913	Káyaths, Thákurs, and Bráhmans.	Bráhman and Thákur.	1,941
27	Bhiun ...	246	4	250	Diwán Sarb Sukh,	Chamár ...	1,180

19. *Begam pur*, opposite Brindá-ban, is so called from the Begam of the Emperor Jahángir. It passed from the old Bráhman zamindárs to Zuhúr Ali, for Rs. 421, who in 1842 sold it for Rs. 935 to Shaikh Jívan, of whom Swámi Rangáchárya has purchased it for Rs. 1,000.

20. *Berá*, 'the ber-tree orchard,' was founded 400 years ago by Thákurs from Jarára. There is a *jhárí* of kadamb trees 46 bighas in extent, called Alakh-ban, with a temple endowed with the singhára crop of the adjoining pond.

21. *Bhadanwárá* was founded by Gaurnas from Surír about 300 years ago. There are a number of hamlets, *viz.*, Bírbál, Naya-bás, Garhi Rám-bal, Garhi Sísa, Garhi Khúba, Garhi Neta, Rámkaran or Jawáhir and Garhi Bhuriya. At the time of the mutiny the estate was farmed by Kunwar Dildár Ali Khán, who was attacked by the old proprietors; a large mansion which he was then building was totally wrecked and he himself murdered. Two of the ringleaders were hanged and others transported. The property was bought up for Rs. 13,800 by Nand Rám, a Baniya of Raya, from whom it has passed to his nephew by adoption, Jánaki Prasád. A market on Friday. A large mango orchard, called the Patwáris'.

22. *Bhadra-ban*, on the high bank of the Jamuná, above Mát, with a hamlet called Bhadaura, is one of the most noted of the sacred woods of Braj. It is wrongly named on the District Map Bahádur-ban. In the *ban* are shrines of Maksúdan and Ranchhor. The old zamindárs were Thákurs.

23. *Bhálai* originally belonged to Bhála Thákurs (whence the name). They were dispossessed by Jaes Thákurs, who gave part of the land to Bráhmans, whose descendants still retain a share in the village; the other shareholders now being Baniyas and Muhammadans. An indigo factory belongs to Gurmukh Ráe and Dulichand of Háthras. There are two hamlets. A halkabandi school.

24. *Bhartiya-ká*, founded by Bhartiya, a Jáṭ, from Bájana.

25. *Bherai*, founded by Ráma, Jáṭ, is the parent of eight other settlements. In the mutiny the zamindárs killed the Patwári Bhágirath with his son and brother-in-law and joined in the attack on the fort at Noh-jhíl; for which acts their estate was confiscated and sold to Devi Shankar, Káyath of Mathurá. There are 200 bighas of reed-jungle and 187 bighas of common. Two hamlets.

26. *Bhidauni*, founded by Puhapa, a Rájput; but now Káyaths have 10 biswas, Jaes Thákurs 7½, and Athwaraya Bráhmans 2½. There are two temples of Bihári and Lárli Lál. There is a hamlet called Nahariya.

27. *Bhiún*, bought in 1825 for Rs. 300 by Díwáns Bijay Lál (who built a temple here to Bijay Bihári) and Jamuná Rám, and now held by Díwán Sarb Sukh.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
28	Bhúreká ...	522	44	566	Kewal Rám Bohra,	Chamár ...	875
29	Bijáuli ...	257	70	327	Bráhmans and Thákurs.	Bráhman ...	1,319
30	Birju-garhi ...	594	16	610		Jáṭ ...	425
31	Bulák-pur ...	43	...	43		Bráhman and Jáṭ.	288
32	Chanḍáuli ...	214	...	214		Bráhman ...	...
33	Chánd-pur (Great,)	611	27	638		Bráhman and Jáṭ.	1,060
34	Chánd-pur (Little,)	433	17	450		Jáṭ ...	665
35	Chaukará ... Chháhiri : a hamlet of Mát.	323	5	328	Sálagrám Jáṭ ...	Bráhman and Jáṭ.	501
36	Chhin-paháṛi ...	608	58	666	...	Jáṭ and Mallah.	705

28. *Bhúreká*, on the Aligarh border, founded by Bhure, Jáṭ, whose descendants between 40 and 50 years ago sold it to Daulat Rám, Bohra. He was murdered in the mutiny; the present proprietor is his son, Keval Rám, who pays a yearly jama of Rs. 1,279. There is a fine large mango orchard, planted by his father, 24 bíghas in extent, and adjoining it 67 bíghas of ḍhák *ghana*. A halkabandi school with between 20 and 30 pupils. Five biswas form a separate hamlet called Marahla.

29. *Bijáuli*, founded by Rájá Bijay Sinh. Here are a ghana of 134 bíghas called Mekhban, a temple of Rádhá Mohan by a sacred pond called Páp-mochan, which is visited in the Banjátra; and a dargáh of Sháh Biláwal.

30. *Birju-garhi*, named after its founder, a Jáṭ from Musmina.

31. *Bulák-pur*, one of the 12 Ját villages, named after its founder. Half the village has been sold to Bráhmans.

32. *Chanḍáuli*, first called Chanḍál-kherá, is included in Nabí-pur.

33. *Chánd-pur (Great)*, founded by a Barwár Jáṭ named Himanchal, and given to his son-in-law, a Kanjír from Durseni in Aligarh. Being put up to auction for arrears, it was purchased by Khairáti Khán, Paṭhán, who sold it to Omkár, an Athwaraya of Barauṭh, in 1866. In the mutiny, the latter, who was then mortgagee, had his house plundered, three men being killed in the attack. The Jáṭs of Parsáuli now own two-thirds and the Athwarayas one-third. A halkabandi school.

34. *Chánd-pur (Little,)* was founded by a Jáṭ named Chánd from Bherai. In the mutiny the zamindárs joined in the attack on Noh-jhíl and were fined Rs. 637-8. There is a temple of Mahádeva with rude stucco images and a well, both constructed by Rádhá, a Baniya, in the famine year 1837. Opposite is an orchard belonging to the Jáṭ zamindárs with mango, pípal and other trees. A halkabandi school.

35. *Chaukará*, one of the eight Kaulána villages. In 1827 it was put up to auction and purchased by Sálagrám, a Jáṭ of Kateliya. There is an orchard with a temple built by Seṛhu, Baniya of Marahla Chinta, a hamlet of Birju-garhi.

36. *Chhin-pahári*, on the Jamuná opposite Sher-garh, is sometimes spelt Chhin-pharái, and perhaps more correctly so, as there is no sign of a hill, or *pahár*, anywhere near. The old zamindárs

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
37	Chinta-garhi ...	344	...	344	...	Jáṭ ...	218
38	Dandísara ...	767	46	813	Jwálá Prasád, Khattri, and others.	Gaurua ...	1,429
39	Dángauli ...	236	118	354	Swámi Rangáchárya.	Malakána...	979
	Darwa, a hamlet of	Aruá...					
40	Daulat-pur ...	713	17	730		Jáṭ ...	1,141
41	Dedna ...	287	23	310	Dhan-raj, Athwaraya.	Ditto ...	781
42	Dilu Patti ...	1,148	215	1,363	...	Ditto ...	1,383
43	Dunetiya ...	202	6	208	Jáṭ and Bráhman,	Bráhman and Káchhi.	410
44	Faridam-pur ...	144	...	144	Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ and Dhímar.	939
45	Firoz-pur ...	180	...	180	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Malláh ...	306

were Thákurs, who about a century ago transferred their rights to Jáṭs from Síu Patti, Bájana. 1¼ biswa that had been acquired by Umráo Bahádur, was, with the remainder of his estate, confiscated after the mutiny.

37. *Chintá-garhi* was founded about 150 years ago by a Jáṭ named Chintá. A halkabandi school.

38. *Dandísara.*—Here is Nárad kund with a temple of Murli-Manohar and a Kadambkhandi of 18 bíghas. The old zamindars were Gauruas, but now Kanhaiya Lál, Kayath, has five biswas, Jwálá Prasád, Khattri, 7½, and Khub Lál, Káyath, 7½. Two hamlets.

39. *Dángauli* (for Dánga-puri, *dánga* being 'a high bank,') is on the Jamuná opposite Brindá ban. The old Dhákara zamindárs were ejected by one Dhír, a descendant of Chet Pal, whose heirs, two years ago, sold the estate to Swámi Rangácharya.

40. *Daulat-pur*, on the Jamuná, named after its founder, includes Basáun.

41. *Dedná*, or Dídna, on the Jamuná, was sold by the Jáṭ zamindárs 25 years ago to Parasu-rám, an Athwaraya, from whom it passed in 1864 to another Athwaraya, Dhan-raj of Kosi.

42. *Dilu-patti.* See Bájana, page 66.

43. *Dunetiya*, said to be so named after Dule, the ancestor of the present Jáṭ zamindárs, who founded it some centuries ago.

44. *Faridam-pur*, with a ferry across the Jamuná, was founded by Jáṭs from Musmina. It had been mortgaged to Muhammad Ashraf Khán, and at the time of the mutiny was so held by his son Umráo Bahádur, and was confiscated with the remainder of his estate. The mortgagors transferred their right to Devi Shankar Sahay, Káyath of Mathurá, and the mortgage was paid off in 1868.

45. *Firoz-pur* was founded some 250 years ago by Jáṭs from Muín-ud-dín-pur, and having been purchased by Ashraf Khán was confiscated after the mutiny, and conferred muáf for life on Seth Lakhmi Chánd, whose son Raghunáth Dás now holds it at half jama.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
46	Garhi Kauláhar ...	295	...	295		Brahman and Jáṭ.	401
47	Hamza-pur ...	91	...	91		Jáṭ ...	432
48	Harnaul ...	2,103	113	2,216		Ditto ...	2,157
49	Hasan-pur ...	1,788	122	1,910		Ditto and Bráhman.	2,232
50	Ikhu Fath-garh ...	1,164	47	1,211		Bráhman ...	987
51	Iloli Guzar ...	1,237	39	1,276		Thákur (Jáes.)	1,572
52	Iloli Zanárdár ...	804	12	816		Bráhman ...	1,164
53	Imlák Sawád Kasba (town-lands.)	90	...	90		Ditto ...	...

46. *Garhi-Kauláhar* has 30 bíghas watered by the Canal. 10 biswas are owned by Jáṭs, the other 10 by Páṭhak Bráhmans.

47. *Hamza-pur*. The site of the old village founded by Bilúchis, is called Chau-kherá. The present Jáṭ village is otherwise called Mán-garhi.

48. *Harnaul*, or corruptly Hirnaul, and then by an easy transition Hindol, is said to have been founded by two Jáṭs, Hari Sinh and Naval Sinh, who formed a name for it by combining their own names. There is an old temple of Murli Manohar and a large mud fort constructed by Áraf Khán and Yusuf Khán. Under the Mahrattas, Harnaul was the head of a tahsíli with 24 subordinate villages : it has now two hamlets. The weekly market is on Sunday. A halkabandi school.

49. *Hasan-pur* was founded some 250 years ago by Hansa, a Jáṭ from Baranṭh. There is still a gateway called Chaukhat Hansa, and the name Hasan-pur originates simply with a mistake in the Settlement office. There are two Nagaras, Jareliya, divided into two maháls, and Makarand-garhi where is a ḍhák tree ghana of 88 bíghas. An old Khera bears the name Mahona. A halkabandi school.

50. *Ikhu Fath-garh.*—The first name refers to the quantity of 'sugarcane' grown in the neighbourhood, the second was added about 125 years ago when the fort and town-walls, now in ruins, were constructed by Thákur Devi Sinh, a Kámdár of the Bharat-pur Ráj. The present Bráhman zamindárs are the descendants of Bishan Páṭhak, the purohit of the Jáṭs who conferred the estate upon him. There is a hamlet called Masnad-garhi, where cheap striped cloths, blue and white, called *dobaras*, are manufactured and exported to places so far distant as Kánh-pur and Mirza-pur.

51. *Iloli Guzar*, (for Ila-puri) with a 'ferry' across the Jamuná, was in 1791 given muáf by Mádho Ráo Sindhia to Nand Lál, Rás-dhári, for life. The muáfidár lived till 1859. The estate, which had previously been mortgaged for many years was then assessed at Rs. 2,867 ; Seth Bitthal Dás, one of the previous mortgagees, having a share in it. Other five biswas are owned by Lachhman, Bráhman. There is a temple of Baladeva. Four hamlets.

52. *Iloli Zanárdár*, as the latter part of the name denotes, is a Bráhman estate. There is a Kadamb-khandi of eight bíghas, a sacred pond called Gahvar-kund, and also three small temples built by Prán-Sukh, Káyath.

53. *Imlák Sawád Kasba.* The town-lands of Noh-Jhíl, were for 300 years held muáf by the Kánungos, but were resumed by the English Government and assessed at Rs. 120. Another name is Julla-garhi, after a Bráhman to whom part of the land was given by Brindá-ban Dás, Kánungo.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus	Musalman.	Total.			
54	Ináyat-garh ...	184	11	195		Jáṭ ...	900
55	Ináyat-pur ...	32	...	32	Bráhmans ...	Ditto ...	284
56	Jáfar-pur ...	242	10	252	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Ditto ...	900
57	Jahángir-pur ...	700	4	704	Temple of Sringár Bat.	Thákur and Malláh.	1,918
58	Jaiswa ...	516	15	531		Jáṭ ...	922
59	Jarára ...	1,530	153	1,683	Bráhmans ...	Thákur (Jáes.)	2,080
60	Jat-pura ...	223	6	229		Jáṭ ...	694
61	Jáwara ...	4,234	206	4,440		Bráhman and Jáṭ.	4,383

54. *Inayát-Garh*, on the Jamuná. In 1867 five biswas were sold by the Jáṭs to Radhá Gobind, and 1¾ biswas in 1871, to Jaysi Rám, Jáṭ of Chinta-garhi.

55. *Ináyat-pur.*—The old family of Bráhman zamindárs now hold only nine biswas, while 11 have been acquired by other Bráhmans of Ahmad-pur.

56. *Jáfar-pur*, one of the eight Bherai villages, was about the year 1800 acquired by a Jáṭ of Kaulána, and soon after sold to Mazhar Ali Khán of Kumona in Bulandshahr, brother of Nawáb Ashraf Khán. After the mutiny it was confiscated and given rent-fee for life to Seth Lakhmi Chánd. There are 401 bighas that form part of the jhíl, and 501 bighas of reed-jungle, the produce of which goes to the zamindárs.

57. *Jahángir-pur*, on the Jamuná, opposite Brindá-ban, was founded by Jáes Gaurnas from Máṭ. In the time of Nawab Najaf Khán, it was given muáf to Gokulanand, Gosáin of the temple of Sringár-baṭ at Brindá-ban, to whose successor in the same office it has been confirmed by the English Government. Here is Bel-ban, one of the most noted of the woods of Braj, with a temple of Lachhmi and Gopál. There are six hamlets, *viz.*, Nagara, Aḍḍa Moti, Aḍḍá Serhu, Aḍḍa Rúpa, Aḍḍa Chaina, and Nagara Chamárán.

58. *Jaiswa* was re-settled by Jaisi, Jáṭ, some forty years ago, and has now been partly acquired by Athwaraya Bráhmans.

59. *Jarára*, founded by Jait Sinh some centuries ago, whose descendants have now sold or mortgaged almost all, chiefly to Bráhmans, but a small share to Muhammadans. There is an ancient temple of Rám Gopál, and there are four *dakars*, covering in all nearly 100 bighas. Two hamlets.

60. *Jat-pura* was founded by Jáṭs, from the adjoining village of Shal. There is a small *jhári* of *pilu*, *ber*, *chhonkar* and *karil* with a few large *mahúa* trees.

61. *Jáwara*.—The older name was Jhuna-garh. Here is the sacred grove of Chandra-ban named after the *Sakhi*, Chandravati, 55 bighas in extent, with a Bairágí's cell under the tutelage of Bál-mukund. Also a dargáh of Mir Sáhib Shaikh Saddu, where people assemble every Wednesday and Saturday. The trees in the Ban are chiefly *pilu*, *babúl* and *pasendu*, with a few large and venerable *kadambs*. The leaves of the latter often grow in the shape of perfect cups, which in the summer attain to a considerable size. This curious formation is said to have originated for Krishna's convenience; who one day in his rambles through the woods found the supply of cups and platters that he had with him inadequate for the requirements of all his companions. Similar leaves are found in the Mána-garhi *ghaná*; these are of a lighter colour than the ordinary foliage and are esteemed sufficient curiosities for Hindús to send as presents to their friends at a distance. In the mutiny there was a pitched battle between the zamindárs here and those

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
62	Káne-ká ...	104	...	104		Jáṭ ...	...
63	Kankar-garhi ...	289	27	316		Ditto ...	282
64	Karáhri ...	2,511	219	2,730	Jáes, Thákurs, and Ráo Abdullah of Salím pur.	Thákur ...	2,666
65	Kauláhar ...	1,301	37	1,338	...	Jáṭ ...	966
66	Kaulána ...	846	71	917	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Ditto ...	1,340
67	Kháira ...	806	50	856		Jáes ...	1,322
68	Khán-pur ...	92	...	92		Jáṭ ...	...
69	Khánwal ...	1,749	106	1,855		Bráhman and Thákur.	2,120

of Pachahra and Ayra-khera, in which as many as 450 lives are said to have been lost. There are two market days every week, Monday and Friday. The subordinate hamlets including eight Bairágis' stations *(sthals)* number as many as 28. There is a halkabandi school.

62. *Káne-ká*, so called from the Jáṭ founder, is included in Nabí-pur.

63. *Kankar-garhi*, so called from the nature of the soil, was settled from Bárauth. The Jáṭs have sold two biswas to Bráhmans.

64. *Karáhri.*—The zamindárs were once Dhákaras ; but now Jáes Thákurs have 12 biswas, a Bhál Thákur two, and Ráo Abdullah Khán, of Salím-pur in the Aligarh district, six. There are two temples in honour of Gopál and the Sálagrám. There is a miscellaneous market on Tuesday and another for the sale of cattle on Friday. A saráe, a halkabandi school, and an indigo factory belonging to Mr. Saunders. Two hamlets. A large orchard of mango, *jáman, ámla, labera*, and other trees, belonging to the Thákur zamindárs, forms one of the pleasantest camping-places in the pargana ; though, for want of watering, the trees have been greatly thinned.

65. *Kauláhar.*—The old zamindárs were Tiwári Bráhmans, but now they have only one thok at a jama of Rs. 428, while Jáṭs have the remainder at Rs. 2,571. Here is a lime-stone quarry. Market-day is Tuesday. There are two hamlets called Udiya-garhi and Garhi Gyásiya ; the former is occupied solely by *chápis*, who get sale for their goods at Bájana. A halkabandi school.

66. *Kaulána* is the parent of eight other villages. 400 bíghas are in the jhíl. In 1846 it was purchased by Rahím Ali Khán, a son of Mazhar Ali Khán of Kumona, and, with the other possessions of that family was confiscated after the mutiny and bestowed rent-free on Seth Lakhmi Chand. A halkabandi school.

67. *Kháira.* Near the village pond *(pokhar)* are the remains of a small shrine massively constructed of block kankar.

68. *Khán-pur* is included in Nabí-pur.

69. *Khánwal* was founded by Khumáni, a Thákur of Bhadanwára, whose descendants are still part zamindárs, though, in 1851, they disposed of the greater part of the estate to Bráhmans, Khattris and Ráo Abdullah Khán of Salím-pur. The latter's estates in this pargana pay a malguzárí of Rs. 2,000. There is a Kadamb-khandi of 14 bíghas, with a temple of Rádhá Krishan ; also another temple dedicated to Murli Manohar and a Garhi. There are three hamlets, called Garhi Rájá, Garhi Tula, and Garhi Sudáma. Jiva, the lumberdár of the latter, was implicated in the murder of Kunwar Dildár Ali Khán at Bhadanwára, but died pending trial. A halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued.)

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
70	Khwája-pur ...	406	8	414	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Jáṭ ...	836
71	Kheriya ...	67	13	80		Ditto ...	102
72	Kurauli ...	32	...	32	Bráhmans ...	Ditto ...	...
73	Kurwára ...	834	34	868		Jáṭ and Bráhman.	1,009
74	Lál-garhi ...	248	8	256		Jáṭ ...	248
75	Lál-pur ...	193	...	193		Ditto ...	422
76	Lamtauri ...	350	6	356		Bráhman ...	331
77	Lána Kasba Noh-jhíl.	24	9	33	Sardár Sinh, Dhúsar.	...	672
78	Lána Makhdúm-pur.	277	...	277	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Baniya ...	929
79	Lohi ...	1,661	299	1,960		Jáes ...	1,773

70. *Khwája-pur*, so called from possessing the tomb of one Khwája Pír, was founded by Jáṭs from Bherai, and having been sold to Ashraf Khán, was confiscated with his other estates and conferred rent-free for life on Seth Lakhmi Chand. The Jáṭ residents were among the ring leaders in the attack on Noh-jhíl.

71. *Kheriya* was founded by Sar-táj, a Jáṭ from Duneṭiya. A málikána of Rs. 50 is paid to Rájá Tíkam Sinh of Mursán.

72. *Kuráuli*, included in Muín-ud-dín-pur, was sold by the Jáṭs in 1843 to Athwáraya Bráhmans.

73. *Kurwára*. Part has been acquired from the Jáṭs by Magni Rám, Baniya, and Dulichard, Bohra.

74. *Lál garhi*, founded by Láljí, a Jáṭ from Harnaul.

75. *Lál-pur*, founded by Lál Siñh, a Jáṭ from Parsaulí.

76. *Lamtauri*, founded 150 years ago by Durji, a Sárasvat Bráhman.

77. *Lána Kasba* was first recovered from the jhíl in 1814, and then assessed at Rs. 1,400. When the floods are not excessive, excellent crops are produced; but in some years only 200 bíghas dry up sufficiently to allow of cultivation. In 1854 the Bráhman zamindárs of Kasba Noh-jhíl had 13 biswas, and Shaikh Hakím-ullah the other 7; but of the 13 biswas 2 were subsequently sold to Umráo Bahádur and confiscated with the rest of his estate; and now the Shaikhs have little more than two biswas, while the remainder of the village has been transferred by them and the Bráhmans to Sardár Sinh, Dhúsar, of Sahár.

78. *Lána Makhdúm-pur*, the only one of the four Lánas never under water, was part of the estate of Nawáb Ashraf Khán, which was confiscated and bestowed muáf on Seth Lakhmi Chand. The two other lánas of Musmina and Kaulához amount together to 957 acres, but are uninhabited.

79. *Lohi*.—Here is an indigo factory belonging to Kasera, Baniya, and on the side of the village pond a Dargáh of Pír Bakhsh, built by Bhágírath and Chain-sukh Lál. There is a halkabandi school, and a market held on Saturday. The old Kalár occupants of the place were ejected by Dhákaras and they in turn by the Thákurs under Rájá Chet Pál of Kanauj. There are two hamlets opposite each other, both called Jay-sinha, and near them a garden of the Paṭwáris planted with guava, pomegranate, and other trees.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
80	Maḍhua-ká ...	473	...	473	Seth Raghunáth Dás	Ját ...	502
81	Makhdúm-pur ...	354	5	359	Parasu-rám, Athwaraya.	Ditto ...	750
82	Máná-garhi ...	711	54	765		Ditto ...	936
83	Mangal-khoh ...	86	...	86	Seth Raghunáth Dás	Bráhman ...	57
84	Mani-garhi ...	499	4	503	Ditto ...	Ját ...	1,008
85	Marahla Mukha ...	225	...	225	Syám Shankar, mortgagee.	Ditto ...	531
86	Mát ...	4,246	504	4,750	Bráhmans and Thákurs.	Thákur ...	
87	Milk Kalán ...	64	...	64	Athwarayas ...	Ját and Bráhman.	177
88	Mír-pur ...	311	...	311		Gaurua, (Jáes.)	851
89	Mirtána ...	407	22	429		Bráhman ...	504

80. *Madhua-ká* is said to derive its name from Mán-dháta, a Bairágí. It was purchased from the Játs by Nawáb Muhammad Ashraf Khán and confiscated after the mutiny with the rest of his estates.

81. *Makhdúm-pur*, on the Noh-jhíl and Sher-garh road. The old zamindárs were Jádons, then Játs; and now Parasu-rám, Athwaraya, Bohra of Iglás in Aligarh, who purchased at auction about 1850.

82. *Máná-garhi*, founded by one Mána, a Ját from Bherai. There is a *ghana* of *kadamb* and other trees still, 279 bighas in extent, and not many years ago very much larger, as is shown by the number of trees dotted about the adjoining fields. It stretches also across the Aligarh border into the village of Gangoli. After the mutiny, a fine of Rs. 677-8, was imposed on the zamindárs, who had joined in the attack on Noh-jhíl. A halkabandi school.

83. *Mangal-khoh*, founded last century by Mangal-Sen, a Ját from Bharat-pur, on a creek *(khoh)* of the river. The Játs had five biswas which were sold to Umráo Bahádur, and being confiscated with the rest of his estates were given muáf for life to Seth Lakhmi Chand. The other 15 biswas, held by Bráhmans, were also confiscated, but eventually restored on payment of a fine.

84. *Mani-garhi*, founded by Mani, a Ját from Musmina, and purchased from his descendants by Nawáb Ashraf Khán.

85. *Marahla Mukha*, on the Jamuná, founded by Mukha, a Ját from Barauth. The fine imposed after the mutiny not being realized, the village was sold by auction to Devi Shankar Saháy, Káyath of Mathurá, who in 1867 made a gift of it to Dhan Kunwar, Bráhmani. The latter has mortgaged it to Syám Shankar.

86. *Mát.*—Tahsíli, police station, branch post-office, halkabandi school. See page 65.

87. *Milk Kalán*, has now been bought by Athwarayas. *Milk khurd*, with an area of only 67 acres, is uninhabited. It originally belonged to Játs from Dunetiya, who have sold it to Bráhmans.

88. *Mír-pur*, on the Jamuná, is one of the eight Thákur villages.

89. *Mirtána* is said to have been founded by one Rám-jí, who named it after his grandson, Amrit Ráo. Here is a temple of Murli Manohar.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalmán.	Total.			
90	Miṭháuli ...	530	4	534		Jáṭ ...	958
91	Morja ...	46	...	46	Bráhman and Jáṭ,	Ditto ...	161
92	Mubárak-pur ...	210	...	210		Bráhman ...	389
93	Muín-ud-dín-pur	537	36	573		Jáṭ ...	1,198
94	Musmina ...	1,708	31	1,739		Ditto	1,791
95	Nabi-pur ...	386	33	419	Jáṭ ...	Ditto and Chamár.	768
96	Nagara Bírbala ...	51	5	56		Jáṭ ...	402
97	Nagara Dáni ...	376	17	393		Bráhman	175
98	Nagara Dehi ...	69	...	69	Rájá Tikam Sinh of Mursán.	Jáṭ ...	177
99	Nagara Humáyun,	76	...	76		...	857
100	Nagara Mahru ...	139	...	139		Bráhman	40
101	Nának-pur ...	842	54	896	Seth Raghunáth Dás	Jáṭ ...	732

90. *Mitháuli*, founded by Miṭha, Jáṭ. A fine of Rs. 750 was imposed after the mutiny.

91. *Morja*, founded by Mor Ráj from Dunetiya. Here is a *marhi* sacred to Mahádeva, with seven biswas of land.

92. *Mubárak-pur* was, after the mutiny, fined Rs. 250-8.

93. *Muín-ud-dín-pur*, included with Kuráuli, was founded by Jáṭs from Parsauli and Bájana. Sunday is market day. The Muhammadan name is a little inexplicable; it is generally corrupted on the spot into Mundi-pur. The remains of a fort and some fine old trees, the survivors of a large bágh, shew that the place was once of more importance than it is now.

94. *Musmina*, on the Jamuná opposite Majhoi, with a ferry to connect the two places. At the mouth of the channel which leads from the river to the jhíl, there was once a dam to prevent the inundation, but this has been washed away. In the rains, many boats laden with grain start from here for Agra and other places down the stream. Chaudhari Het Rám, lumberdár, is a man of great influence among all the Jáṭs in the neighbourhood. After the mutiny a fine of Rs. 1,100 was imposed upon him and the other zamindárs. A hamlet called Bhagt Bhakareliya was founded about a century ago, and is separately assessed. There is a temple of Mahádeva, and two annual melás are held in honour of Baráhi Devi on the full moon of Chait and the full moon of Kuwár.

95. *Nabi-pur*, founded from Siu-Patti of Bájana, includes in its area Chanḍáuli, Káne-ká, and Khán-pur.

96. *Nagara Bírbala.*, founded by a Jáṭ of that name from Harnaul.

97. *Nagara Dáni.*—Part has been lately acquired by Athwarayas.

98. *Nagara Dehi.*—Here is a ruinous mud fort of Padma, zamindár. The former proprietors were Jáṭs of Pachahra, who in 1830 sold to the Rájá of Mursán.

100. *Nagara Mahru.*—Jáṭs have now acquired part from the Bráhmans. Rájá Tikam Sinh has a málikána of Rs. 23.

101. *Nának-pur*, founded from Musmina, was sold by the Jáṭs to Nawáb Ashraf Khán. The large moated fort which he constructed was in the mutiny beseiged for about a week by the

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total			
102	Nasíṭhi ...	1,493	69	1,562		Jáṭ and Bráhman.	1,485
103	Návali ...	1,421	86	1,507	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Jáṭ ...	2,161
104	Nausher-pur ...	598	14	612		Ditto	605
105	Noḥ-jhíl ...	2,215	976	3,191	Bráhmans and Muhammadans.	...	3,640
106	Núr-pur ...	177	83	260	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Chamár ...	540
107	Oháwa ...	919	32	951	Hakím-un-Nissa ...	Gaurua (Jáes.)	2,511
108	Pabbi-pur ...	380	4	384		Bráhman	395
109	Pachahra ...	958	19	977		Ditto	1,426

Musmina, Bherai and Kaulána confederacy; but by the assistance of some of the principal zamindárs in the neighbourhood, Het Rám of Musmina, Ghaus Muhammad of Noḥ-jhíl, Khumáni of Ráe-pur and others, Umráo Bahádur, who had then succeeded his father Ashraf Khán in the estate, contrived to escape with all his valuable movable property to Alizarh; after remaining there for a month, he joined his uncle Mazhar Ali Khán at Kheliya in Bulandshahr and eventually met his death in the rebel army at Delhi. The village was confiscated and conferred on Seth Lakhmi Chand. Till lately there was a fine mango grove here, planted by Ashraf Khán, 20 bíghas in extent, but it has now been very much thinned and a great part of it ploughed up.

102. *Nasíṭhi.*—A halkabandi school. Two hamlets.

103. *Návali*, so called from its Jáṭ founder, Naval. 1,302 bíghas assessed at Rs 1,740, the property of Kishuna and Darkali, were put up to auction and purchased by Nawáb Ashraf Khán, and confiscated with the rest of his son Umráo Bahádur's estate In the mutiny the old Jáṭ zamindárs took part in the murder of Daulat Rám, Bohra of Bhure-ka, the next village, and in the attack on the Athwaravas of Chándpur. There are two hamlets, one called Sámant-garhi. By the village pond (*pokhar*) is a small mango grove near which a colony of Harbhúras has been established for the last seven or eight years, and on the Seth's estate another orchard of much greater extent.

104 *Nausher-pur*, founded from Parsauli by Naurang, Jáṭ. A fine of Rs. 752 was imposed after the mutiny.

105. *Noḥ-jhíl.*—Tahsíli, police station, post-office, halkabandi school. See page 67.

106. *Núr-pur*, so called after Núr Khán, a Paṭhán, but originally named Bhanvarola, after Bhanvar Sinh, a Jáṭ from Kaulána Having been purchased at auction sale by Mazhar Ali Khán of Kumona, it shared the same fate as the rest of his estates after the mutiny.

107. *Oháwa.*—About 100 years ago the zamindári passed from the Jáṭs to a Káyath, who sold five biswas to Sadá Rám, Bohra, while the other 15 were sold by auction and were eventually acquired by Kunwar Dildár Ali Khán of Bhadanwárá Three of the Oháwa people were transported for taking part in his murder at the time of the mutiny, and the estate was sold by his widow to Thakuráni Hakím-ul-Nissa of Sa'dabád, the widow of Husain Ali Khán. Founder, Rám Skuh.

108. *Pabbi-pur*, otherwise called Harad-pur, after a relative of the founder, Bál, Bráhman.

109. *Pachahra.*—Given by the Jáṭs to the ancestors of the present proprietors some 300 years ago. A halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman	Total.			
110	Pál-kherá ...	1,345	88	1,433		Ját and Bráhman.	577
111	Parsauli ...	1,500	57	1,557		Ját ...	1,066
112	Pati-pura ...	129	...	129	Ját and Baniya...	Ját and Bráhman.	151
113	Piparáuli ...	104	2	106	Gosain Purushottam Lál.	Bráhman	743
114	Pitaura ...	17	...	17		Bráhman	346
115	Polua (Great) ...	33	...	33	Baladeva, Baniya, &c.	Jogi and Malláh.	204
116	Rae-pur ...	1,121	9	1,130		Ját ...	1,766
117	Rám-garhi ...	156	...	156		Ditto	550
118	Rám-nagara ...	435	11	446		Ditto and Bráhman.	662
119	Sadík-pur ...	267	...	267		Ját ...	252

110. *Pál-khera* (from the 'Pál' family or dynasty), one of the 12 Barauth villages is held 15 biswas by Játs and 5 by Bráhmans. Between the village and a hamlet called Lakhatiya-pár is the Patawaiya Nála, which commences in the Bulundshahr district and terminates in the Jamuná. In the mutiny the people of thok Randhír plundered the patwári of Barauth and killed his brother Hira Lál. A market on Monday. A halkabandi school.

111. *Parsauli*, (for Parsa-puri) founded by Serhu, Ját from Bájana was fined after the mutiny Rs. 1,450. The Arázi Kásht Parsauli is land recovered from the jhíl, 391 acres in extent, assessed at Rs. 133.

112. *Pati-pura*.—Founded by Pati, a Ját from Dunetiya.

113. *Piparáuli*.—(For Pippala-puri). The old zamindárs were Játs, but now Gosáin Purushottam of Gokul is mortgagee of five biswas under Lakshmi Dás, Bairágí of the temple of Lárli Jí on the Mán Sarovar, who is in possession of all the remainder.

114. *Pitaura*.—(For Pita-pura). Two-thirds of the village are now held by Játs who live at Barauth and Pálkherá.

115. *Polua (Great)*.—The present zamindárs are Baladeva, Baniya; Jamuná, Bráhmani; and Kishan Sinh, Ját: originally they were all Játs. A market is held every Monday on the Bahdín border. A málikána is paid to Rájá Tikam Sinh of Mursán. Little Polua, which is uninhabited, with an area of 105 acres, is owned by the Rájá.

116. *Rae-pur*, on the Jamuná and with a ferry between it and Sháh-pur in Kosi, was founded from Musmina. Half a mile to the west of the village is a *jhari* 20 bighas in extent with a temple of Baladeva, built about two centuries ago by Nain-sukh, zamindár. Two hamlets.

117. *Rám-garhi*, so called after Ram-sukh, Ját, is one of the eight Kaulána villages. Its older name was Chamar-garhi. The Ját zamindárs came from Maholi in Palwal, and half of them still live there.

118. *Rán-nagara*, so called after Rán Sinh, Ját, is one of the 12 Narwárán villages. Half of the zamindári belongs to Bráhmans.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
120	Sadr-pur ...	81	...	81	Balarám, Ját ...	Ját ...	814
121	Sakat-pur ...	500	5	505		Bráhman	585
122	Saláká ...	138	4	142	Dharm Dás, Athwaraya.	Ját ...	311
123	Sámáuli ..	473	7	480	Lachhman, Bohra Hira Lál, Athwaraya.	Bráhman	866
124	Shal ...	801	49	850	...	Ját ...	894
125	Shankar-garhi ...	388	56	444	...	Ditto ...	556
126	Singauni ...	188	...	188	Het Rám, Ját of Musmina.	Ditto ...	704
127	Sikandar-pur ...	1,364	60	1,424	Sevak Rám, Ját and others.	Thákur	1,828
128	Siraila ...	265	30	295		Bráhman...	475
129	Siu Patti ...	1,825	39	1,864		Ját ...	2,046

120. *Sadr-pur*, one of the eight Kaulána villages, is accounted part of Udhan-pur. It has passed from the old Ját shareholders to Balarám, Ját of Katcliya.

121. *Sakat-pur.*—Given to Bráhmans by the Játs.

122. *Saláká*, so called after its founder Saláh, is one of the 12 Narwárán villages. 21 years ago the Játs sold 10 biswas to Dharm Dás, Athwaráya.

123 *Sámauli*, (for Syama-puri), on the Jamuná, is so called after its founder Syáma, Bráhman. Gauruas owned a considerable part of the village, but have now sold part to Lachhman, Bohra of Bhadra-ban, and Hirá Lál, Athwaraya, and mortgaged the remainder to Devi Sinh and Basant Rám.

124. *Shal.*—Near the village pond *(tál)* is a *jáman* orchard belonging to some Manihárs, and on the Bali-pur side a fine, large, mango grove named after Kalu the lumberdár.

125. *Skankar-garhi*, so called after its Ját founder; has 200 bighas watered by a Ráj-bahá of the Ganges Canal. A market on Tuesday.

126. *Singauli*, founded by Játs from Musmina, was farmed till 1854 by Nawáb Ashraf Khán. It then returned to the old Ját proprietors, but as they joined in the attack on Noh-jhíl in the mutiny, a fine of Rs. 500 was imposed upon them, and in default of payment the estate was sold to Het Rám of Musmina.

127. *Sikandar-pur*, founded by Sikandar, a Jáos Thákur from Jarára. In 1824 it was sold at auction to Moti Rám, Bráhman, and Ghaus Muhammad, Shaikh, of Noh-jhíl. Subsequently, Moti Rám sold 5 biswas to Rám Kishan, Thákur, and Madan Mohan, Baniya, and the other 5 to Lachhman, Bráhman, while the Shaikh sold his 10 to Sevak Rám, Ját, and Randhír, Thákur. To the west of the village is a *ghaná* of *dhák* and *hins* trees with a pond covering 8½ bighas. A market on Wednesday. Two hamlets.

128. *Siraila*, founded by Srí and Tulsi, Játs from Harnaul.

129. *Siu Patti.*—See Bájana, page 66.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
130	Suhág-pur ...	528	10	538		Ját ...	4'6
131	Sultán-paṭṭi ...	1,591	35	1,626		Ditto ...	1,991
132	Sultán-pur ...	125	62	187		Malakána and Bráhman	662
133	Surír ...	4,957	314	5,271		...	4,405
134	Surká ...	177	...	177	Rájá Tikam Sinh of Mursán.	Ját ...	402
135	Tehra ...	158	401	559		Malakána ...	420
	Tenti-ká gánw another name for Akbar-pur.						
136	Thenua ...	355	16	371		Ját ...	301
137	Tilká-garhi ...	629	17	646	Het Rám, Ját of Musmina	Ditto ...	910
138	Toli ...	30	6	36	Zuhúr Ali.	Saiyid ...	...
139	Udhan-pur ..	15	...	15	...	Ját Nohwár,	...

130. *Suháy-pur.*—One of the 12 Narwárán villages. There is a *jhári* of *kins* and other trees extending over 52½ bíghas. In the mutiny the zamindárs joined in the attack on Lalji, Patwári of Bároth, and in the murder of his brother Hírá Lál.

131. *Sultán-patti.*—See Bájana, page 66.

132. *Sultán-pur,* on the Jamuná, so called after its founder Sultán, a Malakána. Fifty years ago it was sold away from his descendants at auction to Khairáti Khán, Pathán, whose heirs are now in possession, though they have lately mortgaged to Sahib Rám and Chet Rám, Baniyas of Surír.

134. *Surká,* on the Road between Mát and Háthras, was founded by Játs from Dunetiya.

135. *Tehra,* one of the eight Thákur villages, was founded by a Jáes from Káhnur, whose descendants, some 200 years ago, turned Muhammadans. In the mutiny they received and sheltered for five months the refugees from Noḥ-jhíl : and as an acknowledgment of their loyalty, one-tenth of the Jama, *viz.*, Rs. 100, was remitted from the year 1859 (the remission still continuing) and the zamindárs Zauki, Serhu, and Tárá, received each a donation of Rs. 50.

138. *Thenua,* one of the 12 Narwár villages was given to Thanda, a Ját of the Thenua got, whence its name. Here is a temple built by Khúba zamindár.

137. *Tilká-garhi.*—So called after its founder, a Ját from Musmina. A few years later another Ját by name Bhagawán founded the hamlet of Bhagawán-garhi. This latter, being 7½ biswas of the whole, has been sold to Het Rám of Musmina. For joining in the attack on Noḥ-jhíl, the zamindárs, after the mutiny, were fined Rs. 662.

138. *Toli,* called in full Toli Saiyid, was taken out of Noḥ-jhíl and given rent-free to one Zuhúr Ali. The grant was resumed by the British Government and the assessment fixed at Rs. 640. Subsequently it was all sold ; 10 biswas to Bráhmans, 5 to Baniyas, and 5 to Kunjras. Zuhúr Ali, a descendant of the old Saiyid, has now re-purchased 5 biswas from Tulsi Rám, Baniya, and the Kunjras have sold 1½ biswas to Indrajít, Bráhman.

139. *Udhan-pur* is included with Sadr-pur.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(concluded).

No	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total			
140	Udhar ...	372	32	404	...	Jogi and Jáṭ	540
141	Nagara Himna ..	...	...	...	Rájá Tikam Sinh and Jánaki Prasád.	Jáṭ ...	...

140. *Udhar*, founded by Udho, Jáṭ from Dunetiya. There is a *ghana*, 1 73½ bighas in extent, called Baṭmár. A málikána or royalty is paid to Rájá Tikam Sinh of Mursán There is one brick-built house in the village—a most exceptional thing in this pargana—occupied by Kishan Sinh, Lumberdár.

141. *Nagara-Himna*, was purchased from the Jáṭs, one-third by Rájá Tikám Sinh and two-thirds by one Bhágirath, who has resold to Jánaki Prasád and Vazir Khán.

V.—PARGANA MAHÁ-BAN.

The Mahá-ban Pargana forms the connecting link between the two divisions of the district. Its western half, which lies along the bank of the Jamuná, forms part of the Braj Mandal, and closely resembles in all its characteristics the tracts that we have hitherto been describing: its towns are places of considerable interest, but the land is poor and barren, dotted with sandhills and intersected with frequent ravines. To the east, beyond Baladeva, the country is assimilated to the rest of the Doáb; the soil, being of greater productiveness, has from time immemorial been exclusively devoted to agricultural purposes, and thus there are no large centres of population nor sites of historic interest.

In area and subordination the pargana has undergone several changes; for originally it formed part of Aligarh, and then for some years recognized Sa'dábád as its capital, before it was finally constituted a member of the district of Mathurá. In 1861 it made over to Sa'dábád some few villages on the border, and received instead the whole of the Raya circle, including as many as eighty-nine villages, which, till then, had been included in Mát; together with three others, Baltíkri, Bírbal, and Sonkh, which were detached from Háthras. A glance at the map will show that a further rectification of its boundary line to the north is still most desirable; as the narrow tongue of land that runs up along the Aligarh border, in immediate proximity to the Mát Tahsíli, would clearly be benefited by inclusion in Mát jurisdiction.

The river forms the boundary of the pargana to the south as well as the west, and in the lower part of its course is involved in such a series of sinuosities that its length is out of all proportion to the area it traverses, and thus necessitates the maintenance of no less than eleven crossing-places, *viz.*, the pontoon bridge at the city, a bridge-of-boats at Gokul, and ferries at Páni-gánw, Habíb-pur or Basai, Baroli, Kanjauli, Koila, Tappa Saiyid-pur, Sehat, Akos, and Nera. The contracts for all these, excepting the one at Koila, are given in the Agra district.

Of the 151,846 acres that form the total area, 110,613 are ordinarily under cultivation. The crops principally grown are *joár*, *bájra*, and the like, on 57,000 acres; wheat and barley on 38,700; cotton on 8,000, and *chaná* on 4,000. Water-melons are also raised in large quantities on the river-sands; and the long grass and reeds, produced in the same localities, are valuable as materials for making ropes, mats, and articles of wicker-work.

The number of distinct estates is 216, of which 18 are enjoyed rent-free by religious persons or establishments, and 89 are in the hands of sole proprietors,

as distinct from village communities. The castes that muster strongest are Játs and Bráhmans, who together constitute one-half of the entire population. The great temples at Baladeva and Gokul, though they have also endowments in land, derive the principal part of their income from the voluntary offerings of pilgrims and devotees. Of secular proprietors, the wealthiest—as in most other parts of the country now-a-days—are *novi homines* of the baniya class, who have laid the foundation of their fortune in trade. First in this order come Mahi Lál and Jánaki Prasád of Raya. Their ancestor, Nand Rám, was a petty trader of that town, who realized large profits by the sale of grain in the famine of 1838. In partnership with him was his brother, Magni Lál, who, having no natural heir, adopted his sister's grandson, Jánaki Prasád. In 1840 Nand Rám died, and as of his two sons, Mahi Lál and Bhajan Lál, the latter was already deceased, leaving issue, Jamuná Prasád and Manohar Lál, he left his estate in three equal shares,—the one to his son, the second to his two grandsons, and the third to his adopted nephew. For some years the property was held as a joint undivided estate; but in 1866 an agreement was executed constituting three estates in severalty; Jánaki Prasád's share being the village of Bhadanwára, Mahi Lál's that of Arua, both in Mát; and Jamuná Prasád and Manohar Lál's, ten smaller villages in the Mahá-ban pargana. As the main object of this agreement was simply to get rid of Jánaki Prasád, the others continued to hold their two-thirds of the original estate as one property. But after a time, thinking that the discrepancy between recorded rights and actual possession might lead to difficulties, in 1870 they executed another deed, by which the two shares were again amalgamated. This joint estate, including business returns, was assessed for purposes of the income tax, as yielding an annual profit of Rs. 16,066; the Mahá-ban villages, in which they are the largest shareholders, being Acharu, Chúra-Hansi, Dhaku, Gonga, Nágal, and Thana Amar Sinh. Some misunderstanding has now arisen, and the uncle and nephew have commenced a litigation which promises to be long protracted and will probably leave them both poorer men. Their kinsman Jánaki Prasád, in addition to his Mát village of Bhadanwára, has shares in Gainra, Kakarári and 15 other villages in Mahá-ban, from which he derives a net income of Rs. 14,260.

Of much the same, or perhaps rather lower, social standing are a family of Sanádh Bráhmans at Jagadís-pur, money-lenders by profession, who are gradually consolidating a considerable estate out of lands which for the most part they first held only in mortgage. The head of the firm in their native village, where they have been settled for many generations, is by name Harideva, with whom is associated in partnership his nephew, Chunni Lál, son of a deceased brother, Isvari. Besides owning three parts of Jagadís-pur, they have also shares in Daulat-pur, Habíb-pur, Kárab, Kakarári, Sahora, Waíraní and 16 other villages, producing a net income of Rs. 12,572. A brother of Harideva's,

by name Púran Mall, has a separate estate, being part proprietor of Bahádurpur, Itauli, &c., while a relative, Baladeva, living at Gokul, has a further income of Rs. 13,311 derived from trade and lands that he owns at Daghaita and Arhera in the Mathurá Pargana. This latter's father, Param Sukh, was the brother of Híra-mani, Harideva's father; and it was their father Jawáhir—nicknamed *Kuteliya*, 'the pedlar'—son of another Harideva, who began in a very small way to form a nucleus for the fortune which his descendants have so rapidly accumulated.

The Pachauris of Gokharauli and the Saiyids of Mahá-ban (*see page* 4) though of inferior wealth have claims to a more ancient and honorable pedigree. The latter have a joint income of Rs. 6,084, drawn chiefly from the township of Mahá-ban, and the villages of Nagara Bháru, Gohar-pur, Shah-pur Ghosna, and Narauli: but the shareholders are so numerous that no one of them is in affluent circumstances, and the head of the family, Sirdár 'Ali Khán, is glad to accept service under Governmet in a subordinate position as Naib Tahsildár. An account has already been given of the Gokarauli Pachauris (*page* 12) whose joint income is estimated at Rs. 10,695: but as the present head of the family is a childless widow and her adoption of a son has given rise to much litigation on the part of the rival claimants to the inheritance, it may be of use to add a genealogical table showing clearly the degrees of relationship:—

Bhúpat Sinh,
(of Savaran-kherá in Bhadáwar; came from there and settled at Satoha)
|
Parasu-rám Sinh, of Satoha.
|
Púran-chand, of Gokharauli.

- Giridhar Sinh, of Bhadáwar. — Ballabh Sinh, Tahsildár of Kosi, died s. p.
- Mukund Sinh, of Gokharauli. — Bakhtáwar Sinh, of Gokharauli, died s. p.
- Bansidhar. — Prán Kunwar, present head of the family. — Rám-chand, adopted by Prán Kunwar.
- Gújar Mall. — 1 Har Prasád; 2 Lalita Prasád; 3 Jamuna Prasád
- Gobind Rám, Tahsildár of Sikandra Rao. — Kalyán Sinh, of Gokharauli

Beyond the three towns of Gokul, Mahá-ban, and Baladeva, which have already been fully described, there is no other place in the pargana which requires more than the most cursory notice.

Alphabetical List of Villages.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
1	'Abd-un-Nabi-pur Gokula.	605	47	652	Nainsukh, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	662
2	Acharu Ladhorá,	929	9	938	Nand-kishor and Jamuná Prasad, Baniyas.	Ditto ...	1,184
3	Akos ...	3,252	88	3,340	Bakhshi, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	3,426
4	'Ali-pur ...	530	...	580	Moti Rám, Bráhman.	Bráhman...	290
5	Amír-pur ...	323	43	366	Chandan Sinh, Jádoṇ.	Jáṭ ...	448
6	Anaunḍhá ...	2,253	77	2,330	Bhawáni, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	2,230
7	Angai ...	712	48	760	Gobinda, Jáṭ ...	Ditto and Bráhman.	827
8	Arází Islám-pur,	127	...	127	Sádik Ali, Saiyid,	Bráhman...	...
9	Arází Milk Bikánú Sháh.	...	39	39	Rajab Ali, Saiyid,	Saiyid ...	73
10	Arází Milk Gangá-vási	...	...	...	Kewal Kishan, Bráhman.	...	54
11	Arází Milk Kánúngoan.	...	...	...	Jamaiyat Ráe, Káyath.	...	172
12	Artoni ...	524	35	559	Ajay Rám, Jáṭ...	Jáṭ ...	635

1. *'Abd-un-Nabi-pur Gokula.*—Jáṭs own only half the village, Bráhmans and Káyaths the other half.

2. *Acharú Ladhora.*—The present proprietors purchased from the Jáṭs. In 1857 two of the zamindárs, Dhani Rám and Sesh Rám, were hanged as mutineers, two others died in jail.

3. *Akos,*—On the bank of the Jamuná. Here is a hill known as Bhím Tíla. Market on Monday. Halkabandi school.

4. *'Ali-pur.*—Founded by Shaikh Ali, risáldár. The former proprietors were Káyaths.

5. *Amír-pur,*—Founded by Mahárāj Sinh, Jáṭ: mortgaged by his descendants to Chandan Sinh. In the mutiny a native of the place, by name Suraj, took the additional title of Mall, and was proclaimed Rájá.

6. *Anaunḍhá* or *Anaurha.*—Founded by Mahí-pat, Jáṭ. Kesari, Bráhman, who had purchased a share in the village shortly before the mutiny, was then attacked and plundered by the old proprietors. A market on Tuesday and Saturday.

7. *Angai.*—Founded by Isvar, Jáṭ. A halkabandi school.

9. *Arázi Milk Bikánu Sháh.*—Here is a tomb of the founder's son, Fazl Sháh.

10. *Arázi Milk Gangá-vási.*—A muáfi grant of Sindhia's, but resumed.

11. *Arázi Milk Kánúngoán.*—A grant to Harsukh Ráe Kánúngo, made by the zamindárs of several adjoining villages.

12. *Artoni.*—Held muáfi by the Temple of Baladeva.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
13	Ayra ...	244	3	247	Náráyan Sinh, Thákur.	Jáṭ ...	557
14	Ayrá-kheṛá ...	1,852	129	1,981	...	Ditto and Baniya.	...
15	Bádon ...	1,059	21	1,080	Randhír, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	992
16	Bahádur-pur ...	170	...	170	Chiranji Lál. Bráhman.	Ditto ...	374
	Baladeva.	See Rí	ṛha, No.	167			
17	Balarám-pur ...	138	...	138	Jamaiyat Ráe, Káyath.	Jáṭ ...	163
18	Balṭíkrí ..	825	26	851	Mittrasen, Baniya,	Ditto ...	1,177
19	Banán ...	440	...	440	Lachman, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	305
20	Banárasí-pur ...	76	...	76	Rukma, Bráhmani,	Bráhman...	152
21	Bandi ...	1,361	15	1,476	Kehar Sinh, Jádoṇ,	Jádoṇ ...	1,200
22	Bansa ...	596	20	616	Jáṭs ...	Jáṭ ...	807
23	Baṛhá ...	99	...	99	Raghubar, Bráhman	Ditto ...	403
24	Baroli ...	2,090	167	2,257	Prán Kunwar, Pachauri.	Jáṭ ...	1,617

13. *Ayrá.*—Founded by Arámi, Jáṭ, and purchased from his descendants by the present Thákur proprietor. Here much salt used to be manufactured, the soil being extremely saline. A halkabandi school.

14. *Ayrá-Kheṛá.*—A township, the centre of 18 villages, but with no arable land. Market on Wednesday and Saturday.

15. *Bádon.*—Founded by Bádu, Jáṭ: a share has been purchased from his descendants by Jánaki Prasád, Baniya, of Ráya.

16. *Bahádur-pur.*—Founded by Bahádur, Jáṭ.

17. *Balarám-pur.*—Founded by Sobha Ráe, Káyath.

18. *Baltíkrí.*—Founded by Balarám, Jáṭ, and sold by his descendants to Mittra-sen, Baniya, of Háthras.

19 *Banán.*—Two of the Jáṭ zamindárs were seized for taking part in the mutiny, but died before trial.

20. *Banárasi-pur.*—Founded by Banárasi, Bráhman.

21. *Bandí.*—Here is the temple of Bandi Anandi, Jasoda's two favourite servants, with a tank, now in ruins, constructed by Bodhan Rávat.

22. *Bansa.*—In taluka Ar-Lashkar-pur. Jama, Rs. 1,546.

24. *Baroli.*—A tappa of Mándaur, originally belonged to the Jáṭs. A market on Tuesday and Saturday. Halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
	Basái: the more common name for Habíb-pur.						
25	Básar-bhikhandí,	180	...	180	Rájá Tíkam Sinh, Jáṭ.	Jáṭ ...	402
26	Bhainsára ...	1,611	39	1,650	Puhapa, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	829
27	Bhankar-pur ...	334	23	357	Ráe Sinh, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	463
28	Bhartiya ...	2,487	65	2,555	Radha Krishan, Bráhman; Rám Jas, Jáṭ.	Ditto ...	1,332
29	Bharú-garh ...	103	1	104	Bharat Sinh, Jáṭ.	Chamár ...	351
30	Bhímá ...	295	...	295	Daya Rám, Bráhman.	Bráhman...	278
31	Bhít-Baheri ...	50	...	50	Dhani Rám, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	244
32	Bhojna ...	204	...	204	Rájá Tíkam Sinh, of Mursáu.	Ditto ...	258
33	Bhúṛá ...	212	26	238	Kalyán Sinh, Pachauri.	Ditto ...	513
34	Bhúṛá ...	358	21	405	Mohana, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	635
35	Bhúṛari ...	148	...	148	Gangi, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	163
36	Bich-puri Polua...	171	...	171	Basudeva, Baniya	Ditto ...	272
37	Bibáuli ...	392	...	392	Baladeva, Bráhman,	Bráhman ...	800
38	Bír-aliabád ...	242	...	242	Jáṭs and Baniyas,	Jáṭ ...	250
39	Bindu-buláki ...	871	20	891	Rám Ratn, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	1,079

25. *Básar-bhikhandí.*—Founded by Bál-mukund, Jáṭ. *Bhikhanda* is the name of a particular shrub. Jama, Rs. 656. In the taluka Ár-Lashkar-pur.

26. *Bhainsára.*—Founded by Bhainsa, Jáṭ The Rájá of Kapurthala is muáfidar; the estate having been sold to his ancestor Fatih Sinh by Rájá Mán Sinh, the heir to the throne of Jay-pur, who lived as an ascetic at Brindá-ban *(see page* 137)

28. *Bhartiya.*—Founded by Bharat, Jáṭ. Market on Monday. Halkabandi school.

29. *Bharú-garh.*—Founded by some Jáṭs in the service of Súraj Mall of Bharat-pur.

31. *Bhít-baheri.*—Founded by Parta, Jáṭ. Seth Gobind Dás has a small share.

32. *Bhojna.*—In the taluka Madam. Jama, Rs. 585.

36. *Bich-puri Polua.*—Founded by Bijay Rám. Jáṭ, is in the taluka Ár-Lashkar-pur. Half the village has been purchased by Bráhmans and Bániyas. Jama, Rs. 700.

37. *Bibáuli.*—Here is a temple of Chámar (Chámundá) Devi, built by Nain-sen, where two annual melás are held, in Chait and Kuwar.

38. *Bir-aliabád.*—In the taluka Ár-Lashkar-pur. Jama, Rs. 620.

39. *Bindu-buláki.*—Founded by two Jáṭs, Bindu and Buláki.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
40	Birahna ...	601	13	614	Sita Rám, Baniya,	Jáṭ ...	865
41	Bírbal ...	482	6	488	Navala, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	747
42	Bironá ...	298	7	305	Jasi Rám, Pánda,	Ditto ...	412
43	Bisáuli ...	922	14	936	Akbar, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	1,143
44	Byonhíṇ ...	1,797	173	1,970	Kunwár Toḍar Sinh, Jáṭ.	Ditto ...	1,796
45	Chauhari ...	427	32	459	Bhúp Sinh, Bráhman	Bráhman ...	275
46	Chhauli ...	1,033	10	1,043	Akhai Rám, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	962
47	Chhibarau ...	238	8	246	Prasádi Lál, Pánda	Ditto ...	407
48	Chhikára ...	291	8	299	Kalu, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	433
49	Chúrá-Hansi ...	551	6	557	Randhír, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	288
50	Daghaiṭá ...	1,814	79	1,893	Baladeva Sinh, Bráhman of Gokul.	Ditto ...	2,401
51	Daulat-pur ...	938	58	996	Nathu, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	1,135
52	Dhakú ...	385	40	425	Jamuná Prasád, Baniya.	Ditto ...	564
53	Dhánoṭi ...	644	66	710	Bijay Kunwar, Jádoṇ.	Ditto ...	899
54	Daharua ...	332	273	605	Rájá Udait Náráyan, Bráhman.	Malakána...	828

42. *Birona.*—The Jáṭs still hold one-fourth of the village, the remainder has been transferred to Baniyas and the Pandes of Baladeva.

43. *Bisauli.*—Swámi Rangáchárya is muáfidar, by grant from Rájá Mán Sinh, the recluse.

44. *Byonhín.*—Here are 125 bighas of woodland and *karíla.*

45. *Chauhari.*—The original proprietors were Jáṭs.

46. *Chhauli.*—Founded by Maháráj Sinh, Jáṭ

48. *Chhikára.*—In the taluka Madam. Jama, Rs. 830.

49. *Chura-Hansi.*—Founded by two Jáṭs, Chúra and Hansi.

50. *Daghaitá.*—The present proprietor purchased from the Jáṭs.

52. *Dhaku.*—Founded by Dhakola, Jáṭ, and sold by his descendants to Jamuná Prasád, Baniya. Here are two temples, built by Sahaj Rám Bairági, and Pandit Pem Ráj, Kashmíri.

53. *Dhánoti.*—Purchased from the Jáṭs.

54. *Daharua.*—So called from the *dahar* or waste land in its vicinity.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman	Total.			
55	Díwáná ...	1,098	10	1,108	Bhágirath, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,462
56	Fatih-pura ...	492	...	492	Chhitar Mall, Baniya.	Bráhman...	333
57	Gainrá ...	1,959	7	1,966	Bhawáni, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,470
58	Gaju ...	643	22	665	Parsá, Ját ...	Ditto ...	692
	Garsauli, another form of Gunsáuli.						
59	Ghainchauli ...	399	23	422	Jamuná Prasád, Pachauri.	Ditto ...	729
60	Ghiyás-pur ...	...	...	...	Mukund Lál, Káyath.	...	163
	Gohar-pur, the more common name for Haiyát-pur						
61	Gokbaráuli ...	850	6	856	Prán Kunwar, Pachauri.	Ditto ...	968
62	Gokul ...	4,190	50	4,240	Purushottam Lál, Gosáin.	Bráhman ...	333
63	Gongá ...	635	...	635	Har Gobind, Ját...	Ját ...	524
64	Goṭhá ...	221	9	230	Chidu Mal, Baniya,	Ditto ...	644
65	Gulshan-ábád ...	...	...	...	Bánke Lál, Káyath,	...	231
66	Gunsáuli ...	1,365	54	1,419	Prán Kunwar, Pachauri.	Ditto ...	1,175
67	Guṛerá ...	1,119	13	1,132	Basudeva, Baniya, and Jáṭs.	Ditto ...	756

55. *Díwána.*—Founded by Diwán Sinh, Ját. Held muáfi by Swámi Rangáchárya, a grant from Rájá Mán Sinh. About half of the zamindári has also been acquired by purchase. Halkabandi school.

56. *Fatih-pura.*—Part still owned by the original Já lon and Bráhman families. Halkabandi school.

59. *Ghainchauli.*—The original Ját families still own half the village. A market on Wednesday.

60. *Ghiyás-pur.*—Founded by Nawáb Kamr-ud-din Khán.

61. *Gokharáuli.*—Purchased from the Jáṭs. In the mutiny the fort was surprised and occupied for some days by the rebels and three men were killed in the attack. A halkabandi school.

64. *Gotha.*—Sold by the Jáṭs to the Baniyas.

65. *Gulshan-ábád, alias* Indora : refounded by an Afghan, Gulshan Khán.

66. *Gunsáuli,* or Garsauli. Market on Tuesday. Halkabandi school.

67. *Guṛerá.*—Here a mela is held in propitiation of Devi Baráhi, the goddess of sores. An old ruined fort bears the name of Ár-Lashkar-pur, the head of the Ár-Lashkar-pur Taluka. A market on Monday and Friday. Jama, Rs. 1,700.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
68	Habíb-pur ...	564	4	568	Lájá Rám, Párásar.	Ahír ...	1,190
69	Haiyát-pur ...	1,149	313	1,462	Sardár Ali, Saiyid,	Malak ána and Chamár.	1,671
	Hans-ganj, the more common name, for Isa-pur.						
70	Hasan-pur ...	546	15	561	Dharm-pál, Baniya	Baniya and Já ṭ.	549
71	Hataurá ...	721	22	743	Rámodar Dás, Káyath	Já ṭ ...	575
72	Hatkauli ...	1,186	48	1,234	Swámi Rángachárya.	Ditto ...	960
73	Ibráhím-pur ...	126	...	126	Harideva Sinh, Bráhman.	Ahír ...	203
	Indora, another name for Gulshan-ábád.						
74	Isa-pur ...	1,653	181	1,834	Devi Sinh, Já ṭ ...	Já ṭ ..	790
75	Islám-pur ...	16	...	16	Har-jas Lál, Gosáin	Ahír and Bráhman.	500
76	Itauli ...	652	19	671	Púran Mal, Bráhman.	Já ṭ and Bráhman	1,250
77	Jádon-pur ...	488	8	496	Ajai Chand, Já ṭ ..	Já ṭ ...	545
78	Jagadís-pur ..	273	1	274	Harideva Sinh, Bráhman.	Bráhman and Chamár.	276
79	Jagatiya ...	18	...	18	Rájá Tíkam Sinh, Já ṭ, of Mursán.	Já ṭ ...	259
80	Jamál-pur ...	...	...	...	Jamaiyat Ráe, Káyath.	...	141
81	Ja ṭaurá ...	405	1	406	Purushottam Lál, Gosáin.	Bráhman...	755
82	Jharo ṭhá ...	639	70	709	Sundar, Já ṭ ..	Já ṭ ...	676

63. *Habíb-pur*, also, and more commonly, called Basai: originally founded by Giridhar, Ahír, and subsequently by Habíb Khán, Pathán. Half has been purchased by Harideva Sinh, Bohra. Here is a ferry, for which the contract is given in the Agra district.

69. *Haiyát-pur*.—Also called Gohar-pur. The Persian name was given by Yahya Sufi, who recovered the fort of Mahá-ban from the Hindus in the time of Ala-ud-din Ghori.

70. *Hasan-pur*.—Halkabandi School.

72. *Hathauli*.—The Já ṭs still own half the village. Market on Wednesday.

78. *Jagadís-pur*.—Founded by Jagadeva, Parásar, whose descendants still own one-quarter, the remainder having been sold to Harideva, Bohra.

79. *Jagatiya*.—One of the Taluka Madan villages. Jama, Rs. 400.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus	Musalman.	Total.			
83	Jogi-pur ...	4	...	4	Swámi Rangáchárya.	Jogi ...	389
84	Jugsana ...	2,075	98	2,173	Bhágirath, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,600
85	Kachnau ...	776	10	786	Bhurá, Ját ...	Bráhman and Ját.	813
86	Kakarári ...	1,425	49	1,474	Jívá Rám, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,301
87	Kalyán-pur ...	486	1	487	Harphul, Brahman,	Bráhman...	530
88	Kanaura ...	316	4	320	Nathá, Ját ...	Ját ...	942
89	Kanjauli ...	1,304	42	1,346	Chanda, Ját ...	Ditto ...	1,875
90	Kárab ...	2,594	65	2,669	Pati Rám, Ját ...	Ját and Bráhman,	3,033
91	Karnau ...	255	...	255	Nanda, Bráhman,	Bráhman...	436
92	Karsaura ...	716	34	750	Muni Lal, Bráhman.	Ját ...	1,282
	Kásim-pur, another name of Saiyid-pur. Kateliya, another name for Nagara Bari.						
93	Khalana ...	187	19	206	Ranjít Sinh, Ját,	Ditto ...	331
94	Khándiya ...	32	3	35	Amrit Sinh, Bráhman.	Ditto ...	269
95	Khán-pur ...	417	...	417	Bihári, Párásar ...	Bráhman and Chamár.	1,075
96	Khaṛaira ...	221	...	221	Dámodar Pánda, Brajbási.	Ját ...	385
97	Kharwá ...	743	29	772	Khumáni, Ját ...	Ját and Bráhman.	840
98	Kheṛiya ...	152	...	152	Bahádur Sinh, Bráhman.	Bráhman ...	376

83. *Jogi-pur.*—Also called Inayat-pur, from one Ináyat Khán.

84. *Jugsana.*—Halkabandi school.

90. *Kárab.*—Market on Thursday. Halkabandi school.

92. *Karsana.*—The original proprietors were Játs.

93. *Khalana.*—Founded by Khairati, Ját, five biswas belong to Rájá Tikam Sinh of Mursán. Jama, Rs. 730. Is in the Taluka Ár-Lashkar-pur.

95. *Khán-pur.*—Founded by Ali Khan, Pathan. Part has been sold to Harideva, Bohra.

97. *Kharwa.*—Held muáfi by Swámi Rangáchárya, a grant from Rájá Mán Sinh, the recluse of Brindá-ban. Remains of an old fort.

98. *Kheriya.*—Part has been sold to Baniyas.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
99	Khajúri ...	136	15	151	Rája Tikam Sinh, Ját, of Mursán.	Ját ...	284
100	Khirári ...	445	33	478	Chiranji Lál, Bráhman.	Ditto ...	385
101	Kinári ...	132	...	132	Har Gobind, Káyath.	Bráhman and Chamár.	353
102	Kináuli ...	548	31	579	Balavanta, Ját ...	Ját ...	555
103	Kishan-pur ...	616	...	616	Munna Lál, Bráhman.	Bráhman ...	145
104	Koil ...	331	17	348	Lachhman, Bráhman.	Bráhman ...	286
105	Lahráuli ...	689	7	696	Kora, Ját ...	Ját and Bráhman.	1,176
106	Lálpur ...	276	...	276	Khiyáli, Bráhman,	Bráhman ...	298
107	Loh-ban ...	2,063	58	2,121	Fakira, Bráhman	Ditto ...	1,371
108	Mahá-ban ...	5,330	1,600	6,930	Basudeva, Párásar,	Ditto ...	4,360
109	Mahpai ...	29	1	30	Sálagrám, Bráhman.	Ját ...	742
110	Malhai ...	55	...	55	Jngalkishor Jádon,	Ditto ...	152
111	Manina Bálu ...	1,069	57	1,126	Bádám, Ját ...	Ditto ...	976
112	Manohar-pur ...	334	...	334	Lajá-Rám Párasár	Káchhi ...	678

99. *Khajúri.*—In the Taluka Ar Laskhar pur. Jama, Rs 6.5.

101. *Kinári.*—On the 'bank' of the Jamuná.

103. *Kishan-pur.*—Cut off from the village of Kárab, and made a grant to Hirday Rám, Parasar. Half has been sold to Haridéva, Bohra. Halkabandi school.

104 *Koil.*—So called from the number of *Koil* birds in the thickets. Here are two gardens, with well and tiwara, constructed, the one by Jánaki Prasád of Raya, the other by a Brajbási Bráhman, in 1857. Mohan Lál, zamindár, was imprisoned for taking part in the mutiny.

105. *Lahrauli.*—In the mutiny the zamindárs of this and several adjoining villages plundered a wealthy bohra, by name Tiká Rám, who had lately purchased some of their land. He is still living, but has never recovered from the loss then sustained.

107. *Loh-ban.*—This is a station in the Ban-játra and is said to derive its name from the demon Loha, slain by Krishna In late local Sanskrit literature he is styled Lohajangha, but apparently is not mentioned at all in any ancient work. The pilgrims make offerings of iron (*loha*). There is a temple of Gopináth, built Sambat 1702, and a tank called Krishna-bund. Halkabandi school

108. *Mahá-ban.*—See page 147. Tahsíli, imperial post-office, police station, and tahsíli school.

109. *Mahpai.*—Said to derive its name from the founder Mahi, a Ját, by whose descendants it has been sold to the present Bráhman proprietor.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
113	Maṛaura ...	792	60	852	Isvari Prasád, Bráhman of Agra.	Jáṭ and Málakána.	1,048
114	Mávali ...	265	14	276	Dalá, Bráhman ...	Jáṭ and Bráhman.	684
115	Milk Biṭṭhalnáth	108	...	108	Purushottam Lál Gosáin.	Jáṭ ...	168
116	Milk Kishaná Chaube.	57	...	57	Lachha and Khubi Bráhmans.	Chamár ...	62
117	Misri ...	215	...	215	Balu, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	536
118	Mohan-pur ..	47	...	47	Mohan Lál, Bráhman.	Bráhman ...	105
119	Mubárak-pur ...	...	...	...	Baladeva Sinh, Bráhman.	...	620
120	Mujáhid-pur ...	37	...	37	Rám Dayál, Káyath.	Ahír ...	84
121	Mursena ...	210	...	210	Dhan Sinh, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	69
122	Murshid-abád ...	85	...	85	Prithi, Bráhman,	Bráhman ...	251
123	Muzaffar-pur ...	192	6	198	Raghunáth Rewári	Ditto ...	347
124	Nabi-pur ...	393	3	396	Chhitar Mal, Baniya.	Ahír ...	702
125	Nágal ...	1,040	...	1,040	Rám Sinh, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	909
126	Nagara Akos ...	494	...	494	Nandkishor, Jáṭ,	Ditto ...	1,321
127	Nagara Arjun ...	...	...	...	Karan Sinh, Jáṭ...	...	366

113. *Maraura.*—Founded by a Rávat named Mádan. Part is still owned by the original Jáṭ and Malakána families.

114. *Mávali.*—Jánaki Dás and Baladeva Dás, Báirágis, of Brindá ban, are muáfidárs.

119. *Mubárak-pur.*—Mortgaged to the Gosáins of Gokul.

121. *Mursena.*—The zamindárs of this and several adjoining villages took the opportunity in the mutiny of plundering Dhani Rám, a wealthy Bohra.

122. *Murshid-ábád.*—This was given by Akbar to a Bráhman, named Rámkishan.

123. *Muzaffar-pur.*—So called by Muzaffar Khán, Pathán. The original name was Madanpur.

125. *Nágal.*—Part has been sold to the Baniyas of Raya. Here is a temple built by Rám Dás, Baírágí; a tiwárá by Hemráj of Háthras, three gardens planted by Kishan Dás and Husain Beg, and two small mosques, one of them constructed by Chandan, a Baniya of Ráya.

125. *Nagara Akos.*—Is also called Nagara Hagá, the name given by its first founder Abhayachand. On the Jamuná.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
128	Nagara Azam ...	238	...	238	Parsá, Ját ...	Bráhman ...	856
129	Nagara Bali (Kateliya.)	1,150	99	1,249	Jivani. Mahesari Baniyin.	Ját and Rewari.	748
130	Nagara Bari ...	274	7	281	Dayá Krishan, Baniya.	Ját ...	78
131	Ditto Bharu ...	625	22	647	Sardár 'Ali, Saiyid.	Ditto ...	1,060
132	Ditto Bírbal ...	134	2	136	Harideva, Ját ...	Ditto ...	194
133	Ditto Dhanua ...	186	...	186	Rájá Tíkam Sinh, of Mursán.	Ditto ...	298
134	Nagara Giridhar ...	233	14	247	Jamaiyat Ráe, Káyath.	Ditto ...	670
135	Ditto Gokharáuli	516	41	557	Gobardhan Dás, Káyath.	Ditto ...	825
136	Ditto Hari ...	143	...	143	Devi Sinh, Ját ...	Ditto ...	403
137	Ditto Hírá ...	95	14	109	Dhani Rám, Bráhman.	Ditto ...	254
138	Ditto Jangali ...	167	15	182	Bakhsha, Ját ...	Ditto ...	648
139	Ditto Karan ...	...	...	...	Rájá Tíkam Sinh, of Mursán.		108
140	Ditto Kázi ...	364	...	364	Rájá Udait Náráyan, Bráhman,		248
141	Ditto Mír Buláki	295	8	303	Fidá Husain, Saiyid.	Bráhman ...	120
142	Ditto Thaná ...	116	...	116	Swámi Rangáchárya	Ját ...	160
143	Ditto Todar ...	236	1	237	Rati Rám, Ját ...	Ditto ...	323

128. *Nagara Azam.*—Is also called Senthri. Is on the Jamuná.

129. *Nagara Bali.*—Or Kateliya. Halkabandi-school.

134. *Nagara Giridhar.*—Is also called Nagara Mahárath, after the original founder, Giridhar being his son.

135. *Nagara Gokharauli.*—Also called, after the founder, Nagara Magná. The real total of the census returns, when correctly added up, is 856.

136. *Nagara Hari.*—Part has been transferred to Swámi Rangáchárya.

140. *Nagara Kázi.*—Founded by Kázi Muhammad Alí in Akbar's time. Rájá Udait Náráyan is muáfidár.

141. *Nagara Mír-Buláki.*—Called also Nagara Gopí, after the first founder.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
144	Nagara Tulsí ...	180	12	192	Paltu, Jáṭ. ...	Jáṭ ...	203
145	Narauli Zanárdár	356	...	356	Pandas of Baladeva.	Bráhman...	482
146	Narwa-Hansi ...	136	..	136	Baladeva Sinh, Bráhman of Háthras.	Jáṭ ...	861
147	Nasír-pur Gonpá,	...	...	...	Zauki, Jáṭ ...	...	96
148	Nauranga ...	184	16	200	Rájá Tíkam Sinh, of Mursán.	Ditto ...	463
149	Nerá ...	1,897	173	2,070	Gokula, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	3,565
150	Nigora ...	437	12	449	Kunwar Kishan Prasád, Jáṭ of Mursán.	Ditto ...	796
151	Ním-gánw ...	2,698	165	2,863	Lachhman Sinh, Jádoṇ.	Ditto ...	2,855
152	Nonera ...	387	20	407	Rájá Tíkam Sinh, of Mursán.	Ditto ...	369
153	Núr-pur ...	221	1	222	Pandas of Baladeva.	Bráhman...	375
154	Ochhatá ...	190	...	190	Rahi Rám, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	156
155	Pacháwar ...	3,757	170	3,927	Nihál, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ, Bráhman, and Baniya.	3,248

145. *Narauli Zanárdár.*—Founded by one Hans-ráj, and on his death bestowed on the Bráhmans; hence its second name, *zánar* being the Brahmanical cord. It has now passed to the Pándes of Baladeva.

146. *Narwa-Hansi.*—Sold to the present proprietor by the Jáṭs.

147. *Nasír-pur.*—Founded by Nasír Khán and Alí Khán. Jáṭs own five and-a-half biswas, Káyaths the remainder.

148. *Nauranga.*—Purchased by the Rájá about 20 years ago. Jama, Rs. 900.

149. *Nera.*—Probably derives its name from its *nearness* to the river. One of the zamindárs, Karan Sinh, in the mutiny, fired at the Joint Magistrate: his share in the village, five biswas, was confiscated and bestowed on Kunj Bihári Lál, Kánungo of Shikoh-abád. Market on Monday. Halkabandi school.

150.—*Nigora.*—In the Taluka Ár-Lashkar-pur. Jama, Rs. 1,411.

151. *Nim-gánw.*—The Jáṭs still own nearly half the village. Market on Thursday.

152. *Nonera.*—In the Taluka Ár-Lashkar-pur. Jama, Rs. 768.

155. *Pacháwar.*—The founder, Bijay Sinh, had two sons, Bali and Dhyán, after whom two thoks into which the village is divided are still called. Five biswas have been bought by the

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
156	Pán-gánw ...	2,620	32	2,652	Rájá of Bharatpur.	Ját ...	3,711
157	Patnáuli ...	1,759	46	1,805	Rájá Rám, Ját ...	Ditto ...	1,768
158	Pavesara ...	857	63	920	Rájá Tíkam Sinh, of Mursán.	Ditto ...	9,014
159	Pindarári ...	858	21	879	Swámi Rangachárya, mortgagee.	Ditto ...	824
160	Pírí ...	345	16	361	Jasá, Ját ...	Ditto ...	629
161	Pokhar Hriday, (Allah-pur).	222	...	222	Ghísa, Ját ...	Ditto ...	381
162	Prasua ...	671	...	671	Kunwar Todar Sinh, Ját.	Bráhman ..	858
163	Radoi ...	754	57	811	Kamal Kunwar, Pachauri.	Ját ...	769
164	Ráe-pur Mai ...	371	5	376	Rájá Udait Náráyan, Bráhman.	Gújar, Bráhman and Ját.	1,801
165	Rausanga ...	215	...	215	Bholá, Ját ...	Ját ...	389
166	Rával ...	698	18	716	Chhote Lál, Bráhman.	Chamár ...	1,483

Dhúsars of Mathurá. The Baniyas here have several substantial brick houses. Market on Sunday. Halkabandi school.

156. *Páni-Gánw.*—The two thoks, Madár and Hansu, are so named after two brothers and are entirely distinct. Four of the inhabitants were hanged in the mutiny. A temple built by Mohani, the Ráni of Súraj Mall of Bharat-pur. Mela of Phúl Dol on Phálgun badi 11. Halkabandi school.

157. *Patnaúli.*—Part has been sold by the Játs to Bráhmans.

158. *Pavesara.*—Halkabandi school. Jama, Rs. 1,839. In the Taluka Ár-Lashkar-pur.

161. *Pokhar Hriday.*—Founded by one Akru, who named it after his two sons. Part has been bought up by the Baniyas of Raya and Bráhmans of Brindá-ban.

162. *Prasua.*—So called from a temple of Parasu-ram.

164. *Ráerur-Mai.*—So called from its founder Raí Sinh Subsequently named Gopál-pur, by one Gopál, a Rájput, by whose descendants it has been sold to the present proprietors.

165. *Rausanga.*—One of the Taluka Madam villages. Jama, Rs. 725.

166.—*Rával.*—A contraction for Rája-kula. Here Súr-bhán, Rádhá's maternal grandfather is said to have lived. There is a temple of Lárli Ji, a title of Rádhá, with a bágh, the gift of Kushál Sinh, where a mela is held, Bhádon Sudi 8. The village is still included in the perambulation of Gokul and till the foundation of the new temple of Lárli Ji at Barsána was a much more popular place of pilgrimage than it is now. Seven-and-a-half biswas have been sold to Rájá Udait Náráyan.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musulman.	Total.			
167	Ríríá *cum* Baladeva.	3,258	120	3,378	Jasi Rám, Pánda,	Jáṭ, Baniya, and Bráhman.	458
168	Rayá ...	2,336	589	2,925	...	Baniya ...	...
169	Sabali ...	1,256	25	1,308	Parsá, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	931
170	Sahora ...	2,653	69	2,722	Nathi Rám, Jáṭ ..	Ditto ...	2,623
171	Salím-ábád ...	120	6	126	Rám Sinh, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	322
172	Sampat Jogi ...	293	20	313	Ati Bal, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	709
173	Saráe 'Ali Khán...	...	...	...	Amrit Kunwar, Bráhmani.	...	174
174	Saráe Dáud ...	356	44	400	Jugala, Baniya...	Ditto and Bráhman.	442
175	Saráe Sáliváhana,	253	29	282	Gobardhan Dás, Káyath.	Ditto ...	279
176	Sáras ...	314	...	314	Lál Sinh, Bráhman.	Jáṭ ...	339

167. *Baladeva.*—See page 161. Police Station, district post-office, and halkabandi school.

168 *Rayá*.—A township with no arable land of its own, but the recognized centre of the 14 surrounding villages, is on the high road to Aligarh, seven miles from Mathurá There is an old fort, built by the founder, Bái Sen, from whom the place derives its name. Market on Monday and Friday. Police station, branch post-office and pargána school. Section 34 of Act V., of 1861 is in force.

169. *Sabali.*—Founded by Sabal, Jáṭ. Part has been sold to Net Rám, Bráhman.

170. *Sahora*.—So called from a temple of Sahori Devi. The former owners were Mathurá Káyaths. Part has been sold to Harideva and Prahlád, Bohras. In the mutiny the Jáṭ zamindárs attacked the patwári and killed Khushi Khán, one of the tahsil chaprásis, for which the ringleader's Rám Sukh's share was confiscated. Market on Wednesday. Halkabandi school. A hamlet called Tárá-pur.

171. *Salim-ábád.*—So called from Salím Khán Jagirdár : also known as Phul-pur from its original founder Phula, Jáṭ.

172. *Sampat-jogi.*—So called after its two founders, Sampat and Jogi, Jáṭs.

173. *Sarae Ali Khán.*—Founded by Ali Khán in the time of Sher Shah. A tomb which he erected in memory of one Bíbí Rásti is still in existence, but there is no trace of any Saráe.

174 *Saráe Dáud.*—Founded by Nawáb Dáud in Akbar's reign. The Pachauris of Mahá-ban have purchased part from the Jáṭs.

175. *Saráe Sáliváhana.*—The founder was one of Akbar's kámdars.

176. *Sáras.*—This has been sold by the Jáṭs. In the mutiny three of the zamindárs, Hulási, Sawáe, and Akbar plundered the Baniyas of Ráya, for which they were thrown into jail and died there.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus	Musalman.	Total.			
177	Saiyid-pur ...	905	48	953	Rúpá, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,398
178	Sarkand Kherá ...	179	...	179	Amrit Kanwar, Pachauri Bráhmani.	Ditto ...	458
179	Saur ...	127	...	127	Bhajan Lál, Baniya.	Ditto ...	785
180	Sehat ...	448	...	448	Hírá Lál, Bráhman,	Bráhman...	962
181	Sel-kherá ...	927	30	957	Achal Sinh, Ját...	Ját ...	612
	Senthri: another name for Sonai: see No. 196.		Nagara	Azam			
182	Shaháb-pur ...	155	...	155	Mukund Lál, Káyath.	Chamár ...	754
183	Sháh-pur Ghosna,	872	119	991	Mahfúz Ali, Saiyid of the Mahá-ban family.	Saiyid ...	827
184	Shazád-pur Indauli.	228	...	228	Jawáhir, Ját ..	Ját ...	373
185	Sháhzád-pur Tappa Sonai.	40	...	40	Rám Prasád, Párásar.	Ditto ...	191
186	Sherni ...	322	16	338	Moti, Ját ...	Ditto ..	610
187	Sher-pur ...	69	...	69	Jugal-kishor, Párásar.	Ahír ...	617
188	Siyara ...	472	24	496	Rám Bakhsh, Ját,	Ját ...	...
	Sonai: see No. 196.						

177. *Saiyid-pur.*—Known also as Kásim-pur. In the mutiny the zamindárs helped to plunder Tika Rám, Bohra, to whom part of the village had been sold. Much of the land is jungle and ravine along the river bank. There is an English tomb, but without inscription.

179. *Saur.*—Founded by Súr Rám, Ját. Half has been bought by Swámi Rangáchárya.

180. *Sehat.*—This parish occupies a nook, almost entirely surrounded by the Jamuná. Here is a ferry, called Swámi Ghát, for which the contract is given in Agra.

181. *Sel-kherá.*—From *'sel,* a spear.'

182. *Shaháb-pur.*—Founded by Saiyid Shaháb-ud dín, whose descendants still own part. Part has been mortgaged to the Pandes of Baladeva.

183. *Sháh-pur.*—Said to have been founded by the Ráná Katira of Mewar. There is an old fort built by a chobdár of Bharat-pur, named Marchuá.

184. *Sháh-zád-pur.*—Sold by the Játs to the Párásar chaudharis

186. *Sherni.*—Part has been sold to the Baniyas of Ayra-khera.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
189	Sonkh ...	384	28	412	Swámi Rangáchárya.	Jáṭ ...	95
190	Súraj ...	599	4	603	Guláb Sinh, Jáṭ ..	Ditto ...	543
191	Taiyib-pur ...	139	...	139	Murli, Bráhman ...	Bráhman and Malakana.	332
192	Tál-garhi ...	350	6	356	Parmá, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	631
193	Tatarota ...	1,271	31	1,302	Unimeda, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	2,000
194	Tehra ...	482	15	497	Gopál Dás, Baniya,	Ditto ...	763
195	Thána Amar Sinh,	241	10	251	Bijay Rám Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	835
196	Thok Bindávani, Sonai.	1,398	157	1,555	Mahá pati, Bráhman	Bráhman...	125
197	Thok Gyán ...	243	...	243	Harnám, Bráhman	Ditto ...	359
198	Thok Kamal ...	318	...	318	Kusháli, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ ...	290
199	Thok Sáru ...	227	17	244	Bhágirath, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	330
200	Thok Sumera ...	235	43	278	Kripá Rám, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	322
201	Tirwa ...	291	...	291	Har Náráyan, Bráhman, mortgagee.	Ditto ...	301

190. *Suraj.*—A Parao and masonry well constructed by Prasádi and Sálágrám, Baniyas.

192. *Tál Garhi.*—So called from a tank (tál) constructed by the village founder, Serhu, Jáṭ.

Táluka Ar-Lashkar-pur.—A collective name for the eleven villages of Bír-ali-abád, Básarbhikhandi, Bich-puri, Bansa, Gurerá, Khajúri, Khalana, Pavesara, Polua, Nigora, and Sujáu-pur. The last-named is uninhabited: it belongs to Rájá Tikam Sinh, and is assessed at Rs 746, on an area of 243 acres.

Táluka Madam.—A collective name for the five villages of Bhojna, Chhikára, Jagatíya, Nauranga, and Rausanga.

193. *Tatarota.*—Acquired by one Sewá, Jáṭ, from the Kaláls. Part has been purchased by Dhúsars. In the mutiny one of the zamindárs, Ad Rám, was thrown into jail for joining in the attack on Tika Rám the wealthy Bohra of Nagara Bali.

195. *Thána Amar Sinh.*—Here is a temple built by Naval Sinh, kámdár of Bharat-pur in *Sambat* 1819.

196. *Thok Bindávani.*—So called from its founder, a Bráhman. This, with Thok Gyán, Thok Kamal, Thok Saru, Thok Sumera, Bhúrari, Nagara Bari and Nagara Jangali make up the township of Sonai. A fort built by Begam Umrao Shah in 1828 *Sambat* was for some years used as a tahsíli. Sarae made by Tahsíldár Zuhur Ali Khán 40 years ago, a police station, a halkabandi school. Market on Sunday and Thursday.

201. *Tirwa.*—In the mutiny the Jáṭ lumberdár, Chain-Sukh, was thrown into jail and died there.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(concluded).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus	Musalman.	Total.			
202	Wairani ...	4,215	192	4,407	Har phúl, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭ and Bráhman.	3,114
203	Zikariya-pur ...	...	...	...	Jamuná Prasád, Bráhman.	...	101

202. *Wairani*—Founded by the Kalálṣ. Part has been sold by the Jáṭs to Harideva, Bohra. Market on Tuesday and Saturday.

203. *Zikariya-pur.*—Formerly belonged to the Kánungoes.

VI.—PARGANA SA'DABÁD.

The Pargana of Sa'dabád lies between the Districts of Aligarh and of Agra to the North and South, and the Mathurá Parganas of Mahá-ban and Jalesar to the West and East. It has an area of 1,15,498 acres, and is divided into 131 separate estates, of which 52 are held by sole proprietors and the remainder by communities of shareholders. Though water is ordinarily found only at the considerable depth of 30 feet below the surface and is often brackish, most of the land is of excellent quality, yielding a good return on every species of agricultural produce; barley, cotton, *joár* and *arhar* being the principal crops, with a considerable amount also of hemp and indigo. The predominant classes are Játs and Bráhmans, who together constitute nearly one half of the total population. At the beginning of the century, Rájá Bhagavant Sinh of Mursán was one of the largest landed proprietors ; but now his estate in Sa'dabád, as held by his son, Rájá Tikam Sinh, consists only of the villages of Bhurká, Jhagarári, and Nagara Gharíba, which yield an annual income of Rs. 3,000. Another local magnate of great importance at the same period was also a Ját by caste, Thákur Kushál Sinh, the brother-in-law of Durjan Sál, the usurper of the throne of Bharat-pur. His estates, some 10 or 11 villages lying round about Mahrára, now on the line of Railway, were all confiscated at the close of the war, when a settlement was made with the former proprietors and some of the hereditary cultivators. At present the principal people in the pargana are the Muhammadan family seated at the town of Sa'dabád, at whose head is the Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa, the widow of Kunwar Husain Ali Khán. The latter was the eldest son of Mardán Ali Khán, of Chatári in Bulandshahr, the purchaser of the estate, which now yields an annual net income of Rs. 48,569, derived from as many as 26 different villages. The property is managed on behalf of the Thakuráni by her nephew, Kunwar Irshád Ali Khán. His brother, Nawáb Faiz Ali Khán, Bahádur, C. S. I., was for some time prime minister of the Jay-pur State, and owns the village of Nánau; while another member of the family, Zeb-un-Nissa, the widow of Kamr Ali Khán, is the proprietor of Chháva and Dauhai, with a net income of Rs. 1,993. The villages of Bahardoi and Náráyanpur are also in the possession of a Muhammadan, Ghulám Muhammad Khán, the son of Hidáyat' Ali Khán, whose income was rated at Rs. 3,555. The relationship existing between the different members of the Sa'dabád

family will be best understood from a glance at the following genealogical table:—

Mardán 'Ali Khán, of Chatári, purchaser of the Sa'dábád estate.

(1) Husain Ali Khán of Sa'dabád, died *s.p.*

=Hakím-un-Nissa, living 1874.

(2) Vazír Ali Khán, Deputy Collector.

(3) Zuhúr 'Ali Khán.

(4) Mardán Ali Khán.

(5) A dau.=Yákúb 'Ali Khán of Ambála.

(6) Mahmúd Ali Khán, of Chitári: by second wife.

(7) Kamr Ali Khán, of Chháva=Zeb-un-Nissa.

Dildár Ali Khán, of Bhadanwára, killed in the mutiny of 1857.

Faiz Ali Khán, prime minister of Jaypur.

Irshád Ali Khán, present Manager of Sa'dabád estate.

Abdullah Khán, of Salím-pur, in Aligarh District, with estates in Máṭ.

The family claim descent from Kunwar Prataáp Sinh, a Bargújar Thákur of Rájaur, in Rájputána, who joined Prithi Ráj of Delhi, in his expedition against Mahoba. On his way thither he assisted the Dor Rájá of Kol in reducing a rebellion of the Mínas, and was rewarded by receiving in marriage the Rájá's daughter with a dowry of 150 villages in the neighbourhood of Pahásu. The eleventh in descent from Prataáp Sinh was Lál Sinh, who, though a Hindu, received from the Emperor Akbar the title of Khán; whence the name Lál-Kháni by which the family is ordinarily designated. It was his grandson Itimad Raé, in the reign of Aurangzeb, who first embraced Muhammadanism. The seventh in descent from Itimad Raé was Nahar Ali Khán, who, with his nephew Dundi Khán, held the Fort of Kumona against the English, and thus forfeited his estate, which was conferred upon his relative Mardán Ali Khán.

The remaining large landowners are of a different stamp, being *nouveaux riches*, who have acquired whatever wealth they possess within the last few years by the practice of trade and usury. The most prominent members of this class are—1*st*, Srí Rám, Bohra, son of Madári Lál, Bráhman, of Salai-pur, who returns his net income at Rs. 15,500, derived from shares in 20 different villages; 2*nd*, Mittra Sen, a Baniya of Háthras, who has an income of Rs. 12,125, arising from lands in Mirhávali, Samad-pur, and four other places; and 3*rd*, Thákur Dás and Síta Rám, the sons of Jay Gopál, Dhúsar, who enjoy an income of Rs. 12,116, from Jatoi, Kúpa and Nagara Dali, and shares in 11 other villages. Most of the indigo factories are branches of the Chotua concern—a firm which has its head-quarters near Sonai, in the Háthras pargana—Mr. John O'Brien Saunders, of the *Englishman*, being the senior partner.

Strictly speaking, there is not in the whole of Sádabád a single town; for even the capital is merely a largish village. It was founded by a character of considerable historical eminence, Vazír Sa'dullah Khán—the minister of the Emperor Sháhjahán—who died in 1655, three years before the accession of Au-

rangzeb. For some time after the annexation of 1803, it continued to be recognized as the capital of a very extensive district, which had the Jamuná as its western boundary and comprised the Parganas of Jalesar, Mát, Noh-jhíl, Mahá-ban, Raya, Khandauli, Sikandra Ráo, and Fírozabád, in addition to the one named after itself. This arrangement existed till 1832, when the Mathurá District was formed and absorbed the whole of the Sa'dabád circle, with the exception of Sikandra Ráo, which was attached to Aligarh, and Fírozabád and Khandauli, which compensated Agra for the loss of Mathurá. If the size of the place had accorded in the least with its natural advantages, it would have been impossible to find a more convenient and accessible local centre; as it stands on a small stream, called the Jharna, which facilitates both drainage and irrigation, and it is also at the junction of four important high roads. Of these, one runs straight to Mathurá, a distance of 24 miles; another to the Railway Station at Mánik-pur, which is nine miles off; while the remaining two connect it with the towns of Agra and Aligarh. The Tahsíli, which was originally a Fort of the Gosain Himmat Bahádur's, is a small but substantial building, with a deep fosse and pierced and battlemented walls. As it has the further advantage of occupying an elevated position, and is supplied with a good masonry well in the court-yard, it might in case of emergency be found capable of standing a siege. There is in the main street a largish temple with an architectural facade; but the most conspicuous building in the town is a glittering white mosque, recently erected by Kunwar Irshád Ali Khán, near his private residence. There are two other small mosques; one built by Ahmad Ali Khán, Tahsildár, the other ascribed to the Vazír, from whom the place derives its name. The zamindári estate was at one time divided between Bráhmans, Játs, and Gahlots; of whom only the former now retain part possession, the remainder of the land having been transferred to Muhammadans and baniyas. The principal *melá* is the Rám Lílá, started only 40 years ago by Pachauri Mukund Sinh, when Tahsildár. The oldest temples are two in honour of Mahádeva, one of Hanumán, and a fourth founded by Daulat Ráo Sindha, dedicated to Murli Manohar. In the mutiny the place was attacked by the Játs, and seven lives were lost before they could be repulsed. A Thákur of Háthras, by name Sámant Sinh, who led the defence, subsequently had a grant of a village in Aligarh, while two of the Ját ringleaders, Zálim and Deokaran of Kursanda, were hanged.

Immediately opposite the road that branches off to Jalesar is a neat little rest-house for the accommodation of the officers of the Public Works Department; and about half a mile from the town on the Agra side is a large and commodious bungalow of the Kunwar's which is always placed at the disposal of his English friends. It is surrounded by extensive mango groves, and attached to it is a spacious garden, very prettily laid out and well-kept, containing many choice varieties of trees, flowers, and creepers.

Alphabetical List of Villages.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman	Total.			
1	Abhay-pura ...	289	7	296	Hakím-un-Nissa...	Jáṭs and Bráhmans.	479
2	Arauṭhá ...	1,028	49	1,077	Náráyan, Baniya...	Ditto ...	1,262
3	Arázi Milk ...	...	...	...			16
4	Árti ...	949	73	1,022	Chhítar Sinh, Jáṭ,	Chamárs ...	1,022
5	Aturra ...	207	11	218	Mohan Lál and Síta Rám.	Jáṭs ...	364
6	Baghaina ...	842	73	915	,,	Ditto ...	797
7	Bágh-pur ...	162	11	173	Hari deva, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	182
8	Bahádur-pur ...	384	21	405	Gosáins ...	Ditto ...	562
9	Bahádur-pur ...	400	70	470	,,	Mahájans...	412
10	Bahardoi ...	796	62	858	Ghulám Muhammad Khán.	Chamárs ...	1,015
11	Baṛáhar ...	552	37	589	Mittra Sen, Baniya of Háthras.	Jáṭs ...	815

1. *Abhay-pura*, founded by Abhay Rám, a Thenua Jáṭ from Naupura, and transferred from his descendants to Kunwar Husain 'Alí Khán of Sa'dabád.

2. *Arauthá*, founded by Daula, Jáṭ, a descendant of Bijay Pál, of Biána, whose family still retain one-fifth. The remainder has been transferred to Baniyas and Bráhmans. In the mutiny Kási Rám and Devi Rám, two of the old zamindárs looted the Patwári, and ejected the Lumberdár Mohan Lál. There is a temple built by one Radhiká Dás.

3. *Arázi Milk*, taken for the Kánungos from Sherpur and Sa'dabád.

4. *Árti* was founded some 700 years ago by Bhoj-ráj, a Gahlot, from whose descendants it passed to Lálji, Jáṭ. He has sold the greater part to Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád. There is a temple of Mahádeva built by Samad Puri, Gosáin, ancestor of Chetan Puri, the present muafidár. In the mutiny Híra Sinh and others of the old zamindárs looted the lumberdár Chhattra Sinh.

5. *Aturra* was founded by Ráe, a Hagá Jáṭ from Susáhan, whose descendants have mortgaged it to Mohan Lál.

6. *Baghaina* was founded some 400 years ago by Adhár, a Theuna Jáṭ, whose descendants have sold one-fourth to Díp-chand, Jáṭ.

7. *Bágh-pur* was founded some 300 years ago by Bágh-ráj, Jáṭ, whose descendants are still in part possession. Fathlu and Durjan are mortgagees of the remainder.

8. *Bahádur-pur*, sold by the old Jáṭ proprietors to other Jáṭs and Gosáins.

9. *Bahádur-pur*, founded some 200 years ago by Bansi, Ahír, from the other Bahádur-pur. From his descendants it passed to Deo-karan, Mahájan, who was forcibly expelled from the village in the mutiny, but his heirs are now in peaceable possession.

10. *Bahardoi* was founded by a descendant of the Rána Katirá. From the Thákurs it passed to Ghulám Muhammad Khán, whose agent was looted in the mutiny by Ajíta and others of the old zamindárs.

11. *Baráhar*, said to have been given on the *barhár*, or day after the wedding, by Thán Sinh of Bisána in Háthras to his son in law, Naval Sinh. Now the village is mortgaged to Mittra Sen. Here is an indigo factory.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
12	Baṛaich ...	529	12	541	Ganga Prasád Ahír.	Ahírs and Baniyas.	380
13	Bara-mai ...	726	27	753	Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.	Jáṭs ...	982
14	Baraus ...	420	100	520	Híra Lál and Lál Chand, Athwarayás.	Chamárs ...	724
15	Bauli ...	333	25	358	Manohar Sinh, Thákur.	Ditto ...	468
16	Bedai ...	1,965	156	2,121	„	Thákurs ...	2,343
17	Bhukalára ...	674	14	688	Bhawáni Sinh, and Srí Rám.	Bráhmans...	544
18	Bhurká ...	650	4	654	Rájá Tíkam Sinh of Mursán.	Jáṭs ...	642
19	Bich-pari ...	198	4	202	Gosáins ...	Jáṭs and Gosáins.	355
20	Bíjal-pur ...	235	16	251	Hakím-un-Nissa...	Thákurs ...	916
21	Bilára ...	852	43	895	„	Jáṭs ...	778

12. *Baraich*, founded 500 years ago by Bhúpál, Ahír, from Bhagari in Firozábád. Part has been transferred by his descendants to Baniyas.

13. *Bará Mai* was sold by the Jáṭs to Murád 'Ali Khán, father of Kunwar Husain 'Ali Khán of Sa'dabád, whose widow, Hakím-un-Nissa, is the present proprietor.

14. *Baraus* was sold by Sítá, Malakána, to Thákurs, from whom it passed to Prithi-ráj, Bohra, whose heirs are now in possession. In the mutiny he was expelled by Motí Sinh and others of the old zamindárs and looted to the amount of Rs. 5,000.

15. *Bauli* was founded by Rám Saháe, a Thákur from Sahpau, and finally passed by gift to Manohar Sinh from his father-in-law Bakhtáwar Sinh.

16. *Bedai* was founded by Godhu, Chauhán, whose descendants have sold part to Bráhmans and Baniyas. Here the Phul Dol is celebrated Chait badi 8. In the mutiny the zamíndárs Bijay Sinh and Chandan Sinh took part in looting the town of Sa'dabád. The River Karwan, or Jharna, dry at all times of the year except during the rains, passes through the village lands.

17. *Bhukalára* has been transferred in part by the old Thákur zamindárs to Srí Rám, Bohra.

18. *Bhurká*, has been sold by the Jáṭs to Rájá Tíkam Sinh of Mursán.

19. *Bich-pari*, was acquired by Bhúpat, a Baghotiya Jáṭ from Khonda, who married a daughter of Sultán Sinh of Kajarothi, and in *Sambat* 1647 formed it into a separate village, which he named Bichpari from its lying 'between' *(bich)* the other two villages. From his descendants it passed to Gosáin Kartár Gíri, whose heirs are the present proprietors.

20. *Bíjal-pur*, on the small stream called the Karwan, was founded by one Gegal a Bargújar, but has been sold to Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa by the former Rájput and Bráhman proprietors.

21. *Bílára* was founded some 400 years ago by a Jáṭ named Kári Rávat, from whose descendants part has now passed to Baniyas.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalmán.	Total.			
22	Bír-nagar ...	223	4	227	Ganjá, Káyathni...	Thákurs ...	352
23	Bisáwar ...	4,974	247	5,221	„	Jáṭs ...	4,391
24	Burj Náu Jí ...	138	10	148	Moti Rám, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	142
25	Chamar-pura ...	319	63	382	Srí Rám, Bohra ...	Ditto ...	245
26	Chauwára ...	457	3	460	Dalá, Bráhman ...	Thákurs ...	461
27	Chhatára ...	308	23	331	Thákur Dás and Sitá Rám, Dhúsars.	Ditto ...	473
28	Chháva ...	327	2	329	Zeb-un-Nissa ...	Jáṭs ...	404
29	Chirauli ...	302	6	308	Dhani Rám, Bráhman.	Ditto ...	829
30	Dagsai ...	420	40	460	Kushálí Rám, Bráhman.	Ditto ...	685
31	Dauhai ...	553	9	562	Zeb-un-Nissa ...	Jáṭs and Thákurs.	911

22. *Bír-nagar* was founded by Mani-pál, a Gahlot, from Árti, and given by his descendants to Lokman Dás, Káyath, whose heirs are the present proprietors. In the mutiny the mortgagee, Chandiká Prasád, was ejected by Híra Sinh and others of the old Thákur family.

23. *Bisáwar*, originally a dense jungle cleared by one Rám Sen, Jáṭ, some 900 years ago. His descendants have transferred one-fifth of the estate to Bráhmans and Baniyas. In the *ghuná*, which still covers an area of 2,000 bighas a weekly melá is held on Saturday in honour of a Bará Miyan. There is a market on Friday. Two temples are dedicated respectively to Bihári Jí and Mahádeva. In the mutiny the Jáṭs joined the people of Pachávari in looting Daulat Rám, the lumbardár of the latter village. A halkabandi school.

24. *Burj Náu Jí* consists of 200 bighas originally comprised in Sahpau, given about a century ago by Paijsá, a zamindár of that place, to Nau Jí, a Jáṭ of Chamar-pura. His heirs retain 8 biswas, the remaining 12 have been acquired by Hulási and Bhaváni, also Jáṭs.

25. *Chamar-pura.*—Purchased at auction from the Jáṭs by Srí Rám, Bohra.

26. *Chauwára*, originally occupied by Thákurs and Chobdárs, of whom the former are still in possession, while the latter have sold their share to Moti Rám, Jaesvár. Bráhmans are also part proprietors.

27. *Chhatára.*—So called from a Thákur of Ughai, whose descendants have sold the estate to Thákur Dás and Síta Rám, Dhúsars.

28. *Chháva* was founded by Ratn Sinh, Jáṭ, of Kursanda, whose descendants have sold part to the Muhammadan family at Sa'dabád.

29. *Chirauli.*—So called after one Chira (Chiranjiv) a Jáṭ from Sarauth. Part has now been transferred to Bráhmans and Baniyas.

30. *Dagsai.*—Transferred by auction sale from the old Jáṭ proprietors, five biswas to Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád and the remainder to Kushálí Rám, Bohra.

31. *Dauhai.*—The old Thákur family still retain part, but a share has been acquired by Lachhi Rám, Bohra, and ten biswas were purchased by Zeb-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
32	Dhádhu ...	1,596	105	1,701	...	Játs ...	1,816
33	Dhak-pura ...	148	7	155	Fatih Chand, Mahájan.	Thákurs ...	297
34	Dhanoli ...	496	31	541	...	Jats and Bráhmans	913
35	Fath-allah-pur ...	239	19	249	...	Thákurs and Golá-púrabs.	559
36	Garhi Ahvaran ...	353	2	355	...	Thákurs ...	314
37	Garhi Chintá ...	332	...	332	Srí Rám, Bohra ...	Ditto ...	428
38	Garhi Nílkanth ...	...	...	...	Yádav Lál and Mohan Lál, Baniyas of Sa'dabád.	...	199
39	Garhi Rustam ...	106	82	188	Kunwar Zuhúr Alí Khán.	Káyaths and Játs.	242
40	Garúmará ...	1,347	22	1,369	...	Játs ...	1,143

32. *Dhádhu*, founded 200 years ago by Dhándhu, Jáṭ, from Dhávali. Srí Rám, Bohra, is now proprietor of one-third. There is a temple of Rádhá Jí built by Ratn Kunvar of Háthras; and a garden containing a large and handsome double chhattri of stone erected by the Rání of Balavant Sinh of Bharat-pur in memory of two of her relatives who were natives of this village. Here is a halkabandi school.

33. *Dhak-pura*, sold by the Gahlots to Deo-karan, Bohra, who in the mutiny was plundered of 469 *man* of grain and turned out of the place by Chhattra and Lál Sinh, two of the ex-proprietors. His sons are now in possession.

34 *Dhanoli (for Dhan-puri)* founded some 700 years ago by a member of the family of the Rána Katerá. On the Thákurs falling into arears their estate was bought in by Government and eventually sold for Rs. 2,425 to Har Kishan, Bohra, who was put to death in the mutiny, but whose heirs are now in possession. The Karwan Nadi runs through the village lands.

35. *Fath-a lah-pur.*—The founder, in spite of the Muhammadan name, is said to have been a Gahlot from Gutahra, from whose descendants the estate has passed to Bráhmans and Golapúrab Baniyas.

36. *Garhi Ahvaran* was originally included in Nagara Dali till one of the joint proprietors, Ahvaran Saháe, in the time of Amil Abd-un-Nabi Khán, separated his share and called it Abd-un-Nabi-pur Garhi Ahvaran. His descendants are still in possession.

37. *Garhi Chintá*, founded 700 years ago by Chintá-mani, Gáhlot, and almost all sold by his descendants to Srí Rám, Bohra.

38. *Garhi Nilkanth*, so called after its Jaesvar founder, is uninhabited.

39. *Garhi Rustam.*—In the time of Akbar, Dungar Sinh, one of the Gahlot zaindárs, to clear himself from a charge of rebellion, turned Muhammadan and took the name of Saj Khán. The estate was bought in by Government from his Malakána descendants and farmed by Zuhúr Alí Khán at Rs. 461 for some 30 years, till his death at Mecca in 1872, when Rám Bakhs, a representative of the old family took it at Rs. 600.

40 *Garúmara* was founded 500 years ago by Abhai and Nathu, two Hagá Jáṭs from the west. Part has been sold to Bál Kishan, Baniya, and Daulat Rám, Bohra. A halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus	Musalman.	Total.			
41	Ghátam-pur ...	195	2	197	Hakím-un-Nissa of Sádabád.	Jáṭs and Bráhmans.	551
42	Ghúchá ...	457	42	499	...	Jáṭs ...	576
43	Gíglá ...	521	36	557	Prabhu Lál Káyath	Thákurs ...	631
44	Gursauthi ...	348	22	370	Hakím-un-Nissa ...	Thákurs and Bráhmans.	464
45	Gutahra ...	1,830	155	1,985	Bisambhar Náth, Khattri	Thákurs ...	2,505
46	Hasan-pur Báru ...	654	29	683	...	Ditto ...	695
47	Ídal-pur ...	799	155	954	...	Jáṭs ...	794
48	Isaunda ...	699	25	724	Subaran Sahay, Thákur.	Thákurs and Bráhmans.	845
49	Jaitai ...	938	55	993	Dámodar Dás, Káyath.	Thákurs ...	1,933
50	Járu ...	2,356	123	2,479	Keval Rám, Bráhman.	Thákurs and Bráhmans.	3,227

41. *Ghátam-pur*, formerly called Sádullah Ghátam-pur, was founded by one Ghátam, a Hagá Jáṭ, in the days of Amil Sádullah Khán. It was sold by the Jáṭs to Daulat Sinh of Mursán, and subsequently half was bought at auction by Daulat Rám, but possession could not be had from the Ráni Rukmini. Part has been acquired by Thakurán Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.

42. *Ghúchá.*—Part has been bought at auction from the Jáṭs by Hemu, Bohra.

43. *Gíglá*, on the Agra road with a police station, founded some 700 years ago by Gagu, a Chauhán Thákur from Semal It has passed from his descendants to Bráhmans and Káyaths.

44. *Gursauthi.*—Deserted by the old Chauhán zamindárs in time of famine and bought at auction by Mardán 'Ali Khán, whose heirs are now in possession.

45. *Gutahra*, founded by Shio-ráj, a Gahlot from Chitor, who ejected the Ahírs then in possession. His heirs still retain 5 biswas; the remaining 15 have been mortgaged to Bábú Bisambhar-náth, Khattri, and others. Another name of the place was Kheṛá 'Ali Saiyid.

46. *Hasan-pur Báru*, founded by Sikandar, a Gahlot, from Parsoli in Háthras, whose heirs still retain half. The other 10 biswas have been sold to Murli and Tota, Baniyas. There is a *dhák ghaná*, where, for fear of a fakír's curse *(án)* no trees are allowed to be cut.

47. *Ídal-pur.*—One-half has been sold by the Jáṭs to Sítá Rám and others, Bráhmans and Baniyas.

48. *Isaunda*, founded 700 years ago by Surat Sahác, a Gahlot Thákur, whose descendants still own 12½ biswas; the remaining 7½ have been transferred to Lachhi Rám, Bráhman (whose son, Gangá Bishan, is now in possession) and Panni Lál, son of Nar Sinh Dás, Baniya.

49. *Jaitai*, founded 600 years ago by one Jait, a Gahlot from Khera Waliya. Now 17½ biswas are owned by the heirs of Khubchand, Káyath, and only the remaining 2½ biswas by the old family. The Karwan Nadi runs through the village lands.

50. *Járu*, founded 600 years ago by Díp Sinh, Chauhán from Bamán, from whose descendants half has been transferred to Bráhmans; is on the Karwan Nadi. Here is a halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
51	Jaṭoi ...	912	170	1,082	Síta Rám and Thákur Dás, Dhúsars.	Jáṭs and Bráhmans.	956
52	Jhagarári ...	218	11	229	Rájá Tíkam Sinh of Mursán	Jáṭs ...	389
53	Kajaroṭhi ...	1,106	167	1,273	Hakím-un-Nissa, of Sádabád.	Ditto ...	2,234
54	Kanjauli ...	2,931	212	3,143	Kúrha, Jáṭ.	Ditto ...	1,969
55	Karraiya ...	295	3	298	...	Ditto ...	265
56	Karkauli ...	751	66	817	...	Gola Púrabs	714
57	Kaunkná, Great...	567	25	592	Jíva Rám, Bohra,	Thákurs and Bráhmans,	637
58	Kaunkná, Little...	388	15	403	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	377
59	Kheriya ...	452	25	477	Ditto ...	Thákurs and Jáṭs.	142
60	Khonḍá ...	1,546	88	1,634	Bhúri Sinh Jáṭ ...	Jáṭs ...	1,495
61	Kukar-gamá ...	457	8	465	...	Thákurs ...	549

51. *Jatoi.*—Sold by the Jáṭs to Zálim Sinh, Dhúsar, and by him to Jay Gopál, a Dhúsar also, whose sons are now in possession.

52. *Jhagarári* derives its name from a 'dispute' *(jhagará)* with the village of Kajaroṭhi in the time of Abd-un-Nabi Khán. The founder was one Chandra-bhán, a Jáṭ, whose descendants sold the estate to Rájá Tíkam Sinh of Mursán; and he again has sold 15 biswas to Har Kishan, father of Lachhman Sinh.

53 *Kajarothi*, founded by Khema and Dalu, two Jáṭs from the west and sold to Thákur Mardán 'Alí Khán. There is a temple of the Sálagrám, built by Jívá Dás, Bairágí.

54. *Kanjauli*—200 bighas have been sold by the old Jáṭ proprietors to Bráhmans. Here is a halkabandi school.

55. *Karraiya.*—The ancestor of the present Badhautiya Jáṭ proprietors was one Khem Ji: their predecessors were Malakánas.

56. *Karkauli.*—The founder, one Muddi, Gola Púrab, came from Banwári.

57. *Kaunkná, Great*, founded by Sakat, Chauhán, and Hari, a Gautam Bráhman. The village has been called at different times Sakat-pur and Nagara Pasendu. The estate has now entirely passed away from the old families to Jíva Rám, Bráhman, and Tikam Sinh, Jáṭ.

58. *Kaunkná, Little*, founded by Gopál, Chauhán: 12 biswas have been purchased at auction by Jíva Rám, Athwaraya Bráhman.

59. *Kheriya*, taken out of Little Kaunkná and formed into a separate village about 120 years ago by Giridhári and Hulási, two Chauháns; has now been purchased by Jívá Rám, Athwaraya.

60. *Khondá*, founded 500 years ago by Karan, a Badhautiya Jáṭ from Karauli. Part has been purchased at auction by Bhagawán Dás, Baniya. Here is a halkabandi school.

61. *Kukar-gamá*—Here is an ancient shrine of Kukar Devi, where a melá is held on the festival of the Phúl-dol. Part of the estate has been transferred from the old Thákur zamindárs to Jay Devi, widow of Básudeva, Baniya, and Srí Rám, Bohra. Here is a halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
62	Kukaṭai ...	244	1	245	Lachman Dás, Baniya.	Thákurs ...	518
63	Kumarai ...	189	20	209	Sant Lál, Bráhman,	Jáṭs ...	410
64	Kúpa ...	845	55	900	Thákur Dás, Dhúsar.	Ditto ...	1,295
65	Kursanḍa ...	6,726	418	7,144	...	Jáṭs and Bráhmans.	4,467
66	Lodhai ...	932	21	958	Lachhman and Naval Bráhmans.	Bráhmans...	828
67	Maḍanai ...	959	73	1,032	Múl Kunwar, Baniyin.	Jáṭs ...	1,125
68	Magarú ...	583	83	666	Jamuná Prasád, Dhúsar.	Thákurs ...	968
69	Mahábat-pur ...	309	...	309	Baniyas ...	Jáṭs ...	458
70	Mahrára ...	1,314	66	1,380	Lachhman, Bráhman.	Bráhmans...	1,519

62. *Kukatai.*—Part has been transferred at auction to Lachhman Dás from the old Gahlot and Bráhman zamindárs.

63. *Kumarai,* founded 400 years ago by a Barnagar Jáṭ from Bilára. His descendants still hold 5 biswas; the remainder has been purchased by Bábú Sant Lál and Pandit Gopál Prasád, Deputy Inspector of schools.

64. *Kúpa,* founded by Karan and Magol, Badhautiya Jáṭs from Sankraul on the Ganges. Their predecessors were Kalárs. Little Kúpa is a hamlet. The greater part of the estate has passed into the hands of Thákur Dás, Sita Rám and Mangi Lál, Baniyas. The Sádabád river Karwan runs through the village land.

65. *Kursanda.*—A very large straggling village on the Agra and Aligarh road. It was settled by a Hagá Jáṭ, named Púran Chand, who bestowed part of the land on his purohit, Chandu, Pánda. Their descendants are still in possession, except of a part which has been acquired by Athwarayas. There are four small temples. A market is held twice a week, on Sunday and Thursday. In the mutiny two of the zamindárs, Zálim and Deo Karan, were hanged for the part they took in looting Sádabád. Here is a halkabandi school.

66. *Lodhai,* founded 300 years ago by Hargun, a Dikshit Sanádh from Mahá-ban. Part has been purchased by Dán Saháy, Bráhman, and formed into a separate mahál. Here is a pond where children suffering from the itch are brought to drink the water.

67. *Madanai,* founded by Manḍan, a Gendár Jáṭ; mortgaged to Múl Kunwar, widow of Hoti Lál.

68. *Magará.*—Five biswas have passed from the old Gahlot zamindárs to Bábú Hari Gobind and Jamuná Prasád. Dhúsars have also a share. There are two temples of Mahá Deva and a halkabandi school.

69. *Mahábat-pur.*—Sold by the Jáṭs to Hira Lál and others, Baniyas.

70. *Mahrára,* on the line of Railway, formed part of the estate of Thákur Kushál Sinh, Jáṭ, brother-in-law of Durjan Sál of Bharat-pur. After the capture of that Fort in 1827, the village was confiscated and restored to the old Gautam proprietors. There is a fine mango grove,

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
71	Mai ...	1,333	119	1,352	Baladeva, Athwaraya.	Jáṭs ...	580
72	Makan-pur ...	441	17	458	...	Ditto ...	516
73	Mándaur ...	1,762	85	1,847	...	Ditto ...	4,850
74	Mánik-pur ...	249	31	280	...	Ditto ...	356
75	Mansiya ...	1,149	74	2,223	...	Ditto ...	981
76	Maṛhá Bhoj ...	771	136	907	Mittra Sen, Baniya of Háthras.	Ditto ...	981
77	Maṛhá Pithu ...	1,197	16	1,213	Ditto	Ditto ...	1,606
78	Mír-pur ...	374	16	390	Bholá, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	474
79	Mirhávali ...	2,643	133	2,773	Pandit Rám Chand.	Bráhmans and Jáṭs.	4,135

22 bíghas in extent with a handsome stone chhattri in its centre, built in memory of a Badhak named Chanda, by his brother Sewa. The latter was a man of considerable influence, and the land was given him by the Jáṭs, as a species of black-mail, in order to secure immunity from the gangs of highway robbers with whom he was connected. The chhattri has delicately sculptured columns in the style of the Bharat-pur Rájás' monuments, and a vaulted chamber underground. Most of the arches are now filled up with mud; an expedient by which a Mr. Olliver, a subordinate on the Railway, converted it some few years ago into a dwelling-house for himself. This might be removed at any time; but other wanton damage has been done by hacking away pieces of the stone pillars, a barbarism with which the Bráhman zamindárs are credited. A daughter-in-law and three grandsons of Sewa are still on the spot; but they are too thriftless and too conscious of the ill reputation generally borne by members of their caste to take any steps either to preserve their ancestor's monument or to replace the trees which are now growing too old to be productive. Here is a halkabandi school.

71. *Mai*, said to have been founded by Madde, Rávat, a Thenua Jáṭ from Adan-garh. Eight biswas were sold before the mutiny to Baladeva, Athwaraya, whom the old zamindárs then took the opportunity of looting. A halkabandi school.

73. *Mándaur*, at the head of a reach of the Jamuná, was formerly the seat of some extensive salt-works, yielding a royalty of Rs 400, remitted by Mr. Thornton in 1846. Part of the village has been transferred from the Jáṭs to Baniyas. There is a temple of Mahádeva, and a halkabandi school.

74. *Mánik-pur*, on the high-road from Sa'dabád to Jalesar, has a railway station, officially designated Jalesar Road. The founder, Bhim, a Gahla Jáṭ, named it after his son Mánik. One-fourth has been purchased by Jaesvars.

75. *Mansiya*, or Mansiha, was founded by a Pundár Jáṭ from Sambhal. Part has been sold to Bráhmans and Baniyas. There is a temple of Mahádeva, built by Lachhman Dás, Athwaraya, and a chhattri of Bhíkha Rám, Jáṭ.

76 *Marha Bhoj*, one-third of the original Jáṭ village of Marháká named after the particular shareholder. Part has been acquired by Dhúsars and Musalmans.

77. *Marha Pithá*, a second share of the same original village as Maṛha Bhoj. Part has been purchased by Mittra Sen and Thákur Dás, Baniyas.

78. *Mír-pur*.—Part has been sold by the Jáṭs to a Gosáin.

79. *Mirhávali*, founded by Kúki, Rávat, a Jáṭ, from whose descendants one-sixth has passed by auction to Bráhmans and Baniyas. There is a temple of Sálagrám. A halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalmán.	Total.			
80	Nagara Bairu ...	429	45	474	...	Thákurs ...	313
81	Nagara Banárasi,	343	47	390	Bábú Har Gobind Káyath.	Jáṭs ...	343
82	„ Bihári ...	135	...	135	Srí Rám, Bohra ...	Bráhmans...	245
83	„ Dalí ...	472	60	532	Daulat Rám, Jáṭ; Thákur Dás, and Síta Rám, Dhúsars.	Thákurs & Jáṭs	699
84	„ Gharíba,	79	22	101	Rájá Tíkam Sinh Ráof Mursán.	Jáṭs ...	3308
85	„ Kalí ...	706	15	721	Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.	Ditto ...	632
86	„ Khánzamán	64	...	64	Sri Ram, Bohra...	Chamárs ...	169
87	„ Maují ...	235	20	255	Harideva, Jáṭ ...	Jáṭs ...	212
88	„ Salím ...	471	11	482	Baladeva Sinh, Bráhman.	Ahírs ...	451
89	Nánau ...	386	12	398	Kunvar Faiz 'Ali Khán.	Jáṭs ...	736
90	Náráyan-pur-Bál,	279	6	285	Ghulám Muhammad Khán.	Thákurs ...	299

80. *Nagara Bairu*—Separated from Ughai some 200 years ago. The Thákurs and Bráhmans have sold part to Panna Lál and Chhattra.

81. *Nagara Banárasi*: so called after the founder, a Thenua Jáṭ from Mai. One-fifth has been sold to Bábú Hari Gobind and Baladeva, Athwaraya.

82. *Nagara Bihari*: separated off from Sahpau in favour of Bihári, a Jáṭ from Kherá by Sonai. It has been purchased by Srí Rám, Bohra.

83. *Nagara Dalí* has almost entirely passed from the Gahlots to Jáṭs and Dhúsars.

84. *Nagara Gharíba*: separated off from Bará Mai by one of the Jáṭ zamindárs, who called it after his own name. It has been transferred by his descendants to Rájá Tíkam Sinh of Mursán.

85. *Nagara Kalí* has passed from the Jáṭs to Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa, widow of Kunvar Husain 'Alí Khán.

86. *Nagara Khánzamán*: sold by the Malakánas to Srí Rám, Bohra.

87. *Nagara Maují*: separated off from Kukar-gámá. Two-thirds have been purchased at auction by Baladeva, Bráhman.

88. *Nagara Salím*: 18¾ biswas had been acquired before the mutiny by Baladeva Sinh, Bráhman from the Ahírs, who then took the opportunity of looting him.

89. *Nánau*, founded by Uddár, a Jáṭ of Nau-pura. It has been sold to Kunvar Faiz Alí Khán, lately Prime Minister of the Mahárája of Jaypur. There is a temple built by Dilbakhsh, Patwári, whom the zamindárs looted in the mutiny.

90. *Náráyan-pur-Bád*: founded by one Kunjal at the instigation of Gosáin Náráyan Dás. It was transferred by the old Thákur zamindárs to Kunvár Zuhúr 'Alí Khán and farmed by Ghulám Muhammad Khán.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
91	Násir-pur ...	...	...	...	Kunwar Sen of Kanjauli.	...	287
92	Nasír-pur ...	464	536	1,000	Chúraman Sinh, Thákur.	Jáṭs and Thákurs.	1,206
93	Naugáma ...	4,019	229	4,248	Jaydevi, Baniyin,	Jáṭs ...	3,670
94	Nau-pura ...	813	11	824	...	Ditto ...	597
95	Pachávari ...	306	9	315	Panna Lál, Baniya,	Jáṭs and Bráhmans.	704
96	Parsaura ...	344	30	374	Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.	Jáṭs ...	657
97	Paṭṭi Bahrám ...	372	47	419	Khyáli Rám and Kunwar Sen, Jáṭs.	Jáṭs and Bráhmans.	369
98	„ Sakti ...	168	...	168	Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.	Jáṭs ...	516
99	Píhura ...	298	26	324	Srí Rám, Bráhman,	Ditto ...	312
100	Pípara Mai ...	587	128	715	Hakím-un-Nissa, of Sa'dabád.	Ditto ...	1,393
101	Pusaini ...	198	11	209	Lachhman, Bráhman.	Ditto ...	317

91. *Násir-pur*, now deserted, was founded by one Dalá, a Chuṛal Jáṭ from Sákra. It has been sold to other Jáṭs and Jáesvárs.

92 *Nasír-pur*, otherwise called Rismai, was founded by two Hagá Jáṭs from Unchá-gánw by Susáha . It has been sold to Chúra-man Sinh, who in the mutiny was temporarily ejected by the old zamindárs. Here is a halkabandi school.

93. *Naugáma* was founded by Dhani Pachauri and Adu, Jáṭ. Now one-third has been sold to Baniyas and Musalmáns. Here is a halkabandi school.

95. *Pachávari*, founded 400 years ago by Sukru and Paran, Hagá Jáṭs, descendants of Rájá Panpál. The estate was bought at auction by Daulat Rám, Baniya, who was forcibly expelled in the mutiny, but whose heirs are now in possession.

96. *Parsaura* passed from the Thákurs 50 years ago to Maya Rám, a Badhautiya Jáṭ from Marhá Bhoj. Half has been bought at auction by Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa.

97. *Patti Bahrám*, otherwise called Paṭṭi Algarazi. Five biswas have passed from the Jáṭs to Athwarayas.

98. *Patti Sakti*, or Saurai, has been in greater part transferred from the Jáṭs to Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa.

99. *Pthurá:* founded 400 years ago by Ummed, a Jáṭ from Maṛháká, has been transferred to Srí Rám, Dohra, Hira Lál, Bráhman, and Panna Lál, Baniya.

100. *Pipara Mai:* purchased at auction from the Jáṭs by Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa. Here is an old temple of Sálagrám.

101. *Pusaini:* founded by Rati and Sháh-záda, Jáṭs from Kursanda, has been sold to Lachhman, Athwaraya; Bahádur, Jaesvar; and Jívan and Chuttan, Musalmáns.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
102	Ráe-pura ...	378	51	429	Umráo Sinh, Thákur.	Thákurs ...	574
103	Ráj-nagar ...	343	6	349	Gobardhan, Bráhman.	Bráhmans and Thákurs.	364
104	Rám-pura ...	240	147	387	Mahájans ...	Chamárs and Mahájans.	278
105	Rashíd-pur ...	441	22	463	Khumáni, Bráhman.	Bráhmans and Játs.	368
106	Ris-gáma ...	890	54	944	Gyán Sinh, Thákur.	Thákurs ...	1,536
107	Rudáyal ...	156	...	156	Lachhman and Kanhai, Gararíyas.	Gahlots and Chamárs.	174
108	Sa'dabád ...	2,706	1,228	3,934	Baladeva, Bráhman.	Bráhmans and Baniyas.	1,017
109	Sahpau ...	4,059	556	4,615	Panna Lál, Baniya,	Baniyas and Bráhmans.	2,431
110	Salai-pur Chandwára.	312	25	337	Srí Rám, Bohra ..	Thákurs and Bráhmans.	567

102. *Ráe-pura:* named by Sukhdeva the founder, a Gahlot of Gutahra, after his grandson, Ráe-sukh. It has been sold to the Chauháns.

103. *Ráj-nagar:* founded by Giridhar, a Gahlot, from Árti. His descendants still retain five biswas; the remainder has been sold to Gobardhan, Bráhman, and Tárá-chand, Jaesvár.

104. *Rám-pura:* founded by Mán Mall, a Gautam Bráhman from Sahpau: sold to Devkaran and Mayá Rám, whose heirs are now in possession. In the mutiny Murlidhar a son of Dev-Karan's, distinguished himself by the capture of a mutinous sepoy, for which he had a reward of Rs. 30.

105. *Rashíd-pur:* sold in part by the Játs to Khumáni, Bráhman.

106. *Ris-gáma:* eight biswas have been purchased at auction from the Játs by Srí Rám and Jíva Rám, Bohras.

107. *Rudáyal.*—In 1809 the zamindárs were Tejá, Gahlot and Pnsa, Chamár, whose heirs are still in possession of the greater part, though a share has been acquired by Kripá Rám, Gararíya.

108. *Sa'dabád.*—Tahsíli—police station—branch post-office—tahsíli school (see page).

109. *Sahpau* (for *Sah-pura*).—The original zamindárs were Bráhmans, who still have a málikána of Rs. 62-8 per annum. From them it passed to Thákurs, who now hold only 7¼ biswas, the remaining 12¾ having been acquired by Buddh Sinh, Thákur, and Panni Lál, Baniya. There is an old mud fort, a Saraugi temple built by the Jaesvárs, 7 small Hindu shrines built by different Bairagis, a police station, a district post office, and a halkabandi school.

110. *Salai-pur Chaundwára.*—The joint founders are said to have been Sabala, a Bráhman from Bhukalára and Chandu, an Ahír from the Jalesar Pargana. From their descendants the estate passed to Madári, Bohra, whose son, Srí Rám, is now in possession. In the mutiny the old zamindárs looted Baladeva, Bohra, of Bhukalára, of property valued at more than Rs. 30,000.

Alphabetical List of Villages.—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
111	Salím-pur ...	1,622	129	1,751	Hírá Sinh, Bráhman and Mittra Sen, Baniya.	Jáṭs ...	1,793
112	Samad-pur ...	587	18	605	Mittra Sen, Baniya of Háthras.	Ditto ...	544
113	Sarauth ...	1,383	70	1,453	...	Ditto ...	639
114	Sarmast-pur ...	114	14	128	Hírá Sinh, Thákur.	Bráhmans..	154
115	Sedariya ...	493	2	495	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Ditto ...	548
116	Shahbáz-pur ...	274	19	293	Mahájans ...	Chamárs and Thákurs.	409
117	Sher-pur ...	336	5	341	Jhaman Lál, Baniya.	Jáṭs ...	969
118	Sikhara ...	872	1	873	...	Bráhmans,	1,075
119	Sistai ...	510	79	589	Hírá Lál, Athwaraya.	Jáṭs ...	1,113
120	Sithara-pur ...	460	13	473	...	Ditto ...	458

111. *Salím-pur.*—Part has been sold by the Jáṭs to Bráhmans, Baniyas, Káyaths, and Mewáts. Here is a halkabandi school.

112. *Samad-pur.*—The founder is said to have been a Charaj Jáṭ from Bumán in Khándauli, named Sávadhán; and it is most probable that the village was originally called after him, and that the Persian word (*Samad*, 'the Lord') is only a corruption. The Jáṭs still retain eight biswas; the remaining 12 have been sold or mortgaged to Mittra Sen, Baniya of Háthras.

113. *Sarauth*, founded by a Jáṭ from Mai.

114. *Sarmast-pur*, founded by Tulsi, a Bráhman from Barhan in Jalesar. His descendants have mortgaged 5 biswas to Hírá Sinh.

115. *Sedariya:* sold in part by the old Bráhman zamindárs to Hari Ram, Bráhman, and Baniyas.

116. *Shahbáz-pur:* separated from Arti, by Dharmu, Gahlot, one of the zamindárs of that village: now sold to Jáṭs and Mahájans.

117. *Sher-pur:* founded in *Sambat* 1697 by Saráp, son of Paltu, Jáṭ, whose descendants still own one-third; the remainder has been sold to Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa and Mohan Lál, Baniya. The Karwan Nadi runs through the village land.

118. *Sikhara:* separated from Sahpau and given by the zamindárs of that village to Srí Chand, Pánda, whose descendants still own 11 biswas: the remainder has been sold to Rájá Prithi Sinh and Sawai Bám, Bráhman.

119. *Sistai:* purchased at auction from the Thákurs by Ganes, Bohra, and sold by him to Hírá Lál and Lál Chand, who were temporarily ejected in the mutiny by Dhan Sinh and Devi Sinh, two of the old zamindárs.

120. *Sitharú-pur*, or Gobará, was separated from Garúmrá by Jasú, one of the Jáṭ zamindárs of that village; his descendants are still in possession.

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
121	Sultán-pur ...	279	6	285	Devi Sinh, Thákur,	Chobdárs and Ahírs.	525
122	Susáhan ...	1,157	105	1,262	Múl-kunvar, Baniyin.	Jáṭs and Bráhmans.	1,794
123	Táj-pura ...	1,048	62	1,110	Hakím-un-Nissa, of Sa'dábád.	Jáṭs ...	1,003
124	Támsi ...	502	72	574	Prithi, Jáṭ ...	Ditto ...	541
125	Tasígau ...	2,222	127	2,349	...	Ditto ...	2,276
126	Tharaura ...	553	42	572	Kesari, Ahír ...	Ahírs ...	615
127	Udhaina ...	737	45	782	Nágar Sahay, Thákur.	Thákurs ...	784
128	Ughai ...	520	57	577	Thákur Dás and Síta Rám, Dhúsars.	Ditto ...	592
129	Zari-pura ...	126	...	126	Srí Rám, Bráhman.	Bráhmans and Gararíyas.	331

121. *Sultán-pur:* half has been sold by the Chobdárs and Ahírs to Srí Rám, Bohra, and some Jaesvárs.

122. *Susáhan*, or Unchá-gánw, has been mortgaged by the Jáṭs to Múl-kunvar, widow of Hotí Lál, Baniya.

123. *Táj-pura;* purchased at auction from the Jáṭs by Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa.

124. *Támsi:* founded by Thání, a Badhautiya Jáṭ and Sukh-Ram, a Chaundar Jáṭ from Maṛháká. Half has been sold to Srí Rám, Bohra.

125. *Tasigau.*—Founded by Adu Pal, a Hagá Jáṭ from Susáhan. Half has been sold to Bráhmans and Baniyas. A halkabandi school.

126. *Tharaura:* Founded by one Thilu, Ahír, whose descendants are still in possession.

127. *Udhaina:* 75 bighas have been sold by the old Thákur zamindárs to Amar Chand, Athwaraya. Here is a halkabandi school.

128. *Ughai:* Founded by Rájá Ugrasen from Chitor. The Gahlots have sold part to Thákur Dás and Síta Rám, Dhúsars; Nand Dás, Bairágí; and Giridhar, Bohrá.

129. *Zari-pura:* sold to Srí Rám, Bohrá, by the Thákurs.

VII.—PARGANA JALESAR.

The Jalesar Pargana affords a marked contrast to all the rest of the district, from which it differs no less in soil and scenery than in the character and social status of the population. In the other six parganas, wheat, indigo, and rice are seldom or never to be seen, here they form the staple crops; there the pasturage is abundant and every villager has his herd of cattle, here all the land is arable, and no more cattle are kept than are barely enough to work the plough; there the country is dotted with natural woods and groves, but has no enclosed orchards, here the mango and other fruit trees are freely planted and thrive well, but there is no open jungle; there the village communities still for the most part retain possession of their ancestral lands, here they have been ousted almost completely by modern capitalists; there the Játs constitute the great mass of the population, here they occupy one solitary village; there the Muhammadans have never gained any permanent footing and every spot is impregnated with Hindu traditions, here what local history there is is mainly associated with Muhammadan families.

These differences for the most part involve no necessity for any change in political administration; and their existence might seem to render a district more complete and self-contained by the supply of mutual deficiencies. But inaccessibility is a more serious consideration; and the towns of Awa and Jalesar are respectively 55 and 43 miles from the Local Courts, a greater distance than separates them from the capitals of the four adjoining districts. This, under any conditions, would be justly accounted an inconvenience, and it is rendered more so by some of the peculiar circumstances enumerated above. In consequence of the general transfer of the land from the old proprietors, there is a restless and impatient feeling abroad, which is certainly intensified by the remoteness of the Courts and the consequent unwillingness to have recourse to them for the settlement of a dispute in its incipient stages. Hence the frequent occurrence of serious outrages, such as burglaries and highway robberies, which are often carried out with more or less impunity, notwithstanding the number of people that must have been privy to their commission. However willing the authorities of the different districts may be to act in concert, investigation on the part of the Police is greatly hampered by the readiness with which the criminals can escape across the border, and disperse themselves through the five districts of Mathurá, Agra, Mainpuri, Eta, and Aligarh. Thus, though a local administrator is naturally jealous of any change calculated to diminish the importance of his charge, and Jalesar is unquestionably the richest portion of

the district, still it has always been admitted by each successive Magistrate and Collector that its exchange for a tract of country with much fewer natural advantages would be a most politic and beneficial measure.

Of the total area of 174,698 acres, 130,733 are under cultivation. Not only is water found nearer the surface than in the other parganas and generally good in quality, but special facilities for irrigation are afforded by the Etawa Branch of the Agra Canal, which runs through the north-east corner of the pargana,[1] and has numerous subordinate cuts and channels ; for the use of which a water rate is paid of Rs. 35,402. There are also two small streams, fed in the dry weather mainly by the canal, *viz.*, the Sengar, or Sarsa, which flows by the towns of Jalesar and Umar-garh, and the Isan, which has a more easterly course and runs into Mainpuri. There is thus scarcely any part of the country where artificial irrigation is not easily practicable ; except in some few reaches of *úsar* land, as from Noh-Kherá to Awa, whence is obtained the *reh*, or alkali, for the glass manufacture carried on in the town of Jalesar.

The Ahivásis, of the same stock as in Chhátá, have a small settlement near Aháran ; and several villages about Barhan are to a great extent populated by another Brahmanical class, of limited extension, called Gola-púrab. These latter have the character of being very industrious agriculturists, and are found in greater numbers across the Agra border in the Irádat-nagar Pargana. Five villages in the same neighbourhood have been proclaimed under Act VIII. of 1870, as addicted to the crime of female infanticide, *viz.*, Bághai, Shaikhu-pur-Mandan-pur, Rájmal, Walidád-pur, and Rájauli ; but it is hoped that in the course of a very short time they will be able to shake off this evil imputation, and clear themselves from the consequent liabilities. Only three villages are religious endowments, *viz.*, Unchá-gánw, Lohcha, and Gorakh-pur ; of which the two first are held rent-free by Swámi Rangáchárya of Brindá-ban, and the third by Gosáin Purushottam Lál of Gokul. The earliest local traditions are connected with a Rájá of Biána—called by my Muhammadan informant Shaubar Pál, which obviously cannot have been his name [2]—who had gone on a pilgrimage, and in his absence had been despoiled of his kingdom by Rájá Har Pál of Mahoba. Hearing of this disaster on his homeward march, he stopped short at the village now called Sona near Jalesar, and there established himself. By each of his three Ránis he had male issue : one son founded Rám-garh, in the immediate neighbourhood, and Narkhi in Firozabád ; his second Ráni's son was the founder of Mursamá ; while the third Ráni's two sons became, one the lord of Daulatabad with the title of Thákur Mandan, and the other of Chaundri in Firozabád.

[1] There is one first-class rest-house on the Canal in the district, at Pilkathra.

[2] Possibly he may have been the same Rájá Son, or Sohan Pál, who has left his mark on the Mathurá Pargana at the villages of Son, Sonsa, &c.

The Rána Katíra of Mewár, already mentioned in connection with Mahában, is said to have penetrated to Jalesar and to have built the Fort. Sháhnagar is also ascribed to him as well as Saráe Ním and Begam-pur, and his posterity spread as far as Shaikhu-Mandan-pur, Tehu, Rájmal, Sahpau, and Rohini in Háthras. The descendants of his elder son are distinguished by the word 'Sah' attached to their names, as Khumáni Sáh—whence Sahpau, for Sáh-pura—while those of the younger son are called Chaudharis; in Háthras, however, their title is Ráo.

Till the annexation of 1803 the Pargana was in two divisions, Jalesar and Rustam-nagar; though, in 1786, we find that the Amil, Nawáb Muhammad Khán, who bore the title of Samsám-ud-daula, 'the sharp sword of the State,' had his two subordinate zilladárs, Bakhsh Sinh and Uday Ráj, posted, the one at Barhan, the other at Aháran. About the same period Jalesar was the seat of a Muhammadan magnate, by name Bahlím Khán, who gained a high reputation both by his successes in war and also by the magnificence which he displayed in the shorter intervals of peace. One of the quarters of the town still bears his name, while another, being the place where his elephants were kept, is called Háthi-khána. His son, Rashíd Khán (commemorated by Rashíd-pur), had two heirs, Zain-ud-dín and Badr-ud-dín, who in a few years squandered the whole of their patrimony.

Other persons of some little note in their time, whose families are now either extinct or utterly reduced in circumstances, were as follows:—

1. Sultán Khán and Maksúd Khán established at Sakra and Maksúd-pur; the sons of a Jádon by name Rúp Dás, whose father, Súkh Dás, had a considerable estate about Dariya-pur in Háthras. Rúp Dás was a younger son, and, on his conversion to Muhammadanism, is said to have received a grant from the Emperor of as many as fifty-two villages.

2. Mirzas Razá and Taja, two brothers, who lived, the one at Paundri, the other at Simrau. The former was killed by a Gújar servant, named Rám Bakhsh, who had been instigated to the deed by one of his master's nephews. The widow, to avenge her husband's death, betook herself to General De Boigne, with whom she spent the remainder of her life, after becoming a Christian and placing him in possession of all her *jágír*, comprising the villages of Paundri, Punhera, Rejua, and others.

3. Mirza Muhammad Beg Agha, of Firozabad, a kinsman of Nawáb Muhammad Khán, whose grandson, Ghulám 'Ali Khán, planted the large mango grove in the suburbs of Jalesar, now accounted Nuzúl land.

4. Bihári Dás, Káyath, who entered the service of Nawáb Sádullah Khán, and built out of funds supplied by his patron the Katra, or market-place, at Jalesar, which has fallen into utter ruin, but still bears his name. His representative is now the Patwári of Nagara Gol.

5. Srí Rám, Kánungo, the proprietor of Banwári-pur and other villages, who built a fine house in Jalesar, on the Awa road, which was purchased from his grandson, Khúb Sinh, by Rájá Pitambar.

At the present day the one great landed proprietor is the Rájá Prithi Sinh of Awa, whose assessable income for the year 1872 was returned as Rs. 3,05,813. His estate is composed of two talukas, one the Amánabad, with the fixed number of nineteen villages, the other the Awa Mísa, which includes all the remainder. A third taluka, known as the Rámgarh, comprises nine villages, and is the property of Thákur Buddh Sinh of Umar-garh, whose income was put at Rs. 18,250, including the profits of his indigo factory. A kinsman of the Rájá's, Kunwar Jugal-Kishor, and his brother, Pratáp Sinh, sons of Rudra Sinh, have an estate of Rs. 12,423 a year; and Náráyan Sinh of Hasan-garh, with other lands at Muhammad-pur, Daulat-pur, Mushki, and Mehki, is a Thákur of good family and reputation, though of no very great wealth. The estate was acquired by his father, Pratáp Sinh, a resident of Gangni in Firozabad.

Several well-to-do money-lenders and indigo factors, who have lately pushed their way into prominent positions, may also be briefly mentioned:—

1. Gangá Bishan, son of Lachhi Rám, Bohra, of Berni, who has shares in Kherá-Gwárau, and four other villages, yielding an annual profit of Rs. 8,629.

2. Gopál Dás and Náráyan Dás, traders and indigo factors of Jalesar, with land at Agar-pur, Deva-karan-pur, &c., assessed at Rs. 8,879. Their father, Baladeva Dás, was a man of very violent temper and abusive tongue, who was driven into one of his own indigo vats by a servant whom he had provoked, and there drowned.

3. Magn Bihári Lál, a Káyath, of a Patwári family, with land at Nagara, Bari, and other villages, yielding an income of Rs. 7,338. His father, Rudra Sinh, was murdered by the old proprietors, whom he had ousted.

4. Sadá Rám and Sewá Rám, Marwári money-lenders, sons of Rati Rám of Jalesar, with lands in Akbar-pur-Haveli, &c., assessed at Rs. 7,185.

5. Uday Rám of Khánda and Jamál-nagar Bhainsa, who has recently purchased an estate for Rs. 25,000.

6. Fakír-chand, Baniya, of Birúni, the son of Gobardhan, whose father, Bidhi-chand was a small shop-keeper at Khánda.

7. Talewar Sinh and Chaturbhuj, of Bára Hasan Jahán-pur, Nagara Bari, and Sahor-garh, the sons of Mahi Lál, who was in the service of Thákur Buddh Sinh of Umar-garh.

This catalogue might be considerably extended, as there are more moneyed people in Jalesar than in all the other rural parts of the district; but as they have neither family history nor influence, it will be sufficient to mention them in the alphabetical list at the end of this section, by merely appending their names to the villages of which they have acquired possession.

The town of JALESAR is situated between two branches of the river Sarsa; and as the surrounding country is naturally of a low level and was further excavated in ancient times to supply earth for the construction of the hill on which the Fort was built, the place is often in the rains entirely surrounded by the floods. The name, a slight and very modern modification of Jalesvar,[1] 'Lord of water,' is then seen to be highly appropriate. The foundation of the Fort, of which only the substructure now remains, is popularly ascribed (as has been already mentioned) to the Ráná Katíra of Mewár, whose most probable date would seem to be 1303, the year of the capture of Chitor. It is said that the Muhammadan army that essayed to oppose his progress, was commanded by a Saiyid Ibráhím, who fell on the field, and has ever since been reverenced as a saint and martyr. His *Urs*, or annual feast, is held on the 20th and 21st of the month Shabán, seven days after the Shab-i-Barát; and the Dargáh, where his tomb is shown, comprises a tolerably extensive range of buildings. These have lately been repaired at the cost of the Municipality, though they are of no special interest, being built in the very clumsiest style of architecture, and apparently not more than 100 years old. The Nakár-Khána, which is of the same type as the rest, bears an inscribed tablet recording its erection by one Ghulám Mustafa in the year 1179 *Hijra*. The guardians of the shrine attach great value to a document in their possession, believing it to attest the truth of their traditions. The manuscript is only a few lines in length, and gives the ordinary succession of the Muhammadan Imáms, among whom Saiyid Ibráhím is mentioned as a son of Imám Músa Kázim, and is said to have come to Jalesar from Tabríz. I am able to state, on Mr. Blochmann's authority, that there is no external confirmation whatever of such an assertion; and the tomb can scarcely be more than a commemorative cenotaph. If the real Saiyid Ibráhím were buried in it, Jalesar would be a place of pilgrimage for all the Shíahs in India. About a quarter of a mile from the further end of the town is another Muhammadan shrine of equally apocryphal character. It is known as that of 'the Bará Miyan,' a Malang fakír, who, some 250 years ago, came from Ajmer and attracted attention chiefly by the singularity of his diet. When children are bewitched, which is—or is supposed to be—a very common occurrence in India, it is customary to take them to a cross-road or other open place and there pass some article or other backwards and forwards over their head in the hope that the evil spirit may be induced to enter it. Fruits and vegetables which had thus become possessed by satanic influences were all the food the holy man would eat. A *mela*, attended by Hindus quite as much, if not more, than by Muhammadans, is held in his honour every Saturday throughout the year; and the owners of the ground, some 15 or 16 persons, Shaikhs of Jalesar,

[1] Hence (since in Persian writing no distinction can be made between *o* and *va*.) the town in Bengal with the same name is spelt by English officials as 'Jelasore.'

are computed to realize annually some Rs. 6,000 from the offerings of the credulous.

The summit of the hill, where once stood the Fort, is now occupied by the Courts of the Munsif and the Tahsildár and the Municipal Office, the latter a very substantial and commodious building. To these will be added in the course of a few months a new school, for which an allotment has been made of Rs. 6,000; the one moiety being contributed by the Municipality and the District Educational Fund, and the balance supplied by the Government.

It appears from the Census Reports that, between the years 1853 and 1865, there was a decrease of 2,000 in the population, a fact, if fact it be, which is explained by a decline in the weaving trade. A revival of comparative prosperity dates from the time when the Municipality was constituted. Since then the entire length of the one main street has been metalled and a system of drainage—which was a most urgent requirement—satisfactorily completed. The town, however, is still an exceedingly mean-looking place without a single shop, private house, or public building of any pretension. The dispensary is a useful institution and is conveniently situated in a very central locality; but there has certainly been no sacrifice to architectural grace in its design and the area it occupies is extremely narrow and confined. At one end of the Bazár, a large market-square was cleared and ranges of shops of uniform design—all of brick—erected at the suggestion of Mr. Fisher, in 1869-70, when he was Municipal Secretary. The cost was defrayed chiefly by private individuals, who hoped to recoup themselves for the outlay by the rent of the shops. But as the square was designed on a scale which avowedly bore no proportion to the actual requirements of the local trade, a large number of the tenements have never yet been occupied; and, indeed, were they all taken up by the resident population, the remainder of the town would be deserted. It was hoped at the time that Jalesar might be developed into a flourishing mart by improving the roads in its neighbourhood; and one step to that end has been taken this year by metalling the eight miles that lie between it and the Railway Station at Mánikpur. But much more remains to be done before it can be brought into the ordinary line of traffic; for though there are several great mercantile depôts at no great distance, still in whatever direction they lie, whether in Agra, Eta, or Aligarh, Jalesar is cut off from all by the exceptional heaviness of the cart-tracks, by which alone they can be reached.

As a grain-market, therefore, its capabilities are entirely in embryo; and its manufactures are equally unimportant, its one speciality being glass, of which small phials and drinking vessels are made. To this it may be added that a considerable amount of cloth is woven, chiefly of the qualities known

as *gára* and *adhotar;* that the Jalesar *cháris*, or bangles, have some reputation in the immediate neighbourhood; and that in the suburb of Khalíl-ganj there is a numerous guild of workers in brass.

The sum at the disposal of the Municipality for the year 1872-73 was Rs. 14,255, from which, however, should be deducted an opening balance of Rs. 1,946; leaving Rs. 12,309, as the actual income. Of this amount, the greater part, *viz.*, Rs. 10,795, was the result of octroi taxation. The principal commodities imported liable to duty were articles of food, from which was derived more than half the entire income, *viz.*, Rs. 6,597 ; the tax on metals, which yielded Rs. 1,278, being next in importance.

Awa is a small and apparently modern town, noticeable only as the residence of Rájá Prithi Sinh, who has a large Fort immediately outside it. In the mutiny, cannon were mounted on the walls, and every preparation made for sustaining a siege. Happily, there was no occasion to test their adequacy, but there can be no doubt that the existence of so formidable a stronghold in their midst had a considerable effect in repressing the energies of the disaffected. The first Fort was constructed by Thákur Bhakt Sinh, but only on a small and rude scale. His son, Thákur Híra Sinh, was virtually the founder of the existing range of buildings, to which large additions have been made by the present Rájá; the most prominent being a suite of reception rooms profusely furnished in quasi-European fashion. All the surrounding country consists of dreary *úsar* plains, scarcely, if at all, available for the purposes of the agriculturist; but their desert appearance has now been happily relieved by the number of mango groves planted by the Rájá and his ancestors. The tree seems specially to affect such a soil, as its growth is most rapid and luxuriant; a result promoted in no slight degree by the neighbourhood of the canal and the facilities for obtaining a constant supply of water. At the back of one of the largest orchards is a *báoli* constructed of block kankar; a stone which is quarried here in great abundance and is most serviceable as a building material where no finished decoration is required. The town, or Ganj, as it is called, is surrounded by a crumbling mud wall; and between it and the Fort the Rájá is now building a very fine and substantial mansion, intended for the accommodation of his English friends. It stands in the centre of an extensive walled enclosure, containing all necessary offices for servants, &c., and a pleasure-garden with an ornamental sheet of water. The Chaukidári Act is in force in the town, but the monthly income is so small that the only local improvement yet carried out has been the partial metalling of the main street. The school, an unusually commodious building of its class, is due to the liberality of the Rájá. The new Police Station has been removed a little distance from its old site in the Bazár and now stands on the side of the high road that leads from Eta to Agra.

Umar-garh is the seat of the ancient Jádon family, of whom Thákur Buddh Sinh is the present representative. The Fort where he resides was originally on a very large scale and defended by a deep fosse, but this is now partially filled up and the dilapidated state of the buildings indicates the reduced circumstances of their master. The village is a poor, half deserted place, and is said to have been so ever since it was plundered by the Mahrattas in the time of Thákur Bahádur Sinh (see Part I., page 12). The glory of the place consists in its magnificent mango groves, 16 in number, which have no rival anywhere in the district. In addition to the indigo factory belonging to the Thákur, there is another, with a handsome residence for the manager, in the hands of Europeans, Mr. Rennie, of the Bank of Bengal, being the principal partner.

Note.—The transfer, so repeatedly advocated in the course of this narrative, is now on the point of being carried out; and from the commencement of the official year 1874-75 the Jalesar Pargana will form part of the Agra District. No orders have yet been passed regarding the tract to be awarded in compensation; but it may be hoped that it will be the Farrah Pargana.

Alphabetical List of Villages.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
1	Abd-ul-hai-pur or Nagara Hirá.	396	126	522	Rájá of Á'wa ...	Jádoṇs ...	824
2	Abhay-ráj-pur or Khuti-pura.	232	3	235	...	...	483
3	Agar-pur ...	186	18	204	Gopál Dás Náráyan Dás, Baniyas.	...	696
4	Aháran ...	2,559	197	2,756	Thakuráni Hakímun-Nissa, of Sa'dabád.	Gahlot Thákurs.	2,795
5	Akbar-pur Haveli,	287	126	413	Rájá of Á'wa and others.	Chamárs ...	126
6	Akbar-pur Santhai.	198	6	204	...	Jádoṇs ...	361
7	Amánabád ...	456	25	481	Rájá of Á'wa ...	Chamárs ...	797
8	Arab-garh ...	225	9	234	Bráhmans ...	Ditto ...	412
9	Arázi Berhár ...	58	2	60	Kázi Mumtáz 'Ali	Ahírs ...	90
10	Atá-ulláh-pur ...	57	...	57	Rájá of Á'wa ...	Jádoṇs ...	217
11	Aunerá ...	320	7	327	...	Bráhmans,	471
12	Á'wa ...	4,838	746	5,584	...	Jádoṇs ...	3,177
13	Bábar-pur ...	680	69	749	...	...	1,556
14	Badan-pur Kázipur.	427	...	427	Ahírs ...	Ahírs ...	389
15	Baḍhan-pur Kunjman-pur.	542	55	597	Nathá Ram, Jádoṇ, mortgagee.	Jádoṇs ...	684
16	Baḍhávali ...	1,120	70	1,190	Rájá of Á'wa ...	Bráhmans,	1,252
17	Bághai ...	557	25	582	Jádoṇs ...	Jádoṇs ...	640
18	Bahádur-pur ...	282	17	299	Ahírs ...	Ahírs ...	185
19	Balesrá ...	479	20	499	Rájá of Á'wa ...	Bráhmans,	926
20	Banwári-pur ...	303	...	303	...	Jádoṇs ...	277
21	Bará Bhúṇḍelá ...	961	71	1,032	...	Bráhmans,	669
22	Bára Hasan Jahánpur.	931	47	978	Tálewar Sinh, Chaturbhuj Sinh, Káyaths.	Káchhis ...	1,141
23	Barai Kalyán-pur Allah-vardi-pur, or Khusrai.	1,076	72	1,148	Rájá of Á'wa ...	Bráhmans,	1,680

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
24	Barhan ...	3,818	199	4,017	...	Chamárs ...	5,499
25	Begam-pur ...	371	...	371	Chunni Lál and others, Bráhmans.	Mewátis ...	330
26	Benai ...	1,181	73	1,254	Rájá of Áwa and others.	Jáṭs ...	1,046
27	Berni ...	1,397	96	1,493	Bráhmans ...	Bráhmans,	1,439
28	Bhainsa Braj-pur,	713	65	778	Tota Rám and others, Baniyas.	Chamárs ...	613
29	Bhyáo ...	353	48	441	Gahlots and Seth Raghunath Das.	Gahlots ...	500
30	Bich-puri ...	658	26	684	Gahlots ...	...	839
31	Bír-nagar ...	1,180	86	1,266	Rájá of Áwa ...	Lodhas ...	1,875
32	Birúni ...	596	61	657	Fakír Chand, Baniya, and others.	Thákurs ...	744
33	Bishan-pur ...	80	...	80	Dwáraka Dás and others.	Ahírs ...	66
34	Bora, Great ...	1,582	87	1,669	Ísvari and others, Gahlots.	Gahlots ...	2,093
35	Bora, Little ...	494	15	509	Rájá of Áwa and others.	Bráhmans,	803
36	Braj-pur Chandá,	69	...	69	Jádoṇs ...	Jádoṇs ...	528
37	Budhaira ...	339	9	348	Rájá of Áwa ...	Lodhas ...	490
38	Chir-gáma ...	996	43	1,039	...	Chamárs...	1,272
39	Chúhar-pur ...	146	58	204	Madan Bihári Lál, Káyath.	Ahírs ...	392
40	Churthara ...	511	22	534	Rájá of Áwa ...	Bráhmans,	719
41	Dalsa-pur ...	627	26	653	...	Chamárs...	708
42	Daluat-pur, Gilola	374	27	401	Síta Rám, Hardeva Sinh, Jádoṇs, mortgagees.	Lodhas ...	337
43	Daulat-pur Mushki ...	270	12	282	Seth Roshan Lál and Náráyan Sinh, Jádoṇ.	Ahírs ...	590
44	Deva-karan-pur,	250	53	303	Gangá Prasád, Baniya, mortgagee.	Chamárs...	562

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
45	Dos-pur ...	274	16	290	Síta Rám and others, Jádoṇs.	Bráhmans,	519
46	Dulhá ...	411	23	434	Rájá of Áwa ...	Lodhas ...	590
47	Eta ...	467	3	470	Bráhmans ...	Gola-púrab Bráhmans.	458
48	Farid-pur ...	270	...	270	Rájá of Áwa ...	Jádoṇs ...	305
49	Gadesrá ...	195	15	210	...	Ahírs ...	307
50	Gálri ...	395	20	415	Rájá of Áwa ...	Jádoṇs ...	784
51	Ganes-pur ...	1,390	96	1,486	Jádoṇs ...	Ditto ...	2,265
52	Gehlá ...	282	...	282	Ditto	...	360
53	Gopál-pur, or Saráe Káj-nagar,	664	32	696	Mohan Lál, Káyath and others.	Lodhas ...	1,012
54	Gorakh-pur ...	26	...	26	Gosáin Purushottom Lál and others.	Jádoṇs ...	192
55	Gothúa ...	846	100	946	Rájá of Áwa ...	...	1,246
56	Gundáo ...	301	63	364	Padam Sinh, Jádoṇ, Baldeva Sinh, Bráhman.	Chamárs...	956
57	Gwáliyárá ...	211	41	252	Mohan Kunwar, Jádoṇ.	Jádoṇs ...	155
58	Habíb-ulláh pur Azmat-pur.	147	4	151	Mahbúb Sinh Bráhman.	...	291
59	Hádidád-pur, or Takúnwar.	420	18	438	Rájá of Áwa ...	Chamárs...	399
60	Hasan-ábád ...	313	...	313	Rájá of Áwa, Seth Roshan Lál, and others.	Bráhmans,	231
61	Hasan-ali-pur Basai ...	687	19	706	Thákur Dás, mortgagee.	Jádoṇs ...	1,142
62	Hasan-garh ...	654	43	697	Rám Prasád, Jádoṇ.	Káchhis ...	1,377
63	Hemráj-pur, or Chandar ...	190	19	209	Gokul Sinh, Jádoṇ. ...	Chamárs...	404
64	Hindona ...	502	17	519	Rúp Kunwar and others, Brahmans.	Lodhas ...	834
65	Ibráhím-nagar ...	45	...	45	Lál Chuman Sinh, Jáloṇ.	Jádoṇs ...	103

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
66	Isauli ...	983	32	1,015	Jádoṇs ...	Jadoṇs ...	1,567
67	Jain-pura ...	339	...	339	Rájá of Áwa ...	Chamárs ...	608
68	Jalesar ...	8,335	6,507	14,902	Rájá of Áwa and Saiyid Intizám Ali, &c.	Musalmáns,	3,812
69	Jallu-kheṛá ...	591	36	627	Rájá of Áwa, Kushál Sinh, &c.	Chamárs ...	1,040
70	Jamál-pur ...	349	18	367	Durjan Lál, Baniya	Baniyas ...	410
71	Jamál-pur Gádri,	597	51	648	Rájá of Áwa ...	Jádoṇs ...	780
72	Jamál-nagar Bhainsa.	907	56	963	Murli Sinh, Uday Rám, and others.	Ahíra ...	1,141
73	Jamáun ...	924	56	980	Gahlots ...	Gahlots ...	326
74	Jám-pur Chamaraula.	899	70	969	Sri Gopál, Bohra,	Ahírs ...	478
75	Janávali ...	789	40	829	Rájá of Áwa ...	Jádoṇs ...	1,529
76	Jaráni ...	1,029	96	1,125	Megh Sinh, Bráhman.	Chamárs ...	1,251
77	Kaprahi ...	155	...	155	Rájá of Áwa ...	Ditto ...	234
78	Karahla Kásimpur.	129	...	129	...	Gahlots ...	831
79	Karthani ...	296	10	306	Kesar, Durgá and others.	Ahírs ...	184
80	Kasarra Amritpur.	166	...	166	Saiyid Ahmad Ali, Hira-man, Bohra	Ditto ...	293
81	Khalíl-ganj, or Rustam-nagar.	2,382	338	2,720	...	Baniyas ...	33
82	Khánḍa ...	3,143	266	3,409	Rájá of Áwa and others.	Ahírs ...	2,899
83	Kharkana ...	332	6	338	Baladeva, Haridevа, and others, Gahlots.	Bráhmans,	424
84	Khatauta ...	1,126	48	1,174	Rájá of Áwa, Nek-Rám, and others.	Chamárs ...	1,552
85	Kheṛá Gwárau ...	400	20	420	Lachhi Rám and others, Baniyas.	Ahírs ...	389
86	Kherára ...	743	50	793	Rájá of Áwa ...	Chamárs ...	959
87	Kheṛi Garhi Harráe ...	1,455	81	1,536	Lachman Sinh, mortgagee, and others.	Gola-púrab Bráhmans.	1,668

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
88	Kheriya Táj ...	482	76	558	Rájá of Áwa ...	Chamárs ...	635
89	Kosma ...	610	9	619	Tíka Rám, Bohra,	Garariyas,	652
90	Kunjal-pur ...	418	39	457	Gangá Bishan Rám Prasád, Bohras.	Bráhmans,	321
91	Kurgamá ...	495	15	510	Rájá of Áwa, Kundan Lal, Ahivási.	Káchhis ...	434
92	Kuswa ...	1,233	72	1,305	Rájá of Áwa, Mohan Sinh and others.	Ahírs ...	1,420
93	Lakhmí-pur, or Sarái Usar.	319	23	342	Rájá of Áwa ...	Chamárs ...	833
94	Lodhi-pur ...	177	15	192	Daya Rám, mortgagee.	Lodhas ...	258
95	Lohcha Nahar-pur,	685	35	720	Baladeva Sahay, and Swámi Rangáchárya.	Ahírs ...	1,087
96	Mahábat-pur ...	68	...	68	Rájá of Áwa ...	Bráhmans.	225
97	Máhan-mai ...	806	77	883	Khúb Lál and others, Bráhmans.	Ditto ...	1,115
98	Mai ...	514	48	562	Mr. Hashman ...	Lodhas ...	526
99	Maksúd pur ...	399	536	935	Rájá of Áwa and others.	Musalmáns,	1,014
100	Mandan-pur ...	362	19	381	Rájá of Áwa.	Chamárs ...	944
101	Marhá Prahlád-nagar.	337	23	360	Ditto ...	Lodhas ...	663
102	Marsená ...	578	71	649	Buddh Sinh of Umar-garh and others.	Dhákara Thákurs.	1,049
103	Mauzam-pur ...	171	...	171	Muktáyal Sinh, mortgagee, Jádon.	Lodhas ...	339
104	Mehkí ...	305	51	356	Murli Sinh, Vazír-ali, and others.	Jádons ...	649
105	Mirza-pur ...	306	...	306	Tota Rám Baniya,	Bráhmans,	499
106	Mísa, Great ...	991	73	1,064	Rájá of Áwa ...	Jádons ...	1,876
107	„ Little ...	420	3	423	...	Baniyas ...	497
108	Misauli Hemráj-pur.	544	35	579	Thákur Buddh Sinh of Umar-garh and others.	Bráhmans,	1,154

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
109	Mitávali Shaikhpura.	1,733	80	1,813	Thakuráni Hakímun-Nissa.	Bráhmans and Chamárs	2,449
110	Mitraul ..	822	28	850	Rájá of Áwa ...	Lodhas ...	670
111	Mohan-pur ...	440	9	449	...	Chamárs ...	805
112	Mubarak-pur Nadáuli	179	...	179	Rájá of Áwa and Ranchhor Dás.	Kahárs ...	218
113	Muhabbat-pur ...	249	8	257	Rájá of Áwa ...	Bráhmans,	301
114	Muhammad-nagar Kháu-pur.	59	1	60	Thakuráni Hakímun-Nissa.	Ahírs ...	275
115	Muhammad-pur ...	164	8	172	Náráyan Sinh, of Hasangarh.	Lodhas ...	396
116	Muhsin-ábád ...	369	23	392	Rájá of Áwa ...	Gola-púrab Bráhmans.	289
117	Mukaṭ-pur ...	152	3	155	Rati Rám, Nandkishor, mortgagees, Ahírs.	Ahírs ...	195
118	Mukhwár ...	1,290	71	1,361	Rájá of Áwa ...	Dhákara Thákurs.	2,354
119	Murlídhar-pur ...	207	6	213	...	Chamárs ...	150
120	Mursama ...	805	11	816	Rám Kunwar and others.	Jádons ...	1,088
121	Murthar Ali-pur...	731	20	751	...	Chamárs ...	1,461
122	Nagara Aḍhu ...	561	22	583	Hem Sinh and others, Thákurs, and Mansa Rám, Káyath.	Dhákara Thákurs.	...
123	„ Ani ...	550	42	592	Nandu and Gyás Kunwar, Ahírins.	Ahírs ...	426
124	„ Bari ...	573	25	598	Magn Bihári Lál, Káyath.	Chamárs ...	650
125	„ Bel ...	644	51	695	Rájá of Áwa and others.	Ditto ...	1,050
126	„ Chánd ...	171	46	217	Rúp Rám and others	Ditto ...	538
127	„ Gol ...	391	15	406	Kanhay Sinh, Jádon and others.	Gola-púrab Bráhmans.	498
128	„ Khokar ...	...	...	...	Rájá of Áwa and Madan Bihári Lál.	Bráhmans,	232

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
129	Nagara Kumar ...	96	20	116	Kishan Sinh and Hakím-un-Nissa.	Gahlot Thákurs.	274
130	„ Mahá-siṇh,	537	48	585	Talewar Sinh and others, Káyaths	Bráhmans,	388
131	„ Mitan, or Dilokharáa.	729	20	749	Tulsi Rám. Seth Roshan Lál, and others.	Gaṛariyas	1,409
132	„ Pachauri,	252	...	252	Rájá of Awa, Kesari, and others.	Bráhmans,	394
133	„ Sarjí ...	313	...	313	Amán Sinh and others Jadons.	Jádons ...	450
134	„ Sarúp ...	725	10	735	Chain Sukh and others, Bohras.	Chamárs ...	1,120
135	„ Sukhdeva, Bali-pur.	807	15	822	Rájá of Awa ...	Jádons ...	1,190
136	Nagwái Abu-nagar.	792	21	813	Shib Sinh and others, mortgagees.	Ahírs ...	866
137	Nárau Bírnagar...	518	40	558	Rájá of Awa ...	Jádons ...	1,046
138	Narholi ...	800	53	853	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1,255
139	Narora ...	1,340	185	1,525	...	Ditto ...	1,259
140	Ním-Kheṛá ...	945	59	1,004	Thákur Das, mortgagee.	Ditto ...	805
141	Noḥ ...	1,455	204	1,659	Rájá of Awa ...	Ditto ...	2,367
142	Noḥ-kheṛá ...	620	40	660	...	Ditto ...	1,029
143	Pabhá ...	489	56	545	...	Bráhmans..	505
144	Pabár ...	333	...	333	Chunni Lál, Bráhman, and Man Sinh, Gahlot.	Ditto ...	576
145	Paháṛi-pur ...	1,057	56	1,113	Gangá Rám and others, Gahlots.	Chamárs...	1,120
146	Paháṛ-mal-pur ...	81	18	99	Rúp Kunwar, Káyath.	Ditto ...	136
147	Páiyanda-pur ...	173	15	188	Thákur Devi Sinh, Gahlot.	Ditto ...	441
148	Pasiya-pur Begam-pur.	95	110	205	Rájá of Awa ...	Ditto ...	445
149	Paṭna ...	576	11	587	Moti Sinh, and others, Jádons.	Jádons ...	1,240

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
150	Paundri ...	1,013	39	1,052	Rájá of Áwa ...	Jádons ...	1,543
151	Pilkathrá ...	1,695	76	1,771	...	Chamárs ..	2,090
152	Punhera ...	1,822	112	1,934	Rájá of Áwa ...	Bráhmans.	1,844
153	Rájá Rám-pur ...	304	6	310	Manohar Sinh and others, Jádons..	Chamárs...	509
154	Rajauli ...	759	29	788	Muktayal Sinh and others, Jádons.	Jádons ...	797
155	Rajmal-pur Timrúa.	460	18	478	Lachhman Sinh and others, Baniyas,	Ahírs ...	684
156	Rám-garh ...	4,482	447	4,929	Thákur Buddh Sinh of Umargarh.	Chamárs...	7,261
157	Rámráe pur ...	34	...	34	Swámi Rangáchárya.	Gahlot Thákurs.	228
158	Ranosa ...	181	22	203	Dungar Sinh, Baniya, and others	Ahírs ...	207
159	Rashíd-pur ...	138	1	139	Rájá of Áwa ...	Lodhas ...	329
160	Rashíd-pur, or Kheriya Khâti.	208	...	208	...	Káchhis ...	289
161	Rashíd-pur Mitraul.	213	...	213	...	Lodhas ...	227
162	Razá-nagar ...	213	126	339	Síta Rám and others, Gahlots.	Gahlot Thákurs.	379
163	Rejua ...	1 035	52	1,105	Lekhráj and others, Ahírs.	Bráhmans.	1,008
164	Rohina Mirza-pur	2,470	171	2,641	Rájá of Áwa ...	Chamárs...	4,072
165	Sahor-garh ...	151	...	151	Bádám Sinh and others, Gahlots.	Ditto ...	384
166	Saif-ud-dín-pur...	212	24	236	Sukhdeva and others, Bchras.	Ahírs ...	381
167	Sakrá ...	843	33	876	Rájá of Áwa ...	Bráhmans.	1,109
168	Sakrauli ...	1,991	340	2,331	...	Jádons ...	2,747
169	Sala-mai ...	310	3	313	Rájá of Áwa, and others.	Ahírs ...	264
170	Salím-pur Eta ...	426	15	441	Bhúp Sinh, Bráhman.	Dhákara Thákurs.	1,036
171	„ Mitraul,	425	18	443	Rájá of Áwa ...	Káchhis ...	402

Alphabetical List of Villages—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
172	Saliváhan-pur ...	448	...	448	Bihári Lál and others, Bohras.	Lodhas ...	580
173	Sánthai Nabi-pur,	746	29	775	Sahi Rám and others, Gahlots.	Chamárs...	1,505
174	Saráe Jay Rám ...	580	20	600	Kanhay Sinh, Jádon.	Baniyas ...	355
175	,, Ním ..	715	63	778	Devi Sinh, Sundar Sinh, Dhaim Jít, } Gahlots	Bráhmans and Baniyas.	523
176	Saráni ...	607	24	631	Rájá of Áwa ...	Gararíyas...	715
177	Sarkari ...	473	...	473	...	Chamárs ...	361
178	Senua ...	930	46	976	...	Ditto ...	1,164
179	Sháh-nagar Timrúa.	1,933	91	2,024	Nek Rám, and others, Gahlots.	Thákurs ...	2,438
180	Shaikhú-pur Mandanpur.	1,366	49	1,415	Magn Bihári Lál, Káyath, and Thákurs.	Chamárs ..	1,807
181	,, Rájmal.	1,700	157	1,857	Magn Bihári Lál, Swámi Rangáchárya.	Ditto ...	2,259
182	Shams-pur ...	384	1	385	Rájá of Áwa ...	Ditto ...	1,290
183	Sikandar-pur ...	426	8	434	...	Jádons and Chamárs.	762
184	Simrau ...	1,348	72	1,420	Jas Rám, and others, Thákurs, and Shádi Lal, Káyath.	Thákurs ...	1,876
185	Sirgamá ...	272	37	309	Chunni Lál Bráhman.	Bháts ...	609
186	Soná ...	373	22	395	Thákur Buddh Sinh of Umargarh.	Lodhas ...	753
187	Sujún-pur ...	369	...	369	Tára Saháy and others, Gahlots.	Gahlot Thákurs.	400
188	Takháwan ...	928	39	967	Thákur Dás, Jádon,	Chamárs ..	1,872
189	Tamánch-garh ...	700	76	776	,, Devi Sinh, Gahlot.	Chamárs and Gararíyas.	1,159
190	Tehu ...	1,860	85	1,945	Seth Roshan Lál and others.	Thákurs ...	2,333
191	Tikáthar ...	1,047	83	1,130	Baladeva Sinh, Bráhman.	Ditto ...	2,222

Alphabetical List of Villages—(concluded).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
192	Tisár ...	447	44	491	Bhulan Sinh and others, Gahlots.	Bargújars..	937
193	Uderi ...	329	44	373	Rájá of Á'wa ...	Jádons ...	375
194	Unchá-gánw ...	1,958	110	2,068	Swámi Rangáchárya and others.	Gahlots and Chamárs.	1,499
195	Walídád-pur ...	723	9	732	Sundar Pokhpál and others.	Ahírs ...	440
196	Yúsuf-pur ...	263	16	279	Amar Sinh, Káyath, Chain Sukh and others, Bohras.	Chamárs ...	584

SUPPLEMENTARY VILLAGE NOTES.

Pargana Kosi.

3. *Barchauli.*—This name appears to be only an office corruption ; on the spot the word is always pronounced Banchauli.

7. *Bathan.*—Of the two schools, the one at Little Bathan has been closed; at the other there is an attendance of forty-five boys. The Kokila-ban, which lies between two smaller groves, each called Pádar Gangá—the one in Bathan, the other in Jáv—is 212 bíghas in extent; 54 bíghas being held rent-free by the Mahant of the Hermitage, who also has all the pasturage and fallen timber of the whole area, with a further endowment of 22 bíghas of arable land in Jáv. The walled garden near the lake was planted by a Seth of Mirzapur, through the agency of Ghanpat Rám of Kosi ; and the adjoining *bárahdari*, or pavilion, was built by Nem Jí, a Baniya, also of Kosi, in 1870, out of money left for the purpose by his brother, Bansidhar. A fair is held in the grove every Saturday, and a larger one on every full-moon ; when the principal diversion consists in seeing the immense swarms of monkeys fight for the grain that is scrambled among them. The Bairágí belongs to the Nimbárak Sampradaya, and states that the distinctive doctrines of the sect are not absolutely unwritten (as is ordinarily supposed), but are comprised in ten Sanskrit couplets that form the basis of a commentary in as many thousands. One of his disciples is a very intelligent and argumentative theological student ; and a sketch of his belief may be here given as a proof that the esoteric doctrines of the Vaishnavas generally have little in common with the gross idolatry which the Christian Missionary is too often content to demolish as the equivalent of Hinduism. So far is this from being the case, that many of their dogmas are of an eminently philosophical character, and contrast favorably, not only with the colourless abstractions of the Brahma Samáj, but also with the defiant materialism into which the greater part of non-Catholic Europe is rapidly lapsing. The one infinite and invisible God is the only real existence and the only proper object of devout contemplation. But as the incomprehensible is utterly beyond the reach of human faculties, He is partially manifested for our behoof in the book of creation, in which natural objects are the letters of the universal alphabet, and express the sentiments of the Divine Author. A printed page, however, conveys no meaning to anyone but a scholar, and is liable to be misunderstood even by him ; so, too, with the book of the world. Whether

the traditional scenes of Krishna's adventures have been rightly determined is a matter of little consequence, if only a visit to them excites the believer's religious enthusiasm. The places are mere symbols of no value in themselves; the idea they convey is the direct emanation from the spirit of the author. But it may be equally well expressed by different types; in the same way as two copies of a book may be word for word the same in sound and sense though entirely different in appearance, one being written in Nagari, the other in English characters. To enquire into the cause of the diversity between the religious symbols adopted by different nationalities may be an interesting study, but is not one that can affect the basis of faith. And thus it matters little whether Rádhá and Krishna were ever real personages; the mysteries of divine love which they symbolize remain, though the symbols disappear; in the same way as a poem may have existed long before it was committed to writing, and may be remembered long after the writing has been destroyed. The transcription is a relief to the mind; but though obviously advantageous on the whole, still in minor points it may rather have the effect of stereotyping error: for no material form, however perfect and semi-divine, can ever be created without containing in itself an element of deception; its appearance varies according to the point of view and the distance from which it is regarded. It is to convictions of this kind that must be attributed the utter indifference of the Hindu to chronological accuracy and historical research. The annals of Hindustán date only from its conquest by the Muhammadans—a people whose faith is based on the misconception of a fact, as the Hindús' is on the corrupt embodiment of a conception. Thus the literature of the former deals exclusively with events; of the latter with ideas.

14. *Dah-gánw.*—The boundary line between this and the adjoining village of Garhi in Gur-gánw has been the subject of violent contention for the last thirty years, and the dispute is not settled yet. The school has an attendance of no more than thirty boys; of whom only seven are sons of the Ját agriculturists. By the temple of Braj-bhúkhan, which is of considerable size, is a small pond called Bhánkru, with an old *kadamb* tree, reputed sacred on account of a curious excrescence on the trunk resembling Krishna's *mukut*, or 'crown.' The Dadhi-kund is 35 bíghas in extent, and the total amount of *rakhyá*, 320 bíghas, including Rásoli, or Rás-ban, which is uninhabited except by a Bairágí.

26. *Hathána.*—One and-a-half biswa is owned by Gautam Bráhmans; all the remainder by Játs of the Sorot sub-division, who are very numerous in the neighbourhood. The *rakhyá* adjoining the village is 435 bíghas in extent; but the trees are almost all *pilus*, and those of small size. The *dahar* of Nand-ban (365 bíghas) lies on the other side of the canal near Sessai. This, though according to present arrangements accounted a hamlet of Hathána, is, properly speaking, an offshoot of Great Sessai in Gur-gánw, from which it is

only parted by a few paces of waste land. A temple of some size and very considerable local celebrity, dedicated to Lakshmi Náráyan, stands on the margin of an extensive lake faced on the temple side with masonry ghâts. This is known as the *Kshír Ságar*, or 'Milky Sea,' a name which the colour of the water renders not inappropriate. It is most unfortunate that the boundary line between the two Provinces should have been drawn where it is, as the exclusion of the Sanádh Swámis of Little Sessai from a share in the emoluments of the temple, enjoyed by their kinsmen living in the original village, has resulted in the most intense animosity, displayed in the mutiny by a pitched battle in which twenty-seven persons lost their lives. Much of the land attached to the hamlet of Saráy lies across the canal, greatly to the inconvenience of its cultivators, who have to go round a long distance by the Sessai Bridge to reach it. It was at one time an entirely distinct village ; and hence to the present day Hathána is accounted to comprise forty biswas, being divided into two thoks, one of twenty-five, the other of fifteen biswas. There are seven lumberdárs. The school has an attendance of thirty-three boys, of whom nineteen are Játs.

28. *Jáv.*—There is no special Jávak-ban now recognized by that name ; Jáva-bat or Jáva-ban, being regarded as the name of the village. There are four *rakhyás*; Chír-kund and Jugal-kutti, both of small extent ; Kishori-bat (36 bíghas) with the Kishori-kund and *kunj* built by Rúp Rám ; and the Pádar Gangá (15 bíghas) with an orchard of mango and *khirni* trees planted by Súrma, a Bairágí who also built the temple of Rádhá-kánt out of grants he received from the chiefs of Rájwára. On his death the temple was deserted for a time till taken over by a Gosáin of Brindá-ban, who makes it an allowance of Rs. 10 a month. Not a stick can be taken from the *rakhyás* for the use of the villages or the local temples without the express permission of the absentee landlord.

Pargana Chhátá.

21. *Basai Little.*—For the last ten years the river has been retreating, and the land recovered from its bed now amounts to 364 acres, which have been constituted into a separate mahál and assigned to Daya Rám, a Thákur of Mathurá. The village zamindárs, who had the offer of the land when the increment first began, and then declined it, now bitterly regret their error of judgment, as the estate is yearly increasing in value.

33. *Chaksauli.*—The *rakhyá* adjoins the Gahrvar-ban, which is accounted part of Mán-pur, and with it extends over an area of all but 108 bíghas, exclusive of the hill-side, which also is densely wooded, being covered from top to bottom with *dho* trees. These latter, however, are always perfectly bare of

foliage except during the rains. In the *rakhyá* is the Bihár-kund, a natural pond; and also a masonry tank, four acres in extent, known as the Dohani-kund, which is at all seasons of the year quite dry, and must have been so for a great length of time, as it is filled with large *kadamb* trees, some of which would seem to be not less than a hundred years old. The quaint seclusion of this spacious stone bason, buried in the midst of the green woods, with the ruined courts and palaces of Barsána, though out of sight, almost within a stone's throw, and the range of rocks in the back-ground with some temple or pavilion crowning each prominent peak, renders the spot one of the most pleasant and picturesque that can be found in the district. The building on the western ridge is the Mán-Mandir, on the eastern the Bilás-Mandir, while those on the central range are the Mor-kutti, the Dán-Mandir and the temples of Lárli Jí.

35. *Chaumuhá.*—Pandit Gangá-dhar's endowment covers half the entire cost of the Agra College.

42. *Dibhára.*—On the ridge is a round tower built by the villagers in the mutiny as a stronghold for resort in case of an attack from the Mewátis. The Ratn-kund lies at the back of the hill beyond a small temple and watch-tower built in earlier times to command the pass. Near the village is another pond, called Súraj-kund, with a stone *chhattri* of some size erected about thirty years ago in memory of one of the Gújar zamindárs by name Ranjít.

51. *Jait-pur.*—For the last five years the river has been making a dead set at the village, washing away its land to Bijauli and Bhadra-ban on the opposite bank. Two hundred and twenty-five bíghas have been swept off these last rains, and the area, which in 1837 was 583 acres, is now reduced to 244; each of the two *thoks* (Srí Rám and Jag-rúp) having suffered about equally. A house or two has already disappeared, and there is scarcely a hope that any of the remainder will outlast another year. The people, however, so soon to be rendered homeless and landless, are making no provision against the impending calamity; probably in the hope that the wayward stream may yet relent and spare them by returning to its original channel. In default of such an event, they will be much to be pitied; for with their land, they lose also their social status, and even if they are able to rent fields in the adjoining villages, it can only be as tenants-at-will.

57. *Karahla.*—The pond which covers an area of more than eleven bíghas is also called Lalitá-kund. On its margin is a *jhúlá* with high and substantial masonry pillars, where, on feast-days, two little boys, dressed to personate Rádhá and Krishna, are seated and swung. The *kadamb-khandi* is upwards of 460 bíghas in extent. Of three temples, only the one dedicated to Rádhá Raman is of masonry construction. The school has an attendance of thirty-one boys, all of whom are Bráhmans and Baniyas with the exception of only two

Jádons—one of them, too, coming from the next village, Ajnokh—thus showing that the agricultural community in the present generation are no wiser than their fathers, who parted with the whole of their birth-right to the Lála Bábú for about the value of a single field.

85. *Ránera.*—The muáfidár, who is the son by adoption of his predecessor, Shio-náth, resides in Mathurá, and is the rent-free proprietor of another village also, Ganesara, in the home pargana. Two mahál have now been formed, the one of eight biswas with three lumberdárs, the other of twelve with four ; each including some part of the three thoks, Rámi, Khadu, and Amu Jait. Of the zamindári two and-a-half biswas have been acquired by the Bhát muáfidár, four and-a-quarter by some Bohras, while the Gauruas retain the remaining thirteen and-a-quarter. Their ancestor, Bhúpál, was the founder of twenty-four villages in the neighbourhood ; his brother, Tenpál, of twelve on the Ganges. They were Sissodias from Chitor (the name of the village commemorating the Chitor Rána), and their descendants have taken the distinctive title of Báchhal only in consequence of their Guru having his seat at the Bachh-ban in Sehi. The above information was gathered on the spot ; the original incorrect note was based on the settlement papers, written in the Persian character, in which Jay-pur and Chitor are absolutely identical in form—a fair illustration of the utter unfitness of such a character for purposes of record. The school has an attendance of fifty-one boys, of whom fourteen are the sons of the Thákur zamindárs.

88. *Ríthora*, probably for Rítha-pura, from the *ritha* tree. Hindus, when mentioning the place, almost invariably add ' Chandrávali ká gánw ;' Chandrávali being one of of Rádhá's favourite companions, who is said to have lived there.

92. *Sanket.*—The temple of Rádhá Raman is in precisely the same style as the one at Nand-gánw, though on rather a smaller scale. The exterior has an imposing appearance, and is visible from a considerable distance, but there is nothing worth seeing inside, the workmanship being of a clumsy description, and the whole of the cloistered court-yard crowded with the meanest hovels. There is, however, a pretty view from the top of the walls. The original shrine, which Rúp Rám restored, is ascribed to Todar Mall, Akbar's famous minister. The little temple of Bihári (otherwise called Sija Mahal), built by a Rájá of Bardwán, seems to be accounted much more sacred. It stands in a walled garden, all overgrown with *hins* jungle, in which is a high *jhúlá* with several *baithaks*, and other holy spots marked by inscribed commemorative tablets set up by one of Sindhia's Generals (as at Paitha and other places in the neighbourhood) in *Sambat* 1885. It is here, on the occasion of any *játra*, that the spectacle of Krishna's marriage is represented as a scene in the Rás Líla. The Krishan-kund is a large sheet of water, fifty yards square, with masonry

steps on one of its sides. In the village are three large and handsome dwelling-houses, built in the reign of Súraj Mall, by one of his officials, Jauhari Mall of Fatihabad, and said to have been reduced to their present ruinous condition by the succeeding occupant of the Bharat-pur throne, the Rájá Jawáhir Sinh. The Vihvala-kund is a few hundred yards from the village on the road to Karahla. It is of stone, and has on its margin a temple of Devi, built by a Mahárájá of Gwáliar.

The Doman-ban is within the boundaries of Nand-gánw, but is about the same distance from that town as it is from Bijwári and Sanket. It is a very pretty spot of the same character as Pisáyo, and of considerable extent; the name being always explained to mean 'the double wood,' as if a corruption of *do van*. At either extremity is a large pond embosomed in the trees, the one called Puran-másí, 'the full moon,' the other Rundki jhundki, 'jingle jingle.' A few fields beyond is the Kamál-pur grove.

95. *Sehi.*—Here is the *tirtha* of Bachh-ban, which in Part I., page 35, is incorrectly placed at Basai.

Pargana Mathurá.

83. *Maholi.*—The school has been closed. The so-called 'Ban' is but a bare and dreary spot fringed with a single line of *kadamb* trees. The adjoining tank, which swarms with snakes—not of a venomous description—is enclosed with masonry walls and flights of steps, and let into one of the piers is a tablet with a defaced inscription, bearing apparently the date *Sambat* 1702. The work is said to have been repaired by the Mahratta Ráni Báji Bái. The temple on the margin is known by the title of Kunwar Kalyán Ráe, and adjoining it is a substantially-built Baithak, or rest-house, for the accommodation of the Gosáin on his annual visit in the month of Bhádon. On the other side of the village, encircled by a belt of *kíns* jungle with a few *remja* and *sahora* trees, is a steep hill, called Dhruva tíla, covered with broken bricks; and in front of the Bairágí's cell, on its summit, I noticed (January, 1874) the cross-bar of a Buddhist railing. From this point to the temple of Kesava Deva in Mathurá, the distance in a straight line across the fields can scarcely be much more than two miles. Without any leading question on my part the villagers repeated the tradition that the Jamuná used to flow immediately under the hill. (See Part I., page 104).

115. *Paitha.*—The original temple of Chatur-bhuj is said to have been destroyed by Aurangzeb. Its successor, which also is now in ruins, was probably built on the old foundations, as it comprised a nave, choir, and sacrarium, each of the two latter cells being surmounted by a *sikhara*, and thus bore a general resemblance to the temples of Akbar's reign at Brindá-ban. The

nave is unroofed, and both the towers partly demolished ; what remains perfect is only of brick, and quite plain and unornamented. It stands in the *kadamb-khandi* (107 bighas), which spreads over the low ground at the foot of the village *Khera ;* its deepest hollows forming the Náráyan Sarovar, which is only a succession of ponds with here and there a flight of masonry steps. The Mahesar Mahadeva is in the Moha-ban on the road to Gobardhan close to Parsoli. The school has an attendance of only twenty-five boys, fifteen of whom are sons of the Bráhman zamindárs. There are three thoks, Jasua, Bináyak, and Gújarán ká ; and ten lumberdárs, of whom one is a Gújar, the other nine Sanádhs. The closely adjoining *Khera*, called Garhi, is a hamlet of Jangali Bári.

118. *Páli.*—The date of Anang Pál, the re-builder of Delhi, and founder of the Tomar dynasty at that city, is the first half of the eighth century, 736 A.D. The occurrence of his name here confirms a tradition mentioned by General Cunningham, that his dominions extended as far south as Agra.

119. *Páli Khera.*—From a small mound immediately adjoining the village. I have recently disinterred a solid block of red sand-stone, measuring four feet in height by three feet four inches in breadth, and carved on either side with a very curious Bacchanalian group, as described in the archæological appendix.

123. *Parson.*—The absurd derivation of the name current on the spot, and gravely entered in the Settlement records, is that Krishna, the third day after he had slain the demon Kesi, met some of his friends here, who asked him what day it was when the fight took place, and he answered *Parson*, 'the day before yesterday.' The true explanation is suggested by a large pond, with the remains of a *kadamb-khandi* adjoining it, which still bears the unmutilated name of Parasurám-kund: Parsa being the ordinary abbreviation for Parasuram, the transition is an easy one from Parsa-gánw through Parsaun to Parson. On the margin of the pond is a temple of some size dedicated to Radhá Mohan, built by Girwar Dás, Bairágí, at a cost of some Rs. 2,000, opened last year on the feast of the Basant Panchami. In the village is an older shrine with the title of Rádhá Raman, and on a small *khera* towards Mahroli are some massive slabs of stone and sculptured fragments called Balbhadra. The Rájá Prithi Sinh, in addition to the rent-free estate, owns the zamindári also of nearly eighteen biswas, the greater part of which was purchased at auction in the year 1844. The muáfi grant was made to his ancestor, Rájá Bardh Sinh, in 1788 A. D., by Mádho Rao Sindhia, for the maintenance of a dole-house at Brindá-ban, to which purpose the revenue is still devoted. At the time of the grant the *jama* was only Rs. 1,200 which has been gradually increased to Rs. 7,040. The Ahivásis who now own only two biswas, represent themselves to be the descendants of Kishan Rám, Dharm-jít, Jay Rám, and Fatih Rám, the sons of one Mahá Dás, who came from Sunrakh in the ninth century, in

the reign of Rájá Gangal of Amber. To their purohits, who were Vyás Bráhmans, they made a grant of one-fourth biswa, which their descendants still enjoy. The Ahivásis are found also in Háthras and Mewát, and recognize as many as seventy-two *gots* or sub-divisions among themselves. In Parson they are all engaged in the salt trade, and leave the cultivation of the land almost entirely to the women and children. Hence the only crops grown to any extent are *chaná, bájrá,* and *joár,* which require little or no irrigation. There are twenty-seven masonry wells, and according to the census computation the village contains as many as 121 brick-built houses; but this gives rather a false impression, being the number not of separate houses, but of separate sets of rooms. The school has an attendance of forty-two boys, of whom exactly half are Ahivásis.

125. *Phondar.*—The old *kherá* of considerable height and extent is deserted; but lying round about it are as many as nineteen hamlets named as follows: Ajít, Bhuchha, Dáriwára, Andhu-ká, Bháu, Garhi, Jarpa, Thakura, Srí Chand, Dalsáy, Gharu, Gola, Kharu, Hamlá, Dabda, Síhado, Dhám Bari, Dhám Chhoti, and Khaná. There are eighteen lumberdárs, of whom one is a Chaube, and all the rest Játs.

151. *Son.*—As the *kherá,* or artificial hill on which the village stands, is of great height and area, it is very probable that at some remote period the place was one of considerable importance, and (according to the tradition) the capital of a Rájá. It may plausibly be conjectured that Sonsa, Sonkh, and Sonoth were also part of his territory and named after him.

Sonkh.—The original foundation of the place is by local tradition connected with Anang Pál, the re-builder of Delhi (736 A. D.). The Sabjua and Púrna market-places are both in the Bazár. This lies immediately under the *kherá,* which is crowned by the crumbling walls and bastions of the old Fort. A considerable amount of business is transacted every day of the week; there being as many as 200 baniyas' shops and almost enough local trade to justify the incorporation of a Municipality. In Sahjua there are several extensive orchards of mango and *ber* trees, with an octagonal stone chhattrí (commemorating the grandfather of the present lumberdár), and three masonry wells of exceptionally large dimensions; all attesting the greater wealth and importance of the Ját proprietors during the short period of the Bharat-pur Hegemony. About a mile from the Bazár, just across the Bharat-pur border, at a place called Gunsára, is a very fine masonry tank, worthy of a visit from anyone in the neighbourhood, being on the same scale and in much the same style as the Kusum-Sarovar near Gobardhan. This was the work of the Ráni Lakshmi, the consort of Rájá Randhír Sinh, who also built the beautiful *kunj* that bears her name on the bank of the Jamuná at Brindá-ban. The tank was not quite completed at the time of her death, and according to native custom has never been touched

since. Adjoining it is an extensive walled garden overgrown with *khirni* and other trees that are sadly in need of thinning. In the centre is an elaborately carved stone plinth for a building that was designed but never executed. Though the population of Sonkh exceeds 4,000, the school has an attendance of no more than sixty pupils of whom only six are the sons of the Ját zamindárs. The five Pattis stand as follows :—

Name.	Thoks.	Lumber-dars.	Wells.	Popula-tion.	
Ajal ...	4	2	3	195	The Ajal thoks are called Bhágmall, Jagráj, Sirmaur, and Kunja.
Asé ...	2	5	7	380	Asé is now divided into two distinct mahál̀s.
Púrna ...	2	2	6	1,104	The Púrna thoks are named Kisana and Isvar.
Sahjua ...	2	4	15	2,017	The Sahjua ; Bilúchi and Bewal.
Tasíha ...	3	3	2	415	The Tasíha ; Táj, Urang, and Manohar.
Total ...	13	16	33	4,111	

Where the road branches off to Gobardhan is a towered temple of Mahádeva, with a masonry tank of no great area but very considerable depth, which was commenced twenty years ago by a Bairágí, Rám Dás. It is now all but completed, after an outlay of Rs. 1,300, which he laboriously collected in small sums from the people of the neighbourhood, with the exception of Rs. 200 or 300, which were granted him from the balance of the Chaukidári fund. The avenue of trees along the road between Sonkh and Gobardhan was almost entirely planted by another Báirágí by name Sálagram, who began the work out of a donation made him by the deceased Rájá of Bharat-pur on the birth of his son and heir.

160. *Unchá-gánw.*—The Kumud-ban is close to the seventh mile-stone on the Sonkh road, which runs between it and the village. Its full extent is 282 bíghas, but it is mostly *karil* jungle, with only in the centre a small thicket of *kadamb, pápri, pasendu, chhonkar* and *sahora* trees, none of them being of very large growth. Adjoining it is an extensive pond with a hamlet of ten or twelve houses, occupied by Jogis. A field or two off is a garden of the muáfidár's with an arched brick entrance gateway, and a small shrine of Mahádeva on a terrace in the centre. The water has lately become so brackish, that the trees—chiefly mango, *jáman*, and *labera*—are all being destroyed.

MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS.

I.—Abstract of Population, Area, and Resources.

Pargana	Population.			Acreage.	Number of maháls.	Jama.	*Income Tax Returns* (*a*) 1870-71.	
	Hindus.	Musalmans.	Total.				Number of persons assessed.	Amount realized.
						Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Kosi	65,274	8,534	73,808	97,301	66	1,51,996	330	8,083
Chhátá ...	92,539	9,051	101,590	160,433	115	1,77,876	251	5,844
Mathurá ...	183,315	18,359	201,672	183,233	194	2,14,043	934	45,633
Máṭ	93,721	6,521	100,248	139,659	159	2,37,734	259	8,183
Mahá-ban ...	136,430	7,525	143.955	151,846	216	2,88,808	389	13,876
Sádabád ...	100,381	7,924	108,305	115,498	131	2 86,526	245	9,462
Jalesar ...	141,335	16,433	157,775	183,592	203	3,04,167	438	23,121
Total ...	812,995	74,347	887,353 (*b*)	1,031,562	1,048	16,61,150	2,846	1,14,204

The population of the four municipalities is as follows:—

Mathurá			63,431
Including the City proper	...	54,331	
The Sadr Bazár	...	4,509	
Regimental Bazár	...	1,764	
Civil Lines and Cantonments, ...	...	1,285	
Part of Jaysinh-pura ...	...	625	
Part of Hans-ganj	...	917	
		63,431	
Brindá-ban			21,004
Jalesar			14,902
Kosi			12,770

(*a*.) No person was taxed whose annual profits were less than Rs. 500.

(*b*.) The census papers, as added up in the Tahsílis, gave the general results as follows: Hindus, 816,870; Muhammadans, 75,649; Christians, 23 : Total, 8,92,542.

II.—Caste Returns, according to the Census of 1872.

Bráhman ...	148,762	Ghosi ...	5,907	Nái ...	17,183
Baniya ...	76,100	Gújar ...	2,045	Nat ...	252
Thkur ...	52,822	Harbhúra ...	271	Nonera ...	554
Agari (?) ...	97	Janghára ...	3	Or ...	1,367
Aheri ya ...	953	Ját ...	141,073	Patwa ...	193
Ahír ...	16,487	Jotishi ...	151	Radha (?) ...	130
Badhak ...	32	Juláha ...	24	Rangrez ...	22
Banjára ...	1,149	Káchhi ...	10,106	Rewári ...	877
Bargi ..	395	Kahár ...	10,468	Saikal-gar ...	14
Barhai ...	18,411	Kalál ...	725	Shisha-gar ...	8
Bári ...	193	Kanjar ...	425	Singháriya,	278
Basúr (?) ...	7	Káyath ...	5,062	Sonár ...	5,103
Báthal (?) ...	7	Khatík ...	5,933	Tagá ...	62
Bhangi ...	14,936	Khattri ...	1,443	Tamboli ...	500
Bhar-bhunja,	1,288	Kori ...	23,060	Tawáif ...	94
Bhát ...	2,353	Kumhár ...	12,291	Teli ..	3,304
Bhuinhár ...	27	Kurmi ...	2,027	Thathera ...	355
Bishnavi ...	25	Lakhera ...	4	Túrha ...	10
Bulái (?) ...	43	Lodha ...	10,183	Bairági ...	12,103
Chamár ...	138,123	Lohár ...	3,501	Gosáin ...	524
Chhípi ...	1,486	Mahájan ...	1,195	Jogi ...	4,618
Chobdár ...	212	Mimár ...	772	Sádh ...	119
Dakaut ...	105	Máli ...	7,580	Sanjogi ...	5
Darzi ...	4,596	Malakána ...	110	Sarbhangi ...	145
Dhánuk ...	457	Malláh ...	5,633	Bangáli ...	510
Dhobi ...	8,161	Manihár ...	556	Mina ...	212
Dhunia ...	4,827	Mirási ...	31	Ujjaini ...	10
Dom ...	156	Mochi ...	351	Pahári ...	19
Gararíya ...	20,873	Murai (?) ...	100	Musalmáns,	74,347
Giria (?) ...	23	Musdhar ...	286		

In the above list there are some names of obscure castes which I have been unable to identify. The Malakánas, who are a very numerous class, forming almost the entire population of many considerable villages, are strangely represented as only 110 in number. The vast majority must have been included under the general name of Muhammadans. The same remark probably applies also to the Rangrez or 'dyer' class : and the morality of the district, it may be feared, is not so high as to render 94 even an approximately correct estimate of the number of professional prostitutes *(tawáif)* 34 of whom, oddly enough, are represented as males. No mention is made of the pseudo-Brahmanical Ahivásis, nor of the Mathuriya Chaubes, and it does not appear under what head they are grouped. It may further be noted that the Dhúsars, ranked with Baniyas and put at 112 only, must be greatly under-rated ; and with regard to the Thákurs, a large proportion of them would more properly be designated as Gauruas. The Trades' List for the city of Mathurá is also curiously defective, at least in

one respect; since it entirely omits stone-masons; though they form a numerous community, and in fact stone-carving is the great speciality of the place. These remarks are not intended as captious criticisms on the performance of a task which must have been one of exceeding difficulty, but rather as notes to be remembered hereafter, when the census is again taken, and a comparison instituted between it and previous returns.

III.—Towns administered under Act XX. of 1856.

No.	Name.	Population.	No. of houses.	Houses assessed.	Ordinary Income.	Cost of Police.
					Rs.	Rs.
1	Kámar ...	4,243	991	919	714	450
2	Chhátá ...	6,720	1,631	1,250	1,570	930
3	Shergarh ...	5,305	1,266	790	1,100	690
4	Sahár ...	4,187	942	758	770	480
5	Gobardhan ...	5,689	1,414	1,400	1,927	1,392
6	Sonkh ...	4,111	682	570	595	336
7	Máṭ ...	4,746	1,088	711	631	480
8	Raya ...	2,925	639	632	720	336
9	Mahá-ban ...	6,930	1,949	1,037	1,378	912
10	Gokul ...	4,245	1,315	981	1,200	834
11	Baladeva ...	3,378	988	552	960	642
12	Sa'dabád ...	3,934	908	570	450	432
13	Sahpau ...	4,615	1,042	736	448	384
14	Awá ...	5,584	1,110	503	460	384

IV.—Metalled High Roads.

No.		Miles.
1	Agra and Delhi road; from Kotban (north) to Aurangabad (south.)	40½
2	Mathurá and Bharat-pur road; to the border at Rasúl-pur ...	14
3	Mathurá and Háthras road; to Sonai on the Aligarh border ...	14¾
4	Agra and Háthras road; passing through Sádabád	11
5	Mathurá and Díg road; to Gánthauli on the Bharat-pur border,	17¼
6	Mathurá to Brindá-ban	6
7	Chhátá to Shergarh	8
8	Mathurá to Jalesar	41⅛
9	Branch road to Aligarh; from the Háthras road	1¾
10	Eta and Agra road; from Awá to Umar-garh	12
		176

The East Indian Railway cuts across the Sa'dabád and Jalesar Parganas, with one Station in each, *viz.*, Mánik-pur (officially styled Jalesar Road) and Barhan. Both, however, are little used either for goods or passenger traffic by the people of the district who ordinarily find Háthras and Aligarh more convenient. There is no made road, either metalled or unmetalled, any where near Barhan.

V.—Principal Unmetalled Roads.

No.		Miles.
1	Mathurá (Díg Darwáza) to Sonkh	14
2	Chhátá to Gobardhan	16
3	Jait to Sahár	8
4	Jait to Shergarh	14
5	Kosi to Shergarh and on to Noh-jhíl across the river ...	16
6	Raya to Baladeva	10¼
7	Jalesar to Awá	11¼
8	Jalesar and Sikandra Ráo road	8
9	Jalesar and Háthras road	12
10	Jait to Brindá-ban	6
		115½

For the maintenance and repair of these roads an annual allotment is made at the rate of Rs. 25 per mile.

VI.—Second-class Unmetalled Roads.

No.		Miles.
	1. *In Kosi Pargana :*	
1	Kosi to Dham-Sinha (towards Sahár)	7½
2	Ditto Jáu (towards Nand-gánw)	5½
3	Ditto Gindoi (towards Kám-ban in Bharat-pur)... ...	7
4	Ditto Sánchauli	8½
5	Ditto Kámar	6
6	Ditto Lál-pur (towards Punahána in Gur-gánw)... ...	7½
7	Ditto Sessai	5½
8	Ditto Ainch	10¼
9	Ditto Majhoi	10
10	Ditto Sháh-pur	10
		77¾
	2. *In Chhátá Pargana :*	
1	Sher-garh to Bahtá Ferry	5
2	Díg and Kosi road ; by Sahár and Bhadával	8
3	Mathurá and Kámar road ; from Pelkhu to Uncha-gánw ...	11
4	Chhátá to Barsána	10
5	Chaumuhá to Siyárá Ferry	12
		46

No.		Miles.
	3. *In Mathurá Pargana:*	
1	Aring to Sonkh	6
2	Ditto towards Agra	5½
3	Aurangabad to Mukund-pur	6
4	Brindá-ban to Gobardhan	12½
5	Mathurá through Rál to Sahár	11½
6	Sonkh to Gobardhan	6
7	Ditto towards Agra	6
		53½
	4. *In Mát Pargana:*	
1	Noh-jhíl to Kesi Ghát, Brindá-ban	22
2	Mát towards Beswa in Aligarh	6
3	Ditto Raya	4
4	Noh-jhíl to Bájana	4
5	Akbar-pur to Khaira on Aligarh border	7
6	Bájana to Pitaura (on Noh-jhíl and Brindá-ban road) ...	5
7	Surír towards Beswa	7
8	Ditto to Bahtá Ferry	2
9	Ditto Siyára Ferry	4
		61
	5.—*In Mahá-ban Pargana:*	
1	Baladeva to Sehat Ferry	15
2	Gokul to Mahá-ban	3
3	Hataura to Bhartiya (towards Khandauli)	8
4	Mahá-ban to Koila Ferry	1½
5	Ditto to Brahmánda Ghát	3
6	Ditto to Basai Habíb-pur Ferry...	5
7	Raya towards Mát	5
8	Pontoon Bridge through Rával to Saráe Dáud	15
		55½
	6.—*In Sa'dabád Pargana:*	
1	Mánik-pur Railway Station to Nagara Salím	1
2	Sa'dabád to Bahádur-pur...	5
3	Ditto to Mandaur	12
4	Ditto to Pipara Mai	8
5	Ditto to Sikara	7
		33

No.	7.—*In Jalesar Pargana:*	Miles.
1	Jalesar towards Firozabad in the Agra District	8
2	Ditto to Umar-garh	9
3	Ditto to Pilkathra	7
4	Ditto towards Háthras	6
5	Ditto to Noḥ-kherá	6
6	Ditto to Aháran	7
7	Ditto and Khánda Road	18
8	Aháran to Barhan Railway Station	5
9	Noḥ-kherá to Awá	10
10	Umar-garh to Aháran	8
18	Pilkathra to Noḥ-kherá	4
		88

For the maintenance and repair of these roads, amounting in all to 414¾ miles, an annual allotment is made at the rate of Rs. 5 per mile.

VII.—Distance of Principal Towns from the City of Mathurá.

Awá ... ... 55 miles.	Chhátá ... 18½ miles.	Mahá-ban ... 6 miles.
Aring... ... 9½ ,,	Gobardhan... 13¼ ,,	Sa'dabád ... 26 ,,
Baladeva ... 11 ,,	Jalesar ... 43 ,,	Sahár ... 15 ,,
Brindá-ban ... 6 ,,	Kosi ... 25¼ ,,	Sher-garh ... 21 ,,

VIII.—Bridges and Ferries.

Pargana.	Village.	Class.	Contract.
			Rs.
Kosi	Sháh-pur ...	Ferry ...	127
Ditto	Khairál ...	Ditto ...	114
Ditto	Majhoi ...	Ditto ...	665
Chhátá	Shergarh ...	Bridge of boats ...	1,600
Ditto	Bahtá ...	Ferry ...	455
Ditto	Siyára (Chír Ghát)	Ditto ...	185
Ditto	Bhau-gánw (Nand Ghát).	Ditto ...	475
Mathurá... ...	Sakaraya ...	Ditto ...	165
Ditto	Brindá-ban (Kesi Ghát).	Bridge of boats ...	4,520
Ditto	Páni-gánw ...	Ferry ...	
Ditto	City	Pontoon bridge ...	40,500
Ditto	Gokul ...	Bridge of boats ...	2,605
Ditto	Koila ...	Ferry ...	620

The total income is thus Rs. 52,031, from which, however, a district allotment is made of only Rs. 16,000 or Rs. 17,000 a year.

IX.—Police Stations.

1.—*In the City:* The Kotwáli ; the Sadr Bazár; Bharat-pur Road and Brindá-ban Road.

2.—*In Mathurá Pargana:* Aríng ; Aurangabad ; Brindá-ban; Gobardhan ; Jait ; Rasúl-pur and Sonkh.

3.—*In Chhátá Pargana:* Barsána ; Chhátá ; Sahár and Shergarh.

4.—*In the Kosi Pargana:* Kosi and Majhoi.

5.—*In the Mát Pargana:* Máṭ ; Noh-jhíl ; Surír ; and Bájana outpost.

6.—*In the Mahá-ban Pargana:* Baladeva ; Hansganj outpost ; Mahá-ban ; Raya ; and Sonai outpost.

7.—*In the Sa'dabád Pargana:* Sa'dabád ; Sahpau ; and Gígla outpost.

8.—*In the Jalesar Pargana:* Aháran ; Kwá ; Jalesar ; Noḥ-kheṛá outpost and Umar-gaṛh.

The Force consists of one European and three Native Inspectors, 15 Sub-Inspectors, 86 Head Constables, and 372 Rank and File, under the control of the District Superintendent. At each of the places printed in capitals there is a Sub-Inspector ; at the other Stations two Head Constables, and at the outposts one. There are also 11 Sawárs : two at Chhátá, two at Raya, two at Sa'dabád and the remaining five, together with three Camel-Sawárs, in the Lines.

X.—Post-Offices.

Imperial: Mathurá ; Brindá-ban ; Chhátá ; Jalesar Railway Station, and Kosi.

Branch: Aríng ; Kwá ; Gobardhan ; Jalesar ; Mahá-ban ; Máṭ ; Noḥ-jhíl ; Raya ; Sa'dabád, and Sahár.

District: Aháran ; Baladeva ; Barsána ; Jait ; Majhoi ; Noḥ-kheṛá ; Rasúl-pur ; Sahpau ; Sher-gaṛh ; Sonkh ; Surír, and Umar-gaṛh.

At the Branch offices there is a Deputy Post-master ; at the District offices only a Muharrir, who draws his pay from the District Dák Fund.

XI.—Market Towns.

Pargana.	Town.	Day.
Kosi	Kosi	Tuesday and Wednesday.
Ditto	Sháh-pur	Monday.
Chhátá	Chhátá	Friday.
Ditto	Chaumuhá ...	Tuesday.
Ditto	Khaira	Saturday.
Ditto	Sahár	Wednesday.
Ditto	Shergarh	Thursday.
Ditto	Tároli	Monday.

Pargana.	Town.	Day.
Mathurá	Aríng	Sunday.
Ditto	Aurangabad ...	Friday.
Ditto	Bachh-gánw ...	Saturday.
Ditto	Brindá-ban ...	Tuesday.
Ditto	Kosi (Little) ...	Friday.
Ditto	Mangotla... ...	Thursday.
Ditto	Púrna	Monday.
Ditto	Sahjua	Thursday.
Ditto	Sakítra	Saturday.
Mát	Arua	Monday and Friday.
Ditto	Bájana	Thursday and Saturday.
Ditto	Barauth	Thursday.
Ditto	Bhadanwára ...	Friday.
Ditto	Harnaul	Sunday.
Ditto	Jáwara	Monday and Friday.
Ditto	Karáhri	Tuesday and Friday.
Ditto	Kauláhar... ...	Tuesday.
Ditto	Lohi	Saturday.
Ditto	Mát	Thursday.
Ditto	Muín-ud-dín-pur ...	Sunday.
Ditto	Návali	Ditto.
Ditto	Noh-jhíl	Friday.
Ditto	Pál-kherá ...	Monday.
Ditto	Shankar Garhi ...	Ditto.
Ditto	Sikandar-pur ...	Wednesday.
Ditto	Surír	Monday.
Mahá-ban... ...	Akos	Ditto.
Ditto	Anaundha ...	Tuesday and Saturday.
Ditto	Ayra Kherá ...	Wednesday and Saturday.
Ditto	Bároli	Tuesday and Saturday.
Ditto	Bhartiya	Monday.
Ditto	Bhúra	Ditto.
Ditto	Diwána	Saturday.
Ditto	Garsauli	Tuesday and Saturday.
Ditto	Jugsuna	Wednesday.
Ditto	Kanjauli	Ditto.
Ditto	Kárab	Thursday.
Ditto	Nagara Gokharauli ...	Tuesday.
Ditto	Pachávar... ...	Sunday.
Ditto	Raya	Monday and Friday.
Ditto	Sahora	Wednesday.
Ditto	Saráe Dáud ...	Thursday.
Ditto	Sonai	Sunday and Wednesday.
Ditto	Wairani	Tuesday and Saturday.
Sa'dabád... ...	Arti	Monday and Thursday.
Ditto	Bahardoi	Sunday.
Ditto	Bisáwar	Friday.

Pargana.	Town.	Day.
Sa'dabád	Hasanpur Báru ...	Saturday.
Ditto	Járu	Monday and Friday.
Ditto	Jatoi	Monday.
Ditto	Kajarothi ...	Wednesday and Saturday.
Ditto	Kursanda ...	Sunday.
Ditto	Mahrára	Monday and Friday.
Ditto	Mai	Wednesday.
Ditto	Mángru	Friday.
Ditto	Nasír-pur... ...	Thursday.
Ditto	Naugáma ...	Sunday and Wednesday.
Ditto	Patti Bahrám ...	Friday.
Ditto	Sa'dabád	Tuesday and Saturday.
Ditto	Sahpau	Sunday and Wednesday.
Ditto	Salímpur... ...	Sunday.
Ditto	Susáhan	Monday.
Ditto	Tasígan	Tuesday.
Ditto	Udhaina	Wednesday.
Jalesar	Aháran	Sunday and Thursday.
Ditto	Awá	Sunday and Tuesday.
Ditto	Badan-pur Kunjmallpur,	Tuesday.
Ditto	Barhan	Monday and Friday.
Ditto	Bora (Great) ...	Sunday and Thursday.
Ditto	Churthara... ...	Wednesday.
Ditto	Daúlat-pur Gilola ...	Saturday.
Ditto	Jalesar	...
Ditto	Kaprai	Wednesday.
Ditto	Khanda	Tuesday and Saturday.
Ditto	Mai	Wednesday.
Ditto	Mandan-pur ...	Ditto.
Ditto	Mauzam-pur ...	Ditto.
Ditto	Nahrora	Thursday and Saturday.
Ditto	Pilkathra... ...	Sunday.
Ditto	Punhera	Wednesday and Friday.
Ditto	Rejua	Friday.
Ditto	Sakroli	Sunday and Wednesday.
Ditto	Santhai Nabi-pur ...	Wednesday.
Ditto	Saráe Ním ...	Monday and Friday.
Ditto	Sháhnagar Timrua ...	Friday.
Ditto	Nagara Arjun ...	Saturday.
Ditto	Shaikhu-pur Rajmall...	Wednesday and Saturday
Ditto	Tehu	Wednesday.
Ditto	Umar-garh ...	Sunday and Thursday.
Ditto	Unchá-gánw ...	Ditto ditto.

The singular lack of village markets in the Kosi Pargana admits of easy explanation. There the one great central mart is so exceptionally well placed, in the very centre of the Pargana, on an important high road, and with as

many as eleven branch roads radiating from it in different directions, that almost every householder in the whole of the pargana is enabled to resort to it for his ordinary weekly purchases, without any inconvenience and with much benefit as regards the choice and quality of goods.

XII.—Rest Houses.

(Available for the occasional use of District Officers and others.)

Place.	Description.	Place.	Description.
Akbar-pur ...	Canal Bungalow.	Kosi ...	Municipal Bungalow.
Basonthi ...	Canal Kothi.	Kosi (Little,)	Canal Kothi.
Bhadával ...	Ditto.	Mathurá ...	Dák Bungalow (public.)
Chhátá ...	Road Bungalow.	Ditto	Sessions Bungalow.
Gobardhan...	Mahárájá of Bharatpur's House.	Paigánw ...	Canal Bungalow.
Jait ...	Upper story of Police Station.	Pilkathra ...	Canal Kothi.
		Sa'dabád ...	The Kunwar Ji's House.
Jalesar ...	Municipal Office.	Ditto	Road Bungalow.
Áwá ...	Rájá of Áwá's House.	Sahár ...	Old Tahsíli.

XIII.—Educational.

Class of School.	Number.	Number of pupils.			Average daily attendence.	Income.				Charges.			
		Hindus.	Musalmans.	Total		Government aid	Fees.	Private subscriptions.	Total.	Salaries.	Scholarships and prizes.	Servants&c.	Totla.
						Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
High School ...	1	219	10	229	165	5,830	907	...	6,737	5,658	136	307	6,102
Middle Class. Aided Anglo vernacular.	2	89	2	91	59	720	176	720	1,616	1,342	...	150	1,492
Middle Class. Tahsíli and Town (superior.)	1	111	4	115	65	250	31	54	335	293	11	16	320
Middle Class. Halkabandi (superior.)	3	257	21	278	213	257	...	205	462	410	52	...	462
Middle Class. Unaided native	120	1,640	205	1,845	976	...	6,519	...	6,519	6,519	...	...	6,519
Lower Class. Tahsíli and Town (inferior.)	7	516	73	589	426	2,140	675	13	2,828	2,023	130	196	2,349
Lower Class. Halkabandi (inferior.)	133	4,971	194	5,165	3,891	8,491	...	8,102	16,593	11,866	635	299	12,801
Lower Class. Female (Government.)	23	424	55	479	386	1,543	...	...	1,543	1,468	24	50	1,542
Lower Class. Female (aided)	2	44	...	44	31	84	...	96	180	157	...	23	180
Lower Class. Unaided native.	5	280	10	290	172	...	432	...	432	393	...	39	432
Total ...	297	8,551	574	9,124	6,387	19,315	8,740	9,190	37,245	25,129	988	1,080	27,197

2.—Distribution of Schools.

Pargana.	Talsili Schools.	Pargana Schools.	Halkabandi Schools.	Anglo vernacular Schools.	Government female Schools.	Aided female Schools.	Unaided native Schools.	Free Schools.	Pargana total.
Kosi ...	1	...	13	1	1	...	4	1	21
Chhátá ...	1	...	19	...	5	...	3	...	28
Mathurá ...	2	...	17	1	3	3	71	2	99
Máṭ ...	...	..	24	...	4	...	7	...	35
Mahá-ban ...	1	1	25	...	...	...	13	...	40
Sa'dabád ...	1	..	20	...	5	...	9	...	35
Jalesar ...	1	.	18	...	5	...	13	2	39
Total ..	7	1	136	2	23	3	120	5	297

After all that can be urged as to the want of discipline, the faultiness of the text-books, and the singularly illiterate habits and defective training of the teachers, it must still be admitted that the village schools are little, if at all, inferior to any institutions of a similar character that existed in England even so recently as the beginning of the present century. The object with which they have been established is often, however, greatly misunderstood, both by the people and also the subordinate officers of the Department. The aim, as I conceive it, should be, not to impart either very advanced or very technical instruction, and thus create a horde of applicants for Government employ, many of whom must be unsuccessful; but simply to afford the rising generation of the agricultural community as much mathematical and literary knowledge as will protect them from fraud, enable them to speak, read, and write their own mother-tongue with ease and precision, and develope a generally intelligent frame of mind, which, far from rendering them discontented with their natural sphere of life, will rather bind them to it by exhibiting its wider interests and capabilities.

This amount of education would amply satisfy the requirements of the great mass of the people; and it is only when a boy displays exceptional ability in some particular line that he should be encouraged to develope it by a higher course of study. The cry that is being raised by certain utilitarians for the general establishment of practical schools of art and design is greatly to be deprecated. The ordinary level of art-feeling is already much higher in India than it is in England; and in almost every large town there is some special manufacture (as for example at Mathurá the art of the stone-mason) which

would inevitably be vulgarized and destroyed by our interference. Excepting only purely utilitarian works, such as bridges, the buildings erected on behalf of the Government by trained English Engineers are a most humiliating spectacle when contrasted with the performances of the commonntive mason paid at the rate of five anas a day. He evolves an infinite variety of the most graceful and intricate decorative designs with little or no apparent effort; and even when his work is of the plainest, it almost invariably displays that architectural propriety and readiness in the adaptation of local materials which most distinguish true from false art.

One most unfortunate defect in the existing system deserves to be noted; as the schools were primarily intended for the benefit of the agriculturist, it is he only who is taxed for their support. Hence has arisen an anomaly that could never have been contemplated. The poorest section of the community and the one which has the most special claim upon the Government, is singled out for a burden from which a richer and less deserving class is exempted. And not only so, for while the farmer's son is mostly out in the fields with his father's cattle, and makes little use of the school, the rich, who do use it pay nothing for the privilege. Nor is this the only matter in which the tiller of the soil is unduly weighted in his up-hill race against the Baniya. Though he never writes a letter, never leaves his own village, and has no property that can be stolen beyond the crops which he stays out in the fields all night himself to protect; still it is he that pays for the district post, the district roads, and the village watchmen; while the Bazár shop-keeper, who makes a liberal use of one and all of these institutions, has them presented to him as a free gift by his less fortunate neighbours. And the same policy has now been still further developed by the institution of Free Schools in the Municipal towns, being the places where tradespeople most congregate. These schools are purely experimental and have only been in existence for about a year. It is therefore premature to pronounce definitely upon their failure or success; but probably their object would be equally well obtained by the admission of a limited number of Free scholars into the Tahsili schools.

XIV.—List of Trees.

(That are indigenous to, or thrive well in, Western Mathurá.)

Akol (for Sanskrit *ankola*) Alangium (?) a tree with yellow flower found in the Konai *rakhyá*.

* Amaltás, Cassia fistula.

* Amla, Emblica officinalis. The name (Sanskrit *amla*, Latin *amarus*) refers to the sourness of the fruit.

Anján-rukh, Hardwickia Binata (?) found at Charan-Pahár.

Arni, Clerodendron Phlomoides in flower and habit resembling the honeysuckle.

* Asok, Jonesia asoca.

Babúl, Acacia Arabica.

Bakáyan, Melia semper-virens.

Bar, Ficus Bengalensis.

Barna, (for Sanskrit *varana*) Cratœva nurvala.

* Bel, (for Sanskrit *vilva*) Ægle Marmelos.

Ber, (for Sanskrit *badara*) Zizyphus jujuba.

* Champá, Micheliá champaká.

Chhonkar, Prosopis spicigera (?) a tree that in general appearance closely resembles the Remja, only without the russet seed-pods that distinguish the latter.

Dhák, (for Sanskrit *dagdha*, 'on fire') Butea frondosa.

Dho, (for Sanskrit *dhava*) Conocarpus latifolius (?) at Barsána.

Dungar, another name for the Pilu.

Farás, Tamarix Indica.

Gondi, Cordia angustifolia, a good furniture wood; at Barsána.

Gúlar, Ficus racemosa.

Hingot, Balanites Egyptiaca, at Charan-Pahár and Kokila-ban.

Híns, a very strong, thorny creeper.

Imli, Tamarindus Indica.

* Jáman, Syzygium Jambolanum.

Jhau, Tamarix dioica; a dwarf variety of the Farás, which springs up after the rains on *khádar* land, and forms a dense jungle.

Kachnár, Bauhinia variegata.

Kadamb, Nauclea Kadamba.

Karíl, (for Sanskrit *karíra*) Capparis aphylla.

Khajúr, (for Sanskrit *kharjúra*) Phœnix sylvestris.

* Khirni, (for Sanskrit *kshírini*, 'the milky') Mimusops Kauki.

Kíkar, another name for the *babúl*.

Labera and Lasora, cordia myxa and latifolia.

Mahúa, (for Sanskrit *madhuka*) Bassia latifolia.

* Málsuri, Mimusops elengi.

Ním, (for Sanskrit *nimba*) Melia azaddirachta.

Ním Chambeli, Millingtonia hortensis.

Pápri, Holoptolia integrifolia (?).

Pasendu, Diospyros cordifolia (?) ~~an evergreen~~ tree with very dense foliage and a small round yellow fruit that ripens in February, and consists of nothing but rind and wedge-shaped stones.

Pílu, Salvadora persica (?)

Pilúkhan, with leaf like the *pípal*, and fruit like the *gúlar* : found at Konai and Kokila-ban.

Pípal, Ficus Religiosa.
Remja, Acacia Farnesiana.
Rítha, Sapindus detergens; found at Satoha:
Sahajna, Hyperanthera Morunga:
Sahora, Epicarpurus Orientalis (?)
Sháh-tút, Morus Indica.
Siris, (for Sanskrit *sirisha*) Acacia speciosa.

Note.—The trees marked* are found only in gardens; the others grow wild. The botanical names marked with a query are very conjectural.

XV.—Note on Building Materials.[1]

A kind of bastard sandstone, fit for building purposes, is procurable at two places on the western border of the district, *viz.*, Barsána and Nandgánw. Except on the spot and immediate neighbourhood, this stone is not much used, and the slight demand probably explains the fact of its never being properly quarried, the usual method being to fracture the large blocks that are lying about on the surface into handy and portable pieces. The Canal Officers are collecting it for the bridges and other works that are to be built on the Agra Canal. The same kind of stone is to be found at Gobardhan, but the Hindus consider every chip sacred, and will not allow any of it to be utilized. The cost of the stone depends very much on the distance from the quarry to the site of work. It can be quarried at Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2 the 100 cubic feet. The carriage costs from 12 anas to Re. 1 the 100 cubic feet per mile.

Sandstone from the Rúpbás and other quarries in the Bharat-pur territory is largely employed in the towns of Mathurá, Brindá-ban, Gobardhan, and Gokul, and costs on an average Rs. 45 per 100 *man*.

Bricks can be made in every part of the district : the clay needs but little working and tempering to ensure its burning of a good colour. The native Pazáwa is the usual description of kiln in which the bricks are burned with cow-dung or other refuse as fuel. The brick burners are well up to their business. Bricks of small dimensions, $5 + 3 + 1$ inch, and $7 \times 4 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, are most generally made : the expenditure of fuel not being so large as is necessary for bigger bricks, and successful burning being more certain. Hence it is only when bricks are wanted for Government purposes that the large size are made. The small country bricks *(lakhauri* or *Mathurá-básí,)* sell at from Rs. 55 to Rs. 120 per lakh, delivered. The Government sizes at Rs. 550 to Rs. 750 per lakh at kiln. Carriage to site costs from 12 anas to Re. 1 the thousand, per mile.

[1] Communicated by Mr. C. G. Hind, District Engineer.

Wood is scarce all over the district ; there is no timber wood, and all we have may be classed as fuel, which dry and cut into billets sells at 2½ to 3 *man* the rupee. Wood is not used as a fuel for burning lime, bricks, &c., being too expensive and difficult to procure in large quantities.

There is no real *lime-stone* found in the district. *Kankar*, a variety of lime-stone, is generally used for making lime, and forms an excellent hard-setting, strong lime, if carefully managed. Kankar when required for lime, after being excavated, is spread out for exposure to air and sun for two or three days preparatory to cleaning and freeing it of clay, sand, &c., which is done by beating the kankar with short sticks and screening it by throwing it on frames woven with munj, ban, or sutli, very often a native charpáe is used. The *modus operandi* with the kiln is as follows : a bed is laid, about one foot deep, of upla (*i. e.*, dried cow dung) in a circular form : the dimensions depending on the quantity of lime to be prepared ; a thick bamboo or straight limb of a tree is set upright in the centre to form the firing hole : the packing of the kiln then goes on in alternate layers of kankar and upla, each layer decreasing in diameter till it takes the form of a cone. The kiln is then well covered in with broken up upla and upla-dust beaten lightly. The kiln is now ready for firing, the bamboo is withdrawn and fire thrown in so that the burning begins from the bottom and middle right up the cone. While the kiln is burning care must be taken to prevent the flame from bursting out. In opening the kiln, the lime must be removed layer by layer otherwise the upla-ash gets mixed with the burnt kankar. The upla should be laid in the kiln unbroken ; when this is attended to, the ash can be easily removed, as it keeps its form of a pat and does not crumble. The cost of the lime depends on the distance the kankar and fuel have to be brought, and varies from Rs. 6 to Rs. 11 the hundred cubic feet.

Kankar is abundant all over the district, but there is a great difference in the quality of what is got east and west of the Jamuna. That from the east is larger, harder, good ashy blue in colour, and in thicker strata. That found westward is small, soft, somewhat disintegrated, and light in colour ; the quarries are poor, too. Block kankar is found in Sa'dabád and Jalesar Parganas and is well adapted for masonry. The best kankar is found round about Jalesar. The cost of kankar averages Rs. 3-4-0 stacked on the road, and of metalling a mile twelve feet wide and six inches deep Rs. 1,350.

Tiles are made of small size. The lock tiles are made on a *chak* or wheel in a cylindrical form and cut in two with wires. The pantiles are rolled out in tempered clay and cut to size according to wooden templates, the sides being turned up against templates of less width; neither the lock nor pantiles are neatly made. Tiles are not much used ; chiefly because they are so liable to be damaged by the monkeys. The poorer dwellings are roofed with thatch, and the larger houses have flat roofs. The cost of tiles is from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 the thousand.

Grass for thatching is plentiful, both *gándar* and *sarpata;* cost, Rs. 3 to Rs. 10 the thousand bundles, or *púlas*, according to the size of the púla and length of the grass.

APPENDIX A.

CASTE : ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

INDIAN caste is ordinarily regarded as an institution *sui generis*, which must be accepted as a potent social influence, but cannot be explained either by parallel facts in other countries or by an enquiry into its own development, since that is buried in the depths of pre-historic antiquity. Such an opinion is not altogether well-founded for—whatever may be thought as to the similarity between the restrictions imposed by caste in India and by other artificial contrivances in Europe—it is certain that, though the broadly-marked separation of the Bráhman from the Thákur dates from an extremely remote period, the formation of subordinate castes is a process which continues in full operation to the present day and admits of direct observation in all its stages. The course of Indian tradition is, to all appearance, unbroken, and until some breach of continuity is clearly proved, the modern practice must be acknowledged as the legitimate development of the primary idea.

It is nothing strange that the Hindús themselves should fail to give any reasonable explanation of the matter ; since not only are they restricted by religious dogma, but every society is naturally as blind to the phenomena of its own existence as the individual man is unconscious of his daily physical growth. On the other hand, European outsiders, who might be expected to record simple facts with the accuracy of impartial observers, are misled by the prejudices which they have inherited from the early investigators of Oriental literature.

The Code of Manu was among the first, if not the very first, Sanskrit didactic work of any importance made known to the world at large through the medium of a translation. At that time it was unhesitatingly accepted as the ultimate authority on all the subjects of which it treated, and hence the four-fold division of Hindú society into Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra was universally recognized as an absolute fact. The later discovery of the Vedas, and the vast reach of antiquity which opened out upon their interpretation, made the Mánava Dharma Sástra appear a comparatively modern production. Thus the explanations, which it gives of phenomena dating back in their origin to the remotest past, can only be regarded as theories, not as positive verities ; while, again, the vast range of later Sanskrit literature which has now become available to the student affords a test of its accuracy in the descriptions which it gives of contemporary society. Impartially judged by either standard, the authority of the Code will be found materially shaken. Its theories of origin are as devoid of Vedic confirmation as its pictures of existent

society are irreconcilable with the testimony of all independent literature, whatever the age in which it was produced. If such a clearly defined fourfold division ever existed, how happens it that one-half of the division remains in full force to the present day while the other moiety has sunk into absolute oblivion? The Bráhmanical order is still a living entity, and the Kshatriya is adequately represented in modern speech by the word Thákur or Rájput, while the Vaisya and Súdra have so completely disappeared—both in name and fact—that an unlettered Hindú will neither understand the words when he hears them nor recognize the classes implied when their meaning is explained to him.

And not only is this the case in the present day, but it appears to have been so all along. In the great epic poems, in the dramas, and the whole range of miscellaneous literature, the sacerdotal and military classes are everywhere recognized, and mention of them crops up involuntarily in every familiar narrative. But with the Vaisya and Súdra it is far different. These words (I speak under correction) never occur as caste names, except with deliberate reference to the Mánava Code. They might be expunged both from the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárat without imparing the integrity of either composition. Only a few moral discourses, which are unquestionably late Bráhmanical interpolations, and one entire episodiacal narrative, would have to be sacrificed: the poem in all essentials would be left intact. But should we proceed in the same way to strike out the Bráhman and the Kshatriya, the whole framework of the poem would immediately collapse. There is abundant mention of Dhívars and Nápitas, Sútradháras and Kumbhakáras, Mahájanas and Banijes, but no comprehension of them all under two heads in the same familiar way that all chieftains are Kshatriyas, and all priests and litterateurs Bráhmans.

It is also noteworthy that Manu, in his 12th book, where he classifies gods and men according to their quality (*guna*), omits the Vaisya altogether; and, again, in the Adi Parvan of the Mahábhárat (v. 3139) we read—

Brahma-Kshatrádayas tasmád Manor játás tu manavah,
Tato 'bhavad, Mahárája, Brahma Kshattrena sangatam

From which it is clear that the writer recognized a definite connection between the Bráhman and the Kshatriya, while all the rest of mankind were relegated to the indeterminate. And, further, if the Vaisyas had ever formed one united body, they would inevitably, at some period or another, have taken a more prominent part in Indian politics than there is reason to suppose they ever did. Investiture with the symbolic cord gave them social position, and the wealth which their occupation enabled them to amass gave them power. Union apparently was the only condition required to make them the predominant body in the State. With far humbler pretensions and less internal cohesion than Manu assigns to the Vaisyas, the free cities of Germany and the burghers of England

established their independence against an aristocracy and an ecclesiastical system in comparison with which Kshatriyas and Bráhmans were contemptible.

The obvious, and indeed inevitable, inference from this popular ignorance, literary silence, and historical insignificance appears to be that the two classes of Vaisya and Súdra never existed (except in Manu's theory) as distinct bodies; and that the names are merely convenient abstractions to denote the middle and lower orders of society, which have indeed distinctive class features engendered by similarity of occupation, but no community of origin, and in reality no closer blood connection between the component sub-divisions than exists between any one of those sub-divisions and a Bráhmanical or Kshatriya family.

In the whole of the Rig Veda the word Vaisya occurs only once, *viz.*, in the 12th verse of the famous Purusha Súkta. Dr. Muir, Professor Max Müller, and in fact all Sanskrit scholars, with the solitary exception of Dr. Haug, assign this hymn to a comparatively late period. It is the only one which mentions the four different kinds of Vedic composition *rich*, *sáman*, *chhanda*, *and yajush*, a peculiarity noticed by Professor Aufrecht, and which seems to be absolutely conclusive proof of late composition. And not only is the hymn itself more recent than the body of the work, but the two verses which alone refer to the four castes seem to be a still more modern interpolation. In the first place, there is nothing the least archaic in their style, and they might stand in any one of the Puránas without exciting a comment. That this may be apparent they are quoted in the original :—

Bráhmano 'sya mukham ásíd, báhu Rájanyah kritah,
Uru tad asya yad Vaisyah, padbhyám Súdro ajayata.

Secondly, they are irreconcilable with the context; for, while they describe the Bráhman as the mouth of Purusha and the Súdra as born from his feet, the very next lines speak of Indra and Agni as proceeding from his mouth and the Earth from his feet.

We are, therefore, justified in saying that in the genuine Veda there was no mention of caste whatever; nor was it possible that there should be, on the hypothesis now to be advanced, that the institution of caste was the simple result of residence in a conquered country. This is confirmed by observing that in Kashmír, which was one of the original homes of the Aryan race, and also for many ages secured by its position from foreign aggression, there is to the present day no distinction of caste, but all Hindús are Bráhmans. Thus, too, the following remarkable lines from the Mahábhárat, which distinctly declare that in the beginning there was no caste division, but all men, as created by God, were Bráhmans :—

Na visesho 'sti varnánám, sarvam Bráhman idam jagat,
Brahmaná púrva-srishtam hi karmabhir varnatám gatam.

At the time when the older Vedic hymns were written, the Aryan was still in his primeval home, and had not yet descended upon the plains of Hindustan. After the invasion, the conquerors naturally resigned all menial occupations to the aborigines, whom they had vanquished and partially dispossessed, and enjoyed the fruits of victory while prosecuting the congenial pursuits of arms or letters. For several years, or possibly generations, the invaders formed only a small garrison in a hostile country, and constant warfare necessitated the formation of a permanent military body, the ancestors of the modern Kshatriyas and Thákurs. The other part devoted themselves to the maintenance of the religious rites which they brought with them from their trans-Himalayan home, and the preservation of the sacred hymns and formulæ used in the celebration of public worship. Of this mystic and unwritten lore, once familiar to all, but now, through the exigency of circumstances, retained in the memory of only a few, these special families would soon become the sole depositaries. The interval between the two classes would gradually widen, till the full-blown Bráhman was developed, conscious of his superior and exclusive knowledge, and bent upon asserting its prerogatives. The conquered aborigines were known by the name of Nágas or Mlechhas, or other contemptuous term, and formed the nucleus of all the low castes, whom Manu subsequently grouped together as Súdras, esteeming them little, if at all, higher than the brute creation. *(Hastinas cha turangás cha Sútrá Mlechchhás cha garhitáh— Sinhá vyághrá varáhás cha.* XII. 43.*)*

But a society, consisting only of priests, warriors, and slaves could not long exist. Hence the gradual formation of a middle class, consisting of the offspring of mixed marriages, enterprizing natives and such unaspiring members of the dominant race as found trade more profitable, or congenial to their tastes, than either arms or letters. The character of this mixed population would be influenced in the first instance by the nature of the country in which they were resident. In one district the soil would be better adapted for pasturage, in another for agriculture. But in both it would be worked principally by aborigines, both on account of the greater labour involved, and also because the occupation of grazing large flocks and herds (which had been characteristic of the Aryan race in Vedic times) is incompatible with the concentration which is essential for the security of a small invading force. The Graziers would receive some name descriptive of their nomadic habits, as for example 'Ahír'; the word being derived from *abhi*, 'circum,' *ir*, 'ire,' the '*circumeuntes*,' or wanderers. Similarly, other pastoral tribes such as the Gwálás, the Ghosís, and the Gadarias, derive their distinctive names from *go*, 'a cow,' *ghosha*, 'a cattle station,' and *gadar*, 'a sheep.' In an agricultural district the corresponding class would also adopt some title indicative of their occupation, as, for example, the Kisáns from *krishi*, 'husbandary,' the Bhúnhárs from *bhúm*,

'the ground,' and in Bengal the Chásis from *chás*, 'ploughing.' Or (and the same remark applies to every other class) they might retain the old Indian name of the district in which they were located, as the Káchhis from the country of Kachh. Again, so long as vast tracts of lands were still covered with forest, the followers of the chase would be at least as numerous as the tillers of the soil or the grazers of cattle. And, since the Aryan element in the middle and lower strata of society was composed of those persons who, without any *penchant* for learned study like the Bráhmans, entertained a preference for sedentary pursuits rather than those of a more exciting nature such as the majority of their Thákur kinsmen affected, so the castes that followed the chase, not as an amusement, but as a means of livelihood, would naturally consist exclusively of aborigines. And, as a matter of fact, it is found to be the case, that all such castes have the dark complexion and the other physical characteristics of the lower race. Such are the Badhaks and Aheriyas, who derive their name—the one from the root *badh*, 'to kill,' the other from the Hindi *aher*, 'game'—so, too, the Dhánuks and the Lodhas, whose names are contracted forms of Dhánushka, 'a bowman,' and Lubdhaka, 'a huntsman.' These two tribes have now abandoned their hereditary avocations,—the Dhánuks being ordinarily village watchmen, and the Lodhas agriculturists—though in Oudh the latter were, till quite recently, still connected with the forest rather than the fields; being the wood-cutters, whose business it was to fell timber and transport it by the Ghoghra river to Bahram Ghát and other marts.

In this way the majority of the servile, or so-called Súdra, castes came into existence, in order to supply the unproductive classes with food; and subsequently, when population grew and towns were built, their number was vastly increased by the new trades that sprang up to satisfy the more complex requirements of urban life. Then, too, last of all, and by no means simultaneously with the other three, as represented in the legends, the Vaisya order was produced. For the purpose of facilitating barter and exchange, traders established themselves either on the sea-coast or at places convenient of access for the inhabitants of two dissimilar tracts of country, and forming a confederation among themselves would take a collective name, either from the locality which they occupied, as Ajudhyávásis, Mathuriyas, or Agarwálás, or simply from the special branch of trade which they pursued, as Sonárs, Lohiyas, or Baniyas. From the facility of acquiring wealth and the civilizing influence of social contact these merchants would soon form a striking contrast to the simple rural population who brought their produce for barter, and would receive some vulgar title indicative of the difference; hence the name of Mahájans, 'the great people.' And all such names, having once firmly attached themselves, would be retained even when they ceased to be strictly applicable, in consequence of migration from the original seat or change in profession or circumstances.

Upon this theory we come to a clear understanding of the popular feeling about caste—a feeling which unmistakeably exists in the native mind, though opposed to dogmatic teaching—that below the Bráhman and the Thákur there are a number of miscellaneous divisions, but no two well-defined collective groups. There is a vague impression that the Vaisya is properly a tradesman and the Súdra a servant; while it is definitely ruled that the former is the much more respectable appellation of the two. Thus, a difficulty arises with regard to a family that is distinctly neither of Bráhman nor Thákúr descent, and from time immemorial has been engaged in some specially ignoble trade or exceptionally honourable service. The latter aspires to be included in the higher order, in spite of his servitude ; while the former, though a trader, is popularly ranked in the same grade as people who, if they are to be known by any class name at all, are clearly Súdras. This never occurs in precisely the same way with the two higher Mánava castes, though one or two facts may be quoted which at first sight seem to tell against such an assertion. For example, there are a numerous body of carpenters called Ojhas (the word being a corruption of Upádhya`, who are admitted to be of Bráhmanical descent and are invested with the sacred cord. But common interests forming a stronger bond of union than common origin, they are regarded rather as a species of the genus Barhai than of the genus Bráhman ; their claim, however, to the latter title never being disputed if they choose to assert it. Similarly, as the trade of the usurer is highly incompatible with priestly pretensions, the Bráhmans who practise it are gradually being recognized as quite distinct castes under the name of ' Bohras and Athwarayars.' There are also some *pseudo*-Bráhmanical and *pseudo*-Thákur tribes who rank very low in the social scale ; but even their case is by no means a parallel one, for it is admitted on all sides that the original ancestor of—for example —the Bháts and Ahivásis was a Bráhman, and of the Gauruas a Thákur. The doubt is, whether the descendants, in consequence of the bar-sinister on their blazon, have altogether lost their ancestral title or only tarnished its dignity ; whereas with a Sonár who claims to be a Vaisya, it is not any suspicion of illegitimate descent, nor any incompatibility of employment, that raises a doubt ; but rather the radical incompleteness of the original theory and the absence of any standard by which his pretensions may be tested.

In short, excepting only the Bráhman and the Thákur, all other Indian castes correspond, not to the Scottish clans—with which they are so often compared, and from which they are utterly dissimilar—but to the close guilds which in mediæval times had so great an influence on European society. As the Goldsmiths formed themselves into a *company* for mutual protection, so the Sonárs combined to make a *caste ;*—the former admitted many provincial guilds with special customs and regulations, the latter recognized many subor-

dinate *gotras;* the former required a long term of apprenticeship, amounting virtually to adoption, the latter made the profession hereditary; the former required an oath of secrecy, the latter insured secrecy by restricting social intercourse with outsiders. As the founders of the company had no mutual connection beyond community of interest, so neither had the founders of the caste. When we say that all architects are sons of S. Barbara, or all shoemakers of S. Crispin, these being their patron saints, the expression is quite intelligible. What more is implied in saying that all Sanádhs are sons of Sanat-Kumára? To attach any literal meaning to a tradition which represents a Bráhmanical caste as born of the Gáyatri (a Vedic metre) is a precisely similar absurdity to saying a company was born of the Pater-Noster and Ave Maria, because on certain days every member was bound to repeat his rosary. A history of caste, in the sense in which the phrase is generally understood, *viz.*, the tracing each caste to one definite pair of ancestors, is, from the circumstances of the case, an impossibility.

With Bráhmans and Kshatrias matters stand somewhat differently. Though so far as any one subordinate division is concerned, it may often happen that its individual members never at any time formed one family, yet as all the sub-divisions are in the main descendants of the early Aryan conquerors, to that limited extent they have a genuine community of origin. So long as the line of demarcation which separated them from the aboriginal inhabitants of India remained clearly defined, while the only distinction among themselves lay in the difference of occupation, the conversion of a Kshatriya into a Bráhman would not be a more unusual occurrence than the retirement of a Christian knight, when wearied with warfare, into the peaceful seclusion of the cloister. The most famous example of such a transformation is that supplied by the legend of Visvámitra, which must ever prove an insuperable difficulty to the orthodox Hindú who accepts the Mánava doctrine of an essential and eternal difference between the two castes. At the present day, when Bráhmanism has become an inseparable hereditary quality, the priestly character has been transferred to the religious mendicants and ascetics who, allowing for the changed circumstances of time and place, correspond to the Bráhmans of antiquity, and like them freely admit associates from every rank and condition of Hindú society. The apparent difference is mainly due to the fact that in primitive times the Aryan outsiders were all of one status, while now they are infinite in variety.

Theoretically, the essence of the Kshatriya is as incapable of transfer or acquisition except by natural descent as that of the Bráhman, but the practice of the two classes has always been very different. The strength of a community that lays claim to any esoteric knowledge lies in its exclusiveness; but a military body thrives by extension, and to secure its own efficiency must be

lax in restrictions. It may be observed as a singular fact that all the very lowest castes in the country, if interrogated as to their origin, will say that they are in some way or another Thákur: and this is illustrated by a passage in Manu, where he mentions several outcast tribes as Kshatriyas by descent. Whence we may infer that at all times there has been a great freedom of intercourse between that class and others. Indeed, if we are to accept the legend of Parasurám as in any sense expressing an historical event, the whole Thákur race has been repeatedly extirpated and as often re-formed out of alien elements. Nor is this at variance with modern usage, for no Hindú rises to the rank of Rájá, whatever his original descent, without acquiring a kind of Thákur character, which in most instances is unhesitatingly claimed by and conceded to his descendants in the third or fourth generation, after alliances with older families have given some colour to the pretension. And the illegitimate sons of Thákurs, who by the Code of Manu would be Ugras—their mothers being Musalmánís or low-caste Hindú women—are, as is notorious, generally accepted, either themselves or in the person of their immediate descendants, as genuine Thákurs. Again, many of the higher Thákur class acknowledge the impurity of their birth in the popular tradition of their origin. Thus the Chandels (*i. e.*, the moon-born) profess to be derived from the daughter of a Banáras Bráhman, who had an intrigue with the moon-god; and the Gahlots (the cave-born) from a Ráni of Mewár, who took refuge with some mountaineers on the Malya range.

From all this it follows that, whatever the dignity and antiquity of some particular Thákur families, the Thákur caste is a heterogeneous body; which, like the miscellaneous communities of lower pretensions which we have already discussed, is held together more by similarity of circumstances than unity of origin. The same principle of caste-formation is still actively at work through all grades of Indian society. The comparatively modern organization of many so-called castes is attested by the Persian names which they have thought proper to assume,—for example, the Darzis, the Mallâhs, the Mimárs, &c. A large proportion of the first-named are really Káyaths, which shows that the term 'Darzi' is still in a transitional state, and has not yet thoroughly shaken off its original trade meaning. The older word for a tailor is *sáji*, which, like so much of the Hindi vocabulary, having become unfashionable, now implies a workman of an inferior description. Similarly, *randi* 'a woman,' has become a term of reproach for 'a woman of bad character;' and *nagara*, Hindi for 'a city,' is at the present day used to denote, not even a village, but only a mere 'hamlet.' The desire to dignify a mean calling by a high-sounding name—as when a sweeper is called *mihtar*, 'a prince,' and a cook *khalífa*,—has been often cited as an Oriental idiosyncracy, which to the mind of a European is productive of ridicule rather than respect. It gives occasion, however, to many a new

caste-name. Thus, the *khákrob* of the town regards himself under that Persian designation as the superior of the village *bhangi:* and the Mimár, or Shoragar, or Chúna-paz, or Kori, or even Mochi, in assuming the name descriptive of his calling, almost forgets that he belongs to the universally-despised caste of the Chamár.

To judge from the Census Returns, it would seem that these partially-developed castes are only recognized in some few districts, and totally ignored in others. Thus, Mathurá is a great centre of the stone-cutter's art; but the men who practise it belong to different ranks, and have not adopted the distinctive trade-name of *sang-tarásh*, which seems to be recognized in Aligarh, Hamírpúr, and Kumaon. Again, in every market town there are a number of weighmen, who, no doubt, in each place have special guild regulations of their own; but only in Banáras do they appear as a distinct caste, with the name of *palle-dárs*. So too at Saháranpur some fruit-sellers—whose trade it may be presumed has been encouraged by the large public garden at that station—have separated themselves from the common herd of *Kunjrás*, or 'costermongers,' and decorated their small community with the Persian title of *Mewafarosh*. As might be expected, this distintegration of society and adoption of a novel nomenclature prevails most extensively among the lower orders, where the associations connected with the old name that is discarded are of an unpleasant nature. But even in the higher classes, where the generic title is one of honour, it is frequently superseded in common parlance by one that is more distinctive, though it may be of less favourable import. Thus, among Bráhmans a Bohra sub-caste is in course of formation, and a Chaube of the Mathurá branch when settled elsewhere is invariably styled, neither Bráhman nor Chaube, but Mathuriya. Illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely; but the few now cited are sufficient to prove how caste-sub-divisions are formed in the present day, and to suggest how they originated in the first instance.

APPENDIX B.

LATEST RESULTS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

The Greek and Scythian Princes, whose names are recorded on the coins and in the votive inscriptions found at Mathurá, are arranged by General Cunningham in the following order:—

1*st*.—The Satrap *(Maháshatapa)* Rajabal, or Ranjabal, from 120 to 80 B.C. His gold coins are imitations of the hemi-drachm as of Straton, and bear on the obverse a rude head with a corrupt Greek legend, read as follows:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΡΑΖΙΟΒΑΛΟΥ.

On the reverse is the figure of Athene Promachos with the legend in Pali characters.—*Chhatrapasa a-pratihata-chakrasa Ranjubulasa.* The copper coins

have on the obverse a standing male figure, who holds a flowing banner in the right hand, and has to his side on the left a *swastiká* surmounted by a double trident. The reverse shows a female figure standing between two elephants, who are pouring water over her from their trunks.

2nd.—The Satrap Saudása, from 80 to 57 B. C., probably the son of the preceding. His copper coins are of the same type, but bear the legend—*Mahákhatapasa putrasa Khatapasa Saudasasa.* The only inscription of his that has been found is engraved on a stone slab from the Jalálpur Saráe mound—

Swamisya Mahákshatrapasya Saudásasya Gajavarena Brahmanena sangrava-sagotrena..... rani. Ima Kshayamada pushkaranaiam paschimá pushkaranim udapáno árámo stambhah.

The general meaning appears to be that in the time of the great Satrap Saudása, Viceroy of a lord paramount, whose name is lost, a Bráhman of the Sangrava gotra, by name Gajavara, made a gift for religious purposes of a 'garden' *(árámа)* with its tanks and appurtenances. The monastery, with the name of Udapani A'ráma (conjectured from a trial rendering of this inscription), may therefore be expunged from Part I., page 74.

3rd.—Wema Kadphises, an Indo-Scythian conqueror, establishes in 57 B. C. the so-called Vikramaditya era. His coins are common in all parts of the north-west.

4th.—The Mahárájá Kanishka, of whom two inscriptions have been found in the Kankáli tíla, one dated *samvatsare navame*, 'the ninth year.'

5th.—The Mahárájá Huvishka, whose name occurs the most frequently of all. After many revisions by different scholars, the inscription from the Jalálpur saráe mound, given at page 74 of Part I., is read as follows :—

Sam. 47, Gri. 4, Div. 4, Mahárájasya Rájátirájasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya Viháre dánam bhikshusya Jívakasya Udeyanakasya Kumbhako 25. Sarva hita sukham bhavatu.—Saghe chaturdise.

On the 4th day of the 4th summer month of the 47th year of the heaven-born sovereign lord Huvishka. Gift of Jívaka, a mendicant of Udeyana. Base of column 25. May it be for the good of all friends. In the Catholic assembly.

The inscription on the abacus of the elephant column (page 77, Part I.) is read as follows :—

Mahárájásya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya Sam, 39, He. 3, Div. 11., Etaye purvaya..... pratishthápito Siva-dása-sreshti-putrena sreshtiná aryyena Rudra-dásena arhatena pujaye.

The more recently discovered inscription (page 105, Part I.) commences in the same way ; and after the date, which is *sam.* 33, *gri.* 1, *di.* 8, 'the 8th day of the 1st summer month of the 33rd year,' are read the words '*Tripitakasya .... Bhagavanta charane Buddhasya*,' from which it may be inferred that the Sonkh road mounds by the Giridhar-pur boundary-pillar are the Stúpas of the Abhi-dharma, the Sútra and the Vinaya (collectively called Tripitaka) mentioned by both the Chinese Pilgrims—an identification of very considerable interest.

6*th*.—The Mahárájá Vásudeva, whose reign extended down to 51 A.D., when it would seem that he was succeeded by Ghatal Kacha, the father of Chandra Gupta I. In an inscription found at the Jaláipur saráe mound, he is styled, like his two predecessors, 'Mahárájá Rajatirája Devaputra'; and in one found atthe Kankáli *tíla* for 'Devaputra' is substituted 'Sháhi.' This was the distinctive title of the Indo-Scythian Princes, and thus there can be little doubt that he should be referred to that dynasty, notwithstanding his purely Indian name. On his gold coins the name is given as BAZOΔIIO. and on the copper BAZΔHO.

The dates, as given in the above list, are absolutely correct only if it be granted that whenever the word *Sambat* occurs in an inscription, it refers to the so-called Vikramaditya era. As mentioned in Chapter VI., Bábú Rájendralala Mitra—the most learned Hindú antiquary that has yet arisen on this side of India—originally maintained that the Saka era was intended. From this view I ventured to express my dissent, and I now find that it has commended itself as little to scholars at home, and has been finally withdrawn even by its proposer. But, though the Saka era has been thus decisively rejected, it does not follow that the Vikramáditya era must necessarily be accepted. I have recently discovered at the Jaláipur saráe mound a small fragment of an inscription, in which what few words remain are exceptionally clearly cut, and it reads as follows:— . . . shkasya* rájya samvatsare 28 Hemant, 3 div. . . . Of this the most obvious translation would be 'on the — day of the third winter month of the 28th year of the reign of . . .' Nor need any difficulty be occasioned by the use of the word *Sambat* to denote the year of a monarch's reign. For though modern practice restricts the term exclusively to the Vikramaditya era, such was not always the case: witness the inscription on the temple of Gobind Deva at Brindá-ban—Sambat 34, Srí Sakabandh Akbar Sháh ráj—'in the 34th year of the reign of the Emperor Akbar.' Again, one inscription, dated 47, mentions Huvishka as king, while two others bearing Vásudeva's name are dated respectively 44 and 83; and thus, if all three refer to the same era, the two kings would be contemporaries for some part at least of their reigns. There is, however, a further difficulty, for one inscription from under a figure of Mahávíra at the Kankáli *tíla* is dated—Vasudevasya Samvatsare 90—and it is in the highest degree improbable that any reign would extend to such a length as 90 years. And occasionally no king is mentioned at all, as in the following:— Samvatsare sato panchatrisottara tame 135 Pushya-máse vinsati 20—'on the 20th (twentieth) day of the month Pús, year 135 (one hundred and thirty-five).' Here there can be no doubt as to the number, since it is

* The word was probably Kanishkasya; as the consonant preceding the *sh* had a tail, which is still visible on the stone, and might belong to the letter *n*, but could not form any part of the name Huvishkasya.

expressed in words as well as in figures, and it must be referred to some generally accepted era. Probably, usage was not uniform; in some inscriptions the *Sambat* dates from the king's accession, in others from a fixed era, which may be the Vikramaditya, but is not absolutely proved to be so. This element of doubt, however, does not affect the general result established by the Mathurá inscriptions, *viz.*, that just before and just after the Christian era this part of India was definitely included in the dominions of a powerful Indo-Scythian dynasty.*

The inscription (already mentioned) from under a figure of Mahávíra, which dates from the reign of Vásudeva, not only throws a light upon secular chronology, but is also of interest from a religious point of view. It is, as it would seem, the most ancient memorial of the Jainis that has yet been discovered in any part of India. The oldest known to Professor Wilson dated only from the end of the 9th century A.D., and thus he inferred that, though the Tirthankara Mahávíra flourished some centuries before the Christian era, his disciples were not formed into a separate body till more than as many centuries after that epoch. But, in explanation of so strange a circumstance, he adds that the Jainis may have existed in earlier times as a division of the Buddhists. This surmise is strikingly confirmed by the explorations at the Kankáli *tíla*. For the statues there found have their antiquity attested by the Huvishka and Vásudeva inscriptions, while they are mostly nude figures and such as would now be stigmatized as Jaini by orthodox Buddhists; and yet another inscription on the back of the carved spandrel *(page* 77*)*, which I have quite recently unearthed, contains the name of Mugali-putra, a famous Buddhist teacher; from which it may be inferred that the two sects were once in joint possession of the site. Even so, if the spot were one of generally acknowledged sanctity, the differences between the two sects may have been as considerable as those that separate Greek from Latin Christians, both of whom have Chapels of their own in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The original agreement of the two religions has been rendered yet more probable by the more accurate date for Buddha's Nirvána, which has lately been established by Dr. Kern. He fixes it about the year 380 B.C., while Mahávíra is said to have died in B.C. 388. The coincidence between the two dates seems too close to be accidental, and the more so since the legends

* The following interesting note has been sent me by General Cunningham, in support of his theory as to the practical identity of the Indo-Scythian with the Vikrameditya era: "The inscription of Gondophanes is dated *Sambat* 103 (46 A.D.) in the 26th year of his reign; so that he began to reign in A.D. 21. Now, we know that he was a contemporary of S. Thomas, and of Artabanus of Parthia. The Sambat, which is now called that of Vikramaditya will therefore exactly suit him; and we thus have a continuity of dates from Kanishka through Hurishka, and Vásudeva to Gondophanes. The latest date yet founded of Vásudeva being 98, while here we have Gondophanes in 103.

of Mahávíra and Sakya Muni exhibit certain points of resemblance, which of themselves had attracted attention.

I conclude by placing on record the sites explored, and miscellaneous sculptures found during the progress of this work through the Press. After trenching the Kankáli *tíla* with the results specified at page 77 of Part I., I proceeded to excavate the very large mound in Cantonments, marked *a* in the sketch map. A trench, 177 feet long and 12 wide, was carried from its southern verge towards the centre, where another at right angles to it was dug for a length of 45 feet to the west. The whole mound formed a mass of broken bricks—some of them of very large size, a proof of antiquity—but no stone was found beyond one massive slab four-and-a-half feet long, and a rounded pedestal of a pillar. At the small adjoining mound, marked *b*, on the very border of the Circular Road, were found only the figures mentioned at page 78. The inscription begins *Varsha mása*, 2 *divas*, 6—'the 6th day of the 2nd month of the rains;' but the year has been cut away, and the three or four other words that remain cannot be decyphered with certainty. From the Dhruva *tíla*, near the Pontoon bridge, I have recovered a set of rails, with three uprights, and the cross-bars and top-bar all complete, cut out of a single slab of stone, measuring two feet two inches square; and from a high mound in the Bankhandi Mahalla, lying back from the main streets between the Dispensary and the Kotwáli, and now surmounted by a ruinous temple of Bihári, I have brought a Buddhist pillar, four feet ten inches high, bearing the figure of a dancing-girl with a leonine monster at her feet. Over her head is a group, representing a teacher of the law holding an umbrella and addressing an audience of ten persons.

The mound near the Sonkh road, at the junction of the boundaries of Mathurá, Bákirpur, and Giridhar-pur, was, as I am now informed, examined by General Cunningham in 1872, when, on sinking a well through its centre, he found at a depth of 13½ feet from the summit a small steatite relic-casket imbedded in a mass of unburnt bricks. I have since carried a trench almost entirely round its base, and, in addition to the Tripitaka inscription of Huvishka's reign already mentioned, have come upon several cross-bars and uprights of Buddhist rails of different sizes and a great number of small fragments of male and female figures, animals, grotesques, and decorative patterns, showing that the sculptures here must have been far more varied in design than at most of the other sites. One of the uprights has a well-executed and decently-draped figure of a dancing-girl with the right hand raised, and two figures placed upon her chin. The lower part of the post has been broken away, carrying with it her feet and the third of the three groups at the back. Of the two groups that remain, the upper one represents two seated figures, apparently a teacher and his disciple, with two attendants standing in the back-ground, and has a single line of inscription below, recording the donor's name. The second group shows a sacred

tree enclosed with the conventional rails, and a pilgrim on either side approaching in an attitude of veneration. The only other sculpture deserving special notice is a small bas-relief that represents a capacious throne resembling a garden chair of rustic wood-work, with a foot-stool in front of it, and some drapery spread over the seat on which is placed a relic-casket. In the back-ground are two figures leaning over the high back of the chair. Their peculiarly furtive attitude is characteristic of the style ; almost every group includes one or more figures peeping over a balcony or a curtain, or from behind a tree. On this stone was found a copper coin so much corroded that no legend was visible, but bearing in its centre a running figure, which was the device employed both by Kanishka and Huvishka. I had great hopes of discovering another inscription here, as I had come upon a small fragment with the letters 𑀩𑀼𑀤, that is, ' Budhánam' cut very clear and deep; but my search was unsuccessful. Digging in the field some twenty paces from the base of the mound, I came upon the original pavement only two or three feet below the surface, with three large square graduated pedestals, ranged in close line, one overthrown, the other two erect. A capital, found by General Cunningham in 1872, measuring 3ft. × 2 × 2, and carved with four winged lions and bulls conjoined, probably belonged to one of the pillars that had surmounted these pedestals. They have been left *in situ*, and, in order to define the locality, the knee of a colossal statue found in sinking the well has been placed on the summit of the mound. The large dry tank, mentioned at page 106 of Part I., is now proved to be of Buddhist construction, as I had anticipated; since, I have found in one of the mounds on its margin a broken stone inscribed with the letters 𑀤𑀸𑀦𑀙 that is, ' Dánam Chh.'

The mound marked *c* in the map, after an exploration extending over several days, yielded nothing beyond a few arabesque fragments and, at a depth of six feet below the surface, a small pediment containing in a niche, flanked by fabulous monsters, and surmounted by the mystic wheel, a figure of Buddha, canopied by a many-headed serpent and seated on a lion throne. A mound immediately adjoining the pillar that marks the boundary of the township of Mathurá, and the villages of Maholi and Páli-kherá, lying due south of the Kankáli *tíla*, and east of the Giridhar-pur mound, has yielded a strange squat figure of a dwarf, three feet nine inches high, and two feet broad, of uncertain antiquity; and at another mound, just outside the Páli-kherá village site, a much more curious sculpture has now been unearthed. The stone measures four feet in height by three feet four inches in breadth, and is carved on both sides. On the one face is a seated figure holding a drinking cup in his right hand, with two attendants at his back, one on either side, and a little child at his knee. Two female figures, draped down to the feet, with their hair confined by a fillet across the forehead, but flowing in curls over the back of the neck, are advancing the one with a drinking cup, the other with apparently some fruit. The group on the

other face of the block is more mutilated. The principal figure has, it would seem, drained the cup and is unable to keep himself straight in his sitting posture but for the help of two attendants, who on either side support his outstretched arms. At the top the stone swells out into the form of a shallow bason, with a cavity in its centre, as if it had formed the basis of a shaft.

Thus every mound, that has as yet been touched, has at least afforded proof of its artificial formation, and of once having been the site of some building: and the number of mounds is so very great, extending as they do in close proximity to one another over an area of some two or three square miles, that they cannot, I think, be sufficiently explained by supposing them to be the remains of merely suburban temples and monasteries, but they must rather be taken to indicate the actual centre of the old Buddhist City.

GLOSSARY.

A'N, a curse.

ANOSAR, domestic work, cleaning up (for *an-avasar*).

ANTI, an ear-ring.

A'THEN, evening (for *athmana*).

A-UD, waterless (from *a* privative and *uda*, water) a term applied to a man who dies childless, with no son to make him the ordinary funeral libations. It is also the name given to the little masonry terrace often seen near a village, on which twice a year jars full of water are set, in order to lay the ghost of some childless person.

BÁCHHAL, a class of Gaurua Thákurs, occupying as many as 60 villages in the Chhátá Pargana. They are by descent Sissodiyas from Chitor, who according to their own traditions emigrated some 700 or 800 years ago; probably therefore after Alá-ud-díu's famous siege of 1303. As they gave the name of Ránera to one of their original settlements in the Mathurá District, it is clear that the emigration took place after the year 1202, when the sovereign of Chitor first assumed the title of Rána in place of the older Ráwal. They represent the word Báchhal as derived from the fact that their Guru was a hermit of Bachh-ban near Sehi.

BAITHAK, the village Club and Hospice; also a rest-house at a holy place for the accommodation of the Gosáin on his annual visit on the Feast-day.

BÁKHAR, a house,

BARDH, a bullock.

BARHI, a class of weavers.

BÁS, a hamlet, as distinguished from *kherá*, the parent settlement.

BHÁBHI, a brother's wife (for *bhrátri-vadhu*).

BHAGAVADÍYA, devout.

BHAINKRÁ, crying, as of a child.

BHARNA, the capital of a pillar.

BHAROTA, a bundle of wood or fodder.

BHÚÁ, a father's sister.

BHÚMIYA, a low altar or platform on the outskrits of a village dedicated to the local divinity, or rather demon, corresponding to the Grám Devi of the Mainpuri and other districts. It often resembles in form a Muhammadan grave consisting of an oblong block of stone or brickwork with a recessed pillar at one end, and offerings are made upon it to avert the spells of witchcraft, &c.

BHUMRA, early morning.

BIROKHA, afternoon.

BITONDA, a stack of cow-dung fuel.

BIYÁRÁ, supper-time, evening.

BOHR-GAT, the trade of a *bohra*, or money-lender.

CHACHA, a father's younger brother.

CHHAJJA, stone eaves of a house or other building, supported on projecting brackets [1]

CHHATTRA, a dole-house, where cooked food is given in charity to indigent applicants.

CHHARÁ, small, paltry, slight; as *chhari sawári*, 'a small retinue.'

CHHARI, the shaft of a pillar.

CHHORA, CHHORI, a boy, a girl.

CHIRÁ, the capital of a pillar, when it has brackets attached to it.

CHUNAI, masonry work.

DANGRA, a bullock or other horned animal of inferior quality.

DÁSA, in architecture a string-course.

DEHRI, a threshold; also, a strip of pavement between two piers of an arcade.

DHAR, stature.

DHERH, a Chamár.

DHEVATI, a daughter's daughter.

DOTHAIN, early morning, sun-rise.

FAUJDAR, a title much affected by Játs and used simply as equivalent to their caste name.

GARAI, the occupation of a grazier (for *gwárai.)*

GARUA, a brass drinking-vessel.

GAUCHH, the moustache.

GAURUA, a name given to certain clans of Thákur descent that are held in lower esteem than other branches of the same parent stock, in consequence of their lax views regarding marriage and other social institutions.

[1] This and the other architectural terms given are probably common throughout the North-West; but they do not occur in the ordinary dictionaries, and therefore it was thought that their insertion might be useful, architecture being one of the specialities of Mathurá.

GOHNJO, GOHNJI, a father-in-law, mother-in-law.

GOKH, a small window (for *gaváksha.*)

GOLA, a bundle of leaves, fodder, &c., and especially of *jhar-beri.*

GOT, an enclosure, generally made by a thorn fence, and used for stacking straw, fuel, &c.

GUHAR, a confederacy.

GUTH-JÁNÁ, to close in wrestling.

HÁNGI, a sieve.

HATO, HATE, was, were (for *tha* and *the.)*

HELÁ PÁRNÁ, to call; the same as *awaz dena.*

I, frequently substituted for á, thus *Lachhmin* for *Lakshman.*

INCH, an undertaking on the part of the village baniya to settle the landlord's demand for rent, on the security of the tenants' crops, of which he takes delivery after harvest. The arrangement, which results in an account of the most complicated description, is so carried out as totally to frustrate the intention of some of the main provisions of the Rent Law; and as it pauperizes the tenant without in any way enriching the landlord, it may justly be regarded as one of the main causes of the prevalent agricultural distress.

JA, the oblique case of the demonstrative pronoun, as *já samay,* 'at that time'; *jáko pita* 'his father.' Those who argue from the existence of this and a few similar peculiarities that Hindi is only a generic name for a variety of vulgar dialects that have little or nothing in common, might with equal reason maintain that in Shakespear's time there was no such language as English; for even the greatest writers of that period, when books were few and man untravelled, occasionally betray by their provincialisms the county that gave them birth.

JAG-MOHAN, the choir, or central compartment of a Hindu temple, usually surmounted by a *sikhara,* or tower.

JENGRÁ, a calf.

JERI, a two-pronged pitch-fork, otherwise called *lagi.*

JHARAP, a prop, an attached shaft or pilaster.

JHERÁ, a blind well.

JHUNJHARKA, early morning.

JÍJA, a sister's husband.

JIJIYA, a sister.

JIRNODDHÁR, the restoration of a ruined building.

JÚRE, near.

KÁKÁ, a father's younger brother.

KAN-VRIT, professional begging.

KATHAUTA, 'in the lump'; equivalent to the more common *gol,* or the Arabic Revenue term *bilmukta.*

KARKAS, a kind of water fowl abounding at Gokul and Gobardhan.

KAURA, a morsel.

KHAN, time ; for *kshan*.

KHANDI, an instalment.

KHANDÁR, brush-wood.

KHERÁ, the original village site, as distinguished from the subordinate hamlets of later formation.

KHERA-PAT, 'the lord of the *kherá*,' the hereditary village Purohit. His office is called Patháyati.

KHOR, a double sheet or wrapper, as an article of clothing.

KHURKA, a sound, like *áhat*. Thus *khurku so bhayo*, 'there was some sort of a noise.'

KHILI, a cry, and alarm ; as *main ne khili machái*, 'I gave the alarm.'

KOMARA CHÁKHÁ, 'easy noon,' a little before noon, *komara* being like *narm*, 'easy,' and *chákha* 'the mid-day collation.' The phrase is sometimes altered to *komara dopahr*.

KRIPÁ, grace or favour, used as equivalent to the Persian complimentary phrase *tashrif*. Thus *áj to áp ne kahán kripá kari?* 'where has your honor been to-day?'

KUNJ, a court ; an occasional residence or rest-house, generally a building of elaborate architectural design, in the form of a cloistered quadrangle.

KUSKUT, sharpening plough-shares ; the work of a village smith.

LANG, side.

LÁSH, the Persian word for 'a corpse,' often used of a man who is simply wounded.

LATAK, side, direction ; as *púrab ki latak*, 'to the east' ; also 'figure' or 'attitude.'

LAUDRI, a twig or switch.

LABÁRA, young of cattle.

LOHNDÁ, a small iron pan.

MALARIYA, a small earthen pot.

MALÚK, good.

MARAZ MUBÁRAK, 'the lucky disease' ; a euphemism for *kháj*, 'the itch,'

MARHAIYA, a hut or hovel.

MATHAURIYA, an earthen pot used in churning.

MUDDAI, the Arabic law-term for 'a prosecutor' ; generally used by villagers in the sense of 'an enemy,' and thus frequently applied to the 'defendant.

MUK-MUKKA, a blow with the fist.

NAMAT, attentive to.

NÁTNI, a son's daughter (for *napti*).

NIKHRÁ, bright and clean.

NOHRA, a cattle-yard.

O, a frequent substitute for *á* as a masculine termination in nouns and verbs.

Ojha, a Bráhman carpenter (for *upadhyáya*).

Ol, a hostage.

Or, a class of weavers.

Paliwar, a class of Gaur Bráhmans.

Panhá, shoes.

Pichhaura, a single sheet or wrapper, used as an article of clothing.

Pisáyo, thirsty.

Poli, the entrance-room, or door of a house.

Pratáp, a term of compliment, like the Latin *auspice*, or the Persian *ikbál*.

Púlaj, low lands lying between sand-hills ; used at Sanket.

Pur, a hide.

Púth, Sand-hills.

Rakhyá, 'a preserve' ; a bit of wood-land near a village, in which, from a religious sentiment, no trees are allowed to be cut by anyone ; even the dry timber being generally accounted the perquisite of some Bairágí, who has his hermitage on the spot. Any villager found cutting a green bough would be excommunicated from caste privileges for a term of years.

Rás-dhárí, a *choragus*, belonging to a class of Bráhmans residing chiefly in the villages of Karahla and Pisáyo, whose special occupation it is to superintend the performance of the Rás Lílá. This is an unwritten religious drama, which represents the most popular incidents in the life of Krishna, and thus corresponds very closely with the Miracle Plays of Mediæval Christianity. The complete series of representations extends over a month or more, each scene being acted on the very spot with which the original event is traditionally connected. The marriage scene, as performed at Sanket, is the only one that I have had the fortune to witness : with a garden-terrace for a stage, a grey stone temple for back-ground, the bright moon over head, and an occasional flambeau that shot a flickering gleam over the central tableau framed in its deep border of intent and sympathizing faces, the spectacle was a pretty one and was marked by a total absence of anything even verging upon indecorum. The cost of the whole perambulation with the performances at the different stations on the route is provided by some one wealthy individual, often a trader from Bombay or other distant part of India ; and, as he is always accompanied by a large gathering of friends and retainers, numbering at least 200 or 300 persons, the outlay is seldom less than Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000. The local Gosáin, whom he acknowledges as his spiritual director, organizes all the arrangements through one of the Rás-dháris, who collects the troupe (or *mandali* as it is called) of singers and musicians, and himself takes the chief part in the performance, declaiming in set recitative with the mandali for chorus, while the children who personate Rádhá and Krishna act only in dumb show.

RENGNA, to walk slowly.

RENGTA, an ass's foal.

RENI, any substance from which dye can be extracted (from the Sanskrit root *ri*, 'to distil').

SABHÁ, the nave of a temple.

SAKÁRAU, early in the morning.

SÁNTÁ, a thonged stick for driving cattle.

SÁR, a cow-house.

SAUR, a quilt, or padded wrapper.

SENHÁN, a well-digger (from *sendhna*, 'to mine').

SETH-GANTH, cobbling (from *setra*, a derivative of *si*, 'to bind').

SON, substituted for the affix *se*.

TÁNKHI, a reservoir for water when cut out of the natural rock, as on the Barsána and Nand-gánw hills. The derivation is thus probably from *tánki*, a chisel.

TÁP, the base of a pillar.

TARAK, a squared beam.

TÁU, a father's elder brother.

THARI, a shop-keeper's stall.

TORA, architectural brackets supporting the eaves of a building or lintel of a doorway.

USARÁNA, to change or remove, as courses at a dinner.

WÁ, the demonstrative pronoun or definite article, as *wá baniya ne wá stri son kahi*, 'the baniya said to the woman.'

ZAMINDÁR, ordinarily 'a land-owner'; used as equivalent simply to a Jáṭ by caste; without special reference to occupation.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

PART I.

PAGE 5, line 3.—For 'seldom heard' read 'common also.'

„ line 3 of note.—For 'Kusam' read 'Kusum.'

PAGE 13, line 13.—For '*kádar*' read '*khádar*,' and for '*bánjar*' read '*bángar*.'

„ line 20 and passim.—For 'Hatáná' read 'Hathánáá.'

PAGE 24, line 35.—For 'Shah-dara' read 'Sháh-dera.'

PAGE 136.—Swámi Rangáchárya died on the night of the 26th of March, 1874, and his successor has not yet been nominated. Meanwhile the Temple estate is administered by the Trustees.

PART II.

PAGE 2, last line.—For 'groves' read 'orchards;' and on first line of next page, for 'trees' read 'fruit-trees.'

PAGE 3, line 27.—The canal, though officially opened by Sir William Muir on the 5th of March, 1874, will not be available for irrigation purposes till the end of 1875, as all the rájbahas have yet to be constructed. Its length from Okhla to the Utangan River at Bihári below Fatihabád is 140 miles, and it commands an area of three-quarters of a million acres, of which probably one-third—that is, 250,000 acres—will be annually irrigated. The cost has been above £710,000, while the net income will be about £58,000, being a return of 8 per cent. It will be practicable for boats and barges both in its main line and its distributaries, and thus, instead of the shallow uncertain course of the Jamuná, there will be sure and easy navigation between the three great cities of Delhi, Mathurá, and Agra.

PAGE 10, line 5.—There is now no market at Kámar.

PAGE 11, last line.—A new school has now been built at Sháh-pur, and the attendance has more than doubled.